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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI  
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN  
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

LIBRARY OF THE  
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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND  
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER  
THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS,

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ON the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished ; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

*Rolls House,*  
*December 1857.*

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COZATH GAEDHEL RE GALLAIBH.

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THE

WAR OF THE GAEDHEL WITH THE GAILL.





Amurcon  
lae

**O** Amurcon  
caula

caul ter





cosaroh gaedhel re gallaibh.

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THE  
WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH THE GAILL,  
OR  
THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES  
AND OTHER NORSEMEN.  
THE ORIGINAL IRISH TEXT,

EDITED, WITH  
TRANSLATION AND INTRODUCTION,

BY  
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PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S  
TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

L O N D O N :  
LONGMANS, GREEN, READER, AND DYER.

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INTRODUCTION.

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# INTRODUCTION.

## *Description of the Manuscripts.*

THE following work has been edited from three Manuscripts, two of them unfortunately imperfect.

The first and most ancient of these consists of a single folio, closely written on both sides, in double columns. It is a leaf of the Book of Leinster, now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. It contains the first twenty-nine sections only of the work: nevertheless, imperfect as it is, this fragment, for many reasons, is so important, that the Editor has thought fit to preserve it, with a translation, in the Appendix.

The Book of Leinster<sup>1</sup> is a *Bibliotheca*, or Collection of Historical Tracts, Poems, Tales, Genealogies, &c. It was written by Finn, Bishop of Kildare, or at least, during his lifetime, for Aedh Mac Crimhthainn, or Hugh Mac Griffin, tutor of Diarmait Mac Murchadha [Dermod Mac Murrough], the King of Leinster who was so celebrated for his connexion with the Anglo-Norman invasion<sup>2</sup> of Ireland, in the reign of Henry II.

The following note occurs in the lower margin of fol. 206 *b.* of this MS. It is in a hand closely resembling that in which the book itself is written, and certainly of the same century:—

“Life and health from Finn, bishop [i.e., of Kildare<sup>3</sup>] to Aedh Mac Crimh-

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<sup>1</sup> *Book of Leinster*. For a short summary of its contents, see O'Curry's Lectures, p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> *Invasion*. For this reason he is commonly called by the Irish who were not of his clan or his adherents,

Diarmait na nGall, or Dermod of the foreigners.

<sup>3</sup> *Kildare*. This explanatory parenthesis is written in the original, as a gloss, over the word “bishop,” in the same handwriting as the note itself.

thainn, tntor [r̄r̄rl̄rl̄z̄m̄r̄] of the chief king of Leth Mogha [i.e., Nuadhat<sup>1</sup>], and successor<sup>2</sup> [com̄ar̄bu] of Colum Mac Crimhthainn, and chief historian of Leinster in wisdom and knowledge, and cultivation of books, and science and learning. And let the conclusion of this little history be written for me accurately by thee, O acute Aedh, thou possessor of the sparkling intellect. *May it be long before we are without thee. It is my desire that thou shouldst be always with us.* Let Mac Lonain's book<sup>3</sup> of poems be given to me, that we may find out the sense of the poems that are in it, et vale in Christo,<sup>4</sup> etc."

Finn, Bishop of Kildare died in 1160, according to the Annals of the Four Masters.<sup>5</sup> He appears to have occu-

<sup>1</sup> *Nuadhat*. This explanation is also in the original, as a gloss, over the word Mogha. Diarmait claimed to be King of Munster, or Leth Mogha, i.e., Mogh's half, the southern half of Ireland, so-called from Eoghan Taidhleach, surnamed Mogh Nuadhat, or Nuadhat's slave. See O'Curry's *Battle of Magh Lena*, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Successor*. This signifies that Aedh was abbot or bishop of Tirdaglass, now Terryglass, county of Tipperary; where was a celebrated monastery, founded by Colum Mac Crimhthainn, who died A.D. 548.

<sup>3</sup> *Mac Lonain's book*. Flann Mac Lonain, a celebrated Irish poet, many of whose productions are still extant, died in 891.

<sup>4</sup> *Vale in Christo*. The Editor has taken the liberty of altering a few words of Mr. O'Curry's translation of this curious entry (*Lectures*, p. 186); but the passage in italics he has allowed to stand, because although he believes Mr. O'Curry's reading of the original (App. lxxxiv) to be wrong, he is unable to correct it. It is very obscure in the MS., having been written upon an erasure, which has caused some of the letters to be blurred or blotted; the words which Mr. O'Curry prints *cián r̄o r̄ic̄em r̄os̄ (?) h̄m̄z̄ar̄*, appear to the Editor to be *cián z̄ar̄*; *ceir̄ l̄r̄h̄ r̄c̄ h̄m̄z̄ar̄*, of which he can make no sense. It will be observed that the foregoing note does

not assert Bishop Finn to have been the scribe by whom the Book of Leinster was written. That he was so, is inferred by Mr. O'Curry from the great similarity of the handwriting of the note to that of the text; and Finn, if not the writer of the MS., was probably the writer of the note. The "little history," or historic tale, alluded to, if we suppose it to be that to which the note refers, ends imperfectly at the bottom of folio 206 *b*. The next leaf begins in the middle of a sentence having no connexion with what went before; and the defect is of long standing, for the old paginations, made in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, take no notice of it, the next folio being marked 207. The page to which the foregoing note is appended contains the story of the Progress of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilill Olum, into Meath, or the Battle of Crinna. See O'Curry, *Lect. App.* lxxxix, p. 593; Keating (in the reign of Fergus Dubhdedach); O'Flaherty, *Oggg.*, p. 331-2. The words of the note "Let the conclusion of this little history be written for me," appear to intimate that the "little history" was unfinished when the note was written; and the inference is, that it never was completed.

<sup>5</sup> *Four Masters*. Finn, it will be observed, calls himself "bishop," not bishop of Kildare, which is a subsequent insertion. This is an evi-

pied that see since 1148, in which year his predecessor, O'Dubhin, died; but he was a bishop when the foregoing note was composed, and therefore the portion of the book to which it relates must have been written between the years just mentioned, if not before.

Of Aedh Mac Crimhthainn, the Irish Annals have unfortunately preserved no record; but if he was tutor to King Diarmait Mac Murchadha (who was born in 1110), he must have lived very early in the twelfth century.

It will be observed that the foregoing note is written in a strong spirit of partisanship, the writer asserting boldly the claim<sup>1</sup> of his chieftain, Diarmait, to be the chief King of Leth Mogha, that is, of Leinster and Munster, the southern half of Ireland; and the same spirit appears in another place, fol. 200 *a.*, where a hand much more recent

dence of antiquity, the establishment of territorial dioceses being then recent, and the titles derived from them not having as yet come fully into use. This prelate assisted at the Synod of Kells in 1152, according to Keating, who calls him (as in some copies) "son of Cianain," but other copies read "son of Tighernain." The Four Masters call him Finn Mac Gormain, and the Dublin Ann. Inisfall. (A.D. 1160) Mac Gormain, without any Christian name. Ware has "Finau (MacTiarcaín) O'Gorman." This is, no doubt, an error for Finn Mac Cianain O'Gormain, and is an attempt to reconcile the authority of Keating with that of the Four Masters. But the Four Masters call him Mac Gormain, not O'Gormain; there is no inconsistency in his being Mac Cianain, or son of Cianain, and also Mac Gormain. At that time Mac Gormain had come to be assumed as a patronymic or family name, instead of the more correct form O'Gormain. See O'Donovan, *Topogr. Poems*, p. liii, note (433). We have another instance of this in King Der-

mod, who is called Mac Murchadha or Mac Murrogh, from his grandfather, although he was the son of Donnchadh, and ought therefore to have been O'Murrogh. *Topogr. Poems*, p. xlvi, *n.* (393), and p. l, *n.* (405). See his genealogy in O'Donovan's note, Four M., A.D. 1052, p. 861. O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, p. 438.

<sup>1</sup> *Claim.* The same claim is made in another place in this MS. (fol. 20 *a.*) in an addition to a list of the kings of Leinster, in which Diarmait is thus spoken of—*Διαρμαίτ μακ Δον-χάδα μακ Μιρχάδα .α.βι. Οσυρ βασις Λεθι Μογα υιου εριου, οσυρ Μιου εριου. Ο ε ε ι βερνα, ιαυ ηβιασ οηστα οσυρ αθηρσι, ι .λ.ι.ο. anno αετατιρ ρυαε.* "Diarmait, son of Dunchadh, son of Murchadh [reigned] 46 [years]. And he was king of all Leth Mogha and also of Meath. He died at Ferns after the victory of Uinction and Penance, in the 61st year of his age." This note is in a hand more recent than that of the MS., and was written probably in 1171, the year of King Diarmait's death.

than that of the MS., has written in the upper margin, the following strong expression<sup>1</sup> of grief:—

“[O Mary!] It is a great deed that is done in Erinn this day, the kalends of August. Dermot, son of Donnchadh Mac Murchadha, King of Leinster and of the Danes,<sup>2</sup> was banished by the men of Ireland over the sea eastward. Uch! Uch! O Lord! what shall I do.”

The event thus so pathetically lamented took place in the year 1166.<sup>3</sup> We know not who it was that so recorded his despair; but the note is evidence that this book, to which the name of “Book of Leinster” has been given, was written in the lifetime of Dermot Mac Murrough, and was, most probably, his property, or that of some eminent personage amongst his followers or clansmen, before the English invasion.

These circumstances are important, as proving beyond all reasonable doubt, that the copy of the present work which this MS. once contained,<sup>4</sup> and of which only a single folio leaf remains, must have been written in the twelfth century, and the original must therefore have been still earlier. The author mentions no event later than the battle of Clontarf, A.D. 1014, and was probably a contemporary and follower, as he certainly was a strong partizan, of King Brian Borumha, who fell in that battle. The MS. of which we are now treating was, therefore, written certainly before 1166, and probably within the century after the death of the author of the work.

This MS.  
denoted by  
the letter  
L.

The editor in the notes upon the first twenty-eight chapters or sections of the text, has distinguished the various

<sup>1</sup> *Expression.* See the original Irish in O'Curry's Lectures, *Append.* No. lxxxv. The first words, “O Mary,” are now so obscure in the MS. that they can only be considered as a conjectural restoration suggested by Mr. O'Curry.

<sup>2</sup> *Danes.* Meaning the Danes of Dublin.

<sup>3</sup> *Year 1166.* See Four Masters. The foregoing note gives us the additional fact that Dermot fled on the 1st of August.

<sup>4</sup> *Contained.* The Book of Leinster is now very imperfect. The Editor found eleven of the original folia of it at St. Isidore's College, Rome. They were probably lent to Colgan, in accordance with a practice which has proved injurious to many of our Irish MSS. They contain some of the works of Aengus the Culdee, and also the Martyrology of Tallaght, wanting November and the first sixteen days of December, by the loss of a leaf.

readings of this MS.<sup>1</sup> by the letter L. It exhibits several peculiarities of spelling, interesting to the philological student of the Celtic languages; but it has not been thought necessary to notice all these, as the whole of this valuable fragment has been preserved in the Appendix<sup>2</sup>.

The second Manuscript employed in forming the text of the present work, is also a fragment, although a more considerable one, and is likewise preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. We have called this the Dublin MS., and its readings are marked D. in the notes.

II. The  
Dublin MS.  
denoted by  
the letter  
D.

This copy was found about the year 1840, by the late eminent scholar, Mr. O'Curry, bound up<sup>3</sup> in one of the Seabright MSS., formerly in the possession of the celebrated antiquary, Edward Llwyd. There is nothing except the appearance of the MS. and its handwriting to fix its age; but judging from these criteria we cannot be far wrong in supposing it to have been written about the middle of the fourteenth century.<sup>4</sup> It is imperfect both at the beginning and at the end: wanting from the first to the fifth chapters inclusive, at the beginning, and from the middle<sup>5</sup> of chapter cxiii. to the end of the work. There are also some intervening defects, arising from a

Its age.

<sup>1</sup> *This MS.* The initial letter, B., p. 2, is an exact fac-simile of the initial with which this MS. begins.

<sup>2</sup> *Appendix.* Some few examples of the peculiarities alluded to are given, p. 223, note 3. They may, probably, be regarded as characteristic of the old Leinster dialect of the Irish language.

<sup>3</sup> *Bound up.* It occurs in the MS. H. 2, 17, and was described by Dr. O'Donovan in his unpublished Catalogue of the Irish MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, under the date of Jan. 1840. But this fragment was undoubtedly first identified, as con-

taining the long lost Danish wars, by Mr. O'Curry, who says (*Lectures*, p. 232), "Of this tract I had the good fortune, some sixteen years ago, to discover an ancient but much soiled and imperfect copy in the Library of Trinity College." The Lecture in which this statement occurs was delivered June 19, 1856.

<sup>4</sup> *Fourteenth century.* Mr. O'Curry says, "The ancient fragment must be nearly as old as the chief events towards the conclusion of the war." *Ibid.* This is certainly a mistake.

<sup>5</sup> *Middle.* See p. 199, line 9 from bottom.



From this we should, perhaps, infer that Michael O'Clery made two copies of the tract on the Danish Wars, one in March, 1628, in the Convent of Baile-Tighe Farannain (now Multyfarnham, in the county of Westmeath), "out of the Book of Cuconnacht O'Daly;" and another, probably taken from his former copy, in November, 1635, when he was in the Convent of Donegal. This latter transcript is the book now in the Brussels Library, which has been used in forming the text of the present work, whenever the Dublin MS. was defective. Its various readings are distinguished in the notes by the letter B.

The Book of Cuconnacht O'Daly is now unknown; but its owner or compiler was probably the same who is described by the Four Masters, as a chief bard<sup>1</sup> or historian, and a native or resident of Lackan, in Westmeath. He died, according to the same authorities, at Clonard, in Meath, A.D. 1139. Lackan<sup>2</sup> is close to Multyfarnham, and it was natural that the book, compiled by its great bard, should be preserved in the neighbouring Franciscan Abbey. From these facts it seems probable that the Book of Cuconnacht O'Daly was a "Bibliotheca," or a collection of historical documents, transcribed in the early part of the twelfth century, and therefore of about the same date

Book of Cuconnacht O'Daly.

<sup>1</sup> *Chief bard.* Ἀρχολλογιστὴς λέγονται. *Four M.* at the year 1139. For the situation of Lackan, see Dr. O'Donovan's note, *Four M.* at A.D. 746, p. 349. The genealogy of Cuconnacht O'Daly will be found in the "Historical Sketch of the family of O'Daly," prefixed to Aenghus O'Daly's *Tribes of Ireland*, edited by Dr. O'Donovan. *Dublin*, (John O'Daly) 1852.

<sup>2</sup> *Lackan.* In the gloss on the Felire of Aengus, at June 28 (Brussels copy), the situation of Lackan is thus described: Λεακιν ἀνομι ἀν τεμπυλλι Κρυμινε πῆ ταοῖς Ὀυαίτε [for μῦαίτε Τίξε] Ἰαράνναν. "Leacan is the name of the church of S.

Crummin, near Buailte Farannain." The abbey of Multyfarnham continued in the possession of Franciscan friars, notwithstanding the suppression, and in 1641 was the head quarters of the Confederate Roman Catholics. See Cox, *Hib. Angl.* ii., *App.* p. 41. This occasioned the dispersion of the friars; but within the present century a convent has been re-established there, and buildings erected in the ruins of the ancient house. See Sir H. Piers's account of Westmeath, in Vallancey's *Collectanea*, i., p. 68. The abbey of Donegal also continued in the possession of the friars until the times of Cromwell, but is now in utter ruin.

as the Book of Leinster, of which we have already spoken. It follows that the original of the Wars of the Danes and Irish, which was copied into these collections, must have had some celebrity before the year 1139, when O'Daly died, and was therefore, probably, composed before the end of the preceding century.

Michael  
O'Clery's  
copy.

Michael O'Clery, the transcriber of the Brussels MS., was a lay brother of the order of St. Francis, and is celebrated as having been the chief of the compilers of the great Chronicle known as the Annals of the Four Masters. His original Christian name<sup>1</sup> was *Tadhg*, Teague or Teige, and he was commonly called *Tadhg an tsleibhe*, or "Teige of the Mountain," before he took the name of *Michael* in religion.

Liberties  
taken with  
the original  
MS. from  
which he  
transcribed.

In his transcript of the Danish Wars, he has modernized the spelling, and has probably introduced other more serious deviations from the text of O'Daly's MS. He intended his copy for the use of his contemporaries, and therefore, perhaps, deemed himself at liberty to adopt the modern orthography and other grammatical peculiarities which would be to them most intelligible. This circumstance no doubt has greatly diminished the value of his manuscript, especially as we cannot be certain whether his departure from the ancient original was confined to such minor alterations.<sup>2</sup> It was unfortunately the custom of Irish scribes, to take considerable liberties with the works they transcribed. They did not hesitate to insert poems and other additional matter, with a view to gratify their patrons or chieftains, and to flatter the vanity of their clan. It is to be feared, that for the same reason, they frequently omitted what might be disagreeable to their patrons, or scandalous to the Church; thus

<sup>1</sup> *Christian name.* For an account of this distinguished antiquary, see O'Donovan's Introduction to the Four Masters, and O'Curry's Lectures.

<sup>2</sup> *Alterations.* See p. 83, where O'Clery has substituted an "etc." for

the words "for the good of the souls of the foreigners who were killed in the battle:" which words, taken in connexion with the context in which they stand, are certainly very obscure. But they occur in the Dublin MS.

they were unconsciously guilty of anachronisms and various mistakes, which have the effect of throwing discredit upon the works so transmitted to us, as disproving apparently their claim to antiquity.

Evidence of such interpolations is abundantly afforded by a comparison of the three MSS. employed in this edition of the Danish Wars. The ancient MS. in the Book of Leinster, although a mere fragment, is of great importance in this point of view. It proves, for example, that the lists of the Kings<sup>1</sup> of Ireland and Munster in the Brussels MS. are an interpolation. The original work gave only the names of the King of Ireland and of the contemporary King of Munster, in whose times the pirate fleets first made their appearance. In the Brussels MS. there is inserted after this, a full list of both series of kings during the whole period of the Scandinavian invasions. We find also passages given as marginal notes in the older MS., which are received into the text, and sometimes, perhaps, misunderstood,<sup>2</sup> or incorrectly transcribed, in the later copy. But the O'Clery MS., notwithstanding these defects, is of great value. It is certainly an independent authority. It contains four poems which are not in the Dublin copy. Three of these are in the form of a dialogue between Mathgamhain<sup>3</sup> and Brian, and the fourth is said to have been the composition of "Mathgamhain's blind bard." They are evidently interpolations made by some transcriber who was attached to Brian's party. The first (p. 63) is an apology for Brian's difficulties, when, as we are told, his followers were reduced to fifteen; and it contains a gentle censure of Mathgamhain for being "too quiescent" towards the foreigners. The second (p. 77) celebrates the victory of the Dal Cais over the foreigners, at Sulcoit. The third (p. 81) attributed to "the poet," who is not named, cele-

Evidence of interpolations in the MSS.

Interpolations in the MS. B.

<sup>1</sup> *Kings*. See chaps. ii., iii., and Appendix A, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> *Misunderstood*. See the note <sup>1</sup>, p. 222. Compare also p. 8, note <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *Mathgamhain*. This name is pronounced *Mahûn*, or *Mahoon*, the accent being on the last syllable. *Dal-Cais* is pronounced *Dal-Cash*.

brates the defeat of the Danes of Limerick : and the last (p. 97), by Mathgamhain's "blind bard," is an elegy, not without spirit, on the treacherous murder of that chieftain.

Interpolations in the MS. D.

On the other hand, the Dublin fragment contains some passages of considerable length, both in prose and verse, which are not in the Brussels copy. For example, the poetical address<sup>1</sup> from Gilla-Comhgaill O'Slebhain, urging Aedh, or Hugh, O'Neill to join King Maelsechlainn against Brian ; the description<sup>2</sup> of the march of Brian's army to Clontarf, with the arrival of the auxiliaries Fergal O'Rourke, and his followers ; the bombastic account of the enemy's forces and their arms, as contrasted with Brian's troops<sup>3</sup>; and the combat of Dunlaing of the Liffey, who is said to have been defeated and beheaded by Fergal O'Rourke<sup>4</sup> in this battle, although the Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters give a different account of his death.

Various readings.

In noting the various readings detected by a collation of the MSS., the editor has taken no notice of mere differences of spelling except in some rare instances. Irish orthography, in the twelfth century, was so unsettled, and, indeed, is still so unsettled, that the same word is frequently written by the same scribe in different spellings on the same page. To note all such variations would have swollen the work to a size out of all proportion to the value of the information so collected.

<sup>1</sup> *Address.* See ch. lxxiii. p. 121. Giolla Comhgaill O'Slebhain, or Ua Slebhene, died in 1031, according to the Four Masters, who call him "chief poet (prímh-ollamh) of the North of Ireland." The date of his mission to O'Neill, here alluded to, was 1002 or 1003.

<sup>2</sup> *Description.* Chap. lxxxix., p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> *Troops.* Chap. xcvi., p. 171.

<sup>4</sup> *Fergal O'Rourke.* Chap. ci., p. 177. It is worthy of note that B. (O'Clery's copy) omits everything connected with Fergal and his presence in the battle: neither is he mentioned by the Four Masters, who naturally followed the authority of O'Clery, who was one of them.

*The Author and Age of the Work.*

The *Cogadh Gaedhil re Gallaibh*, or “Wars of the Gael with the Gaill,” that is to say, of the Irish with the Norsemen, has been frequently quoted by Keating. It was known also to Colgan; and the Four Masters have occasionally transferred its very words to their pages. It is mentioned also by Mac Curtin<sup>1</sup> and O’Halloran,<sup>2</sup> who cite it as in their time an accessible authority of which the original was well known. But for many years all copies of it were supposed to have perished, until the discovery of the Dublin MS. by Mr. O’Curry, in 1840. Soon afterwards it was ascertained that another copy was preserved at Brussels, together with some other Irish MSS. of great interest. The Editor accordingly went there in August, 1848, and made a full collation of the Brussels copy, with the Dublin MS., transcribing all that was necessary to supply the deficiencies of the latter. Afterwards, through the influence of the Earl of Clarendon, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he obtained from the Belgian Government a loan of this and some other MSS., and in 1853 caused a complete copy of it to be made by Mr. O’Curry for the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. These transcripts have been carefully collated in forming the text of the present edition.

The work known to Keating, Colgan, and the Four Masters.

Collation of the Brussels MS. by the editor.

Transcript of it by Mr. O’Curry.

The work has external as well as internal evidence of antiquity. Its author, as we have seen, was a contemporary and strong partizan of King Brian Borumha. It exhibits many traces of the political feelings engendered by the intestine dissensions of the Dal Cais, and

Evidence of antiquity.

<sup>1</sup> *Mac Curtin*. “Discourse in Vindication of the Antiquity of Ireland.” Dublin, 4<sup>o</sup>, 1717, p. 171, 175, 181, et passim. In p. 204, he says, “*Coga Gall le Gaoidhealuibh* is the only best

authority for any thing relating to the Danish wars in Ireland.”

<sup>2</sup> *O’Halloran*. “Hist. of Ireland,” vol. ii., p. 153. 4<sup>o</sup>, Lond. 1778.

their contest for sovereignty with the Clann Colmain,<sup>1</sup> in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Copies of it were preserved in the historical collections made by eminent antiquaries in the early part of the twelfth century. The author makes no use of the era *Anno Domini*, but dates from the reigns of the Kings of Ireland and Munster; sometimes also from local events<sup>2</sup> in the provincial history of Ireland.

Its author,  
said to be  
Mac Liag.

Dr. O'Conor<sup>3</sup> asserts without hesitation that the author of this work was Mac Liag, whose death is recorded by the Four Masters, at the year 1015 (the true date being 1016), in these words:—

“Mac-Liag, i.e., Muircheartach, son of Cuchearthach, chief poet (*ard-ollamh*) of Ireland at that time, died.”

In the Dublin Annals of Innisfallen, at A.D. 1016, the same event is thus recorded:—

“Mac-Liag, i.e., Muircheartach beg, son of Mael-ceartach, chief poet (*ard-ollamh*) of Ireland, died in [the island called] Inis-an-Gaill-duibh, in the Shannou.”

No ancient  
authority  
for this.

But the editor has not discovered any ancient authority for attributing this work to Mac Liag<sup>4</sup>. The Four Mas-

<sup>1</sup> *Clann Colmain*. See Geneal. Table II., Append. B., p. 242. The kings of Ireland, Maelseachlainn I. and Maelseachlainn II., were the hereditary chieftains of the Clann Colmain, or descendants of Colman mór, son of Diarmait, King of Ireland, A.D. 544, of the Southern Hy Neill. See pp. 131 and 181.

<sup>2</sup> *Local events*. See ch. iv., p. 5; ch. xiv., p. 15; ch. xxiii., p. 23; ch. xxvii., p. 29. O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, Pref. p. [40], is of opinion that the vulgar Christian era was not used in Ireland until after the year 1020.

<sup>3</sup> *Dr. O'Conor*. In his list of the ancient authorities quoted or employed by the Four Masters in the compilation of their Annals, Dr. O'Conor thus speaks of the present work:—“XLVII.

*Cocadh Gall la Gaoidhil*, Bella Alienigenarum cum Hibernis. Auctore Mac Liago Scriptoris sæculo xi. Vide iv. Mag. ann. 1015.” *Rev. Hib. Scriptt.*, vol. i. *Epist. Nuncup.*, p. lvi.

<sup>4</sup> *Mac-Liag*. The Four Masters, immediately after the words above quoted, give the first and the last quatrains of verses composed by Mac-Liag. In the former of these he calls himself “Muircheartach beg, son of Mael-certaich;” and O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.* p. 334, tells us that he was of the family of O'Conchearta of Lig-gna-thaile, in Corann, a territory which included the barony of Galeng, or Gallen, in the county of Mayo, together with the barony of Luighne, now Leyney, and the present barony of Corann, in the county of Sligo. Mael-

ters make no mention of its author. Mac Curtin and O'Halloran, who have quoted it by the Irish title it still bears, are silent as to the author's name. Even O'Reilly,<sup>1</sup> in his list of Mac Liag's works, omits the *Cogadh Gaedhil re Gullaibh*. Colgan had a copy of it, the same most probably which is now in the Brussels Collection. He

Colgan makes no mention of the author.

certaigh and Cuncertaigh seem to have been used as synonymous for the family name of the poet; and Mac Liag was, probably, not his Christian name, but an appellation given to distinguish him from the many others of the family who were named Muircheartach, or Moriarty. For the same reason he appears to have been called Muircheartach beg, or *the little*. His tribe name, Mael-certaich, signifies the devoted servant of, tonsured in honour of Certach; and Cu-certaich, the hound, or dog of, that is, the faithful servant of, *Certach*, who was, no doubt, one of the many saints of that name. There was a saint Mac Liag, descended from Colla Uais, King of Ireland in the fourth century, (*Martyrol. of Donegal*, 8 Feb.); and the Christian name Gilla-Mic-Liag, or servant of Mac Liag, was used in the eleventh century. The Four Masters mention the death of Mac Conmara Ua Mic Liag, or grandson of Mac Liag, A.D. 1048; and the Annals of Ulster record the death of Cumara mac mic Liag, or son of Mac Liag, whom they call *Ard ollamh Erenn*, or chief poet of Ireland, and who seems to have succeeded his father, the bard of Brian Borumha, in that office. Hence it appears that Mac Mic Liag and O'Liag had come to be used as surnames to denote this particular branch of the family. Besides the Book of the Danish Wars, now published, Mac Liag is said to

have written a Life of Brian Borumha, and a book of the Battles of Munster. They are quoted by Mac Curtin as three distinct works, and as extant in his time; that is to say, at the beginning of the last century. Dr. O'Connor refers to Mac Curtin for the existence of these books, and therefore was probably not himself acquainted with them. *Rev. Hib. Scriptt.*, vol. i. *Proleg.* part ii. *Elenchus*, p. 7. Probably the Book of Munster Battles may be the same as the *Leabhar Oivris agus annala ar cogthaibh agus ar cathaibh Erenn*, "The Book of Antiquity and Annals of the Wars and Battles of Ireland," which O'Reilly says he had in his possession, and which he tells us, although it professes to treat of the "wars and battles of Ireland," is in reality confined to the battles of Munster. *Trans. Ibero-Celtic Society*, p. lxx. It is now in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. The late James Hardiman, *Irish Minstrelsy*, vol. ii., p. 361, sq., has published some extracts from this book in the original Irish, which prove, beyond a doubt, that the work must have been of a much later age than that of Mac Liag, or that if it was by him, the phraseology and language must have been greatly modernized by its transcribers. The specimens of it printed by Mr. Hardiman are in a dialect of Irish which cannot be older than the seventeenth century.

<sup>1</sup> O'Reilly. *Trans. Ibero-Celtic Society*, p. lxx. *Dublin*, 1820.

has given the following account<sup>1</sup> of it, in which, however, he says nothing of its author :—

“I have a full history written of these wars of Ireland, which in the vulgar tongue is called *Cogadh Gaoidhel re Gallaibh*, i.e., Wars of the Irish with the foreigners; in which from A.D. 812, when (as Eginhard, or some other author of the same age, in his Life of Charlemagne, says) ‘The fleet of the Northmen invaded Ireland, the island of the Scoti; and after a battle with the Scots, an innumerable multitude of the Northmen was destroyed, and in an ignominious flight returned home.’ Almost every year afterwards we read of fresh battles and conflicts of the Irish with the Danes and Northmen, until the year 1012 or 1013 [*read* 1014], when, in a great battle fought on the plain of Clontarf, near Dublin, with very great slaughter on both sides, the strength of each was so irreparably weakened, that neither people has since been able, even to the present day, to recover its original strength and power. For there fell in that battle the principal chieftains and nobles both of the Irish and Northmen, with the far-famed King of Ireland himself, Brian Borumha, or Boromæus; who, says Marianus Scotus, on Good Friday, 9 Kal. Maii, was slain, his hands and mind intent on prayer to God.”

Keating does not name the author.

Keating also, at the commencement of his history of the invasions of the Northmen, in the reign of Aedh Oirnidhe, quotes<sup>2</sup> the *Cogadh Gall re Gaedhiolaibh* under that name, as his principal source of information, and tells us that his narrative is only an abridgment of that work. He says nothing<sup>†</sup>, however, of its author. Can it be believed that these eminent authorities could all have been ignorant of the fact that the work had been composed

<sup>1</sup> *Account.* “Extat apud me integra historia de his bellis Hibernice conscripta, quæ vulgari sermone *Cogadh gaoidhel re gallaibh*, i.e. bella Hibernorum cum alienigenis, nuncupatur; in qua ab anno Christi 812, quo (inquit Eginardus, vel alius author ejusdem sæculi, in vita Caroli magni,) *Clussis Nortmannorum Hiberniam, Scotorum insulam, aggressa; commisso prælio cum Scotis, innumerabilis multitudo Nortmannorum extincta est, et turpiter fugiendo reversi sunt*: singulis pæne annis leguntur nova prælia et conflictus Hibernorum, cum Danis et Normannis, usque ad annum Christi 1012, vel 1013, quo ingenti prælio, in

campo de *Cluain-Tarbh*, juxta Duhlinium commisso, cum summa utriusque partis clade, mutuas vires ita irreparabiliter debilitarunt, ut nentra gens, in hunc usque diem, pristinam recuperaverint potentiam vel vires. Occubuerunt enim in eo prælio præcipui et Hibernorum et Nortmannorum Principes et Proceres, cum ipso longè celebri Hiberniæ Rege, Briano *Boroinhe*, seu Boromæo; qui, inquit Marianus Scotus; *ipso Parasceve Paschæ feria, 9 Calendas Maii, manibus et mente in Deum intentus, necatur.*” *Actt. SS.*, p. 106, col. 2, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Quotes.* O’Connor’s Transl., p. 418. O’Mahony’s Transl., p. 495.

by Mac Liag, the "chief poet of Ireland," the bard of King Brian himself, or, knowing this, could have concealed a circumstance so important to its authenticity? And if Keating, the Four Masters, and Colgan were ignorant of its authorship in the seventeenth century, how did Dr. O'Connor, in the nineteenth, acquire the information on the subject<sup>1</sup> which enabled him to attribute it so dogmatically to Mac Liag?

Mac Liag died, as we have seen, in 1016, two years only after his master, Brian. He had, therefore, it may be said, but a short time to compile this work, which is brought down to the year of the battle of Clontarf, in which Brian fell. But it was surely not impossible, that in two years a diligent and well read author should have composed such a history. He might have had the earlier part of it written and lying by him long before. Neither is it a conclusive argument that a stanza of poetry of which Mac Liag is himself said to have been the author, is quoted<sup>2</sup> in the book. This may have been one of the interpolations which we know were introduced into later transcripts. Or the author himself may have quoted one of his own poems, naming himself, which is not unusual, in the third person. It may be fairly urged, however, that if the transcribers had believed Mac Liag to have been the author of the prose narrative, whether they had found the poetical quotation in the original MS. or not, they would scarcely have passed over the opportunity of saying so.

There are one or two other apparent indications of a more recent date, which may be properly noticed here. One of these is that the Danes are made to speak *English*. This would have been a natural mistake enough for an Irish author of a period subsequent to the twelfth century, who was not well versed in Teutonic languages. The English were generally, and indeed are still very com-

Not impos-  
sible that  
Mac Liag  
may have  
been the  
author.

Apparent  
indications  
of a more  
recent date.

<sup>1</sup> *On the subject.* Dr. O'Connor gives no authority for his statement. His words are quoted above, p. xx, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Quoted.* This stanza (four lines) is introduced by the words, "of which Mac Liag said." See p. 95.

monly called in Ireland by the same name of *Gaill*, or foreigners, which was given to the Norsemen. But the mistake, however natural, could not have been committed *before* the English invasion, and therefore, if the words are really English, and were so written by the original author, they would be evidence against the early date of the work. But this is by no means certain. We are told (p. 175), that "Plait, son of the King of Lochlainn," having been challenged by Domhnall Mac Emhin, a Scottish chieftain, to single combat, cried out at the head of the troops on the following morning, "Faras Domhnall," which the Irish historian translates into his own tongue, *Cait ita Domhnall*, Where is Domhnall? *Faras*, however, may be an attempt to represent the pronunciation of the Danish *Hvar er*, although it certainly looks more like the English *Where is*. In another place (p. 203), we read that when the Earl Brodar, after the battle, rushed into Brian's tent, one of his followers cried out, "King, King." Brodar, seeing that Brian had been at prayers, answered, "No, No; but prist, prist." These words are apparently English; nevertheless the original Danish may have been translated into English, by modern transcribers. The portion of the narrative in which the words occur, exists only<sup>1</sup> in the Brussels MS.; and it is not improbable that O'Clery, transcribing in the seventeenth century, and familiar with the English language, may have written *king* for *kónge*, *prist* for *prestr*, and *no* for *né*; or else that all this may be an interpolation. These considerations render it impossible to regard this argument as absolutely conclusive against the early date of the work.

The O'La-  
teans of  
Munster.

There is another difficulty. Brian's servant, or personal attendant, who was with him during the battle

<sup>1</sup> *Exists only.* That is to say, the Brussels MS. is the only one which contains the portion of the narrative in which these seemingly English words now occur. The extract from Mac

Liag's Life of Brian, printed by Mr. Hardiman, *Minstrelys*, ii. p. 364, although it gives the same account of the death of Brian, says nothing of these supposed Danish or English words.

(see p. 197), is said to have been named *Latean*, and it is added, "from whom are [descended] the O'Lateans still in Munster." It is clear that the original author, if he had written when Latean, the ancestor of this family, was alive, could not possibly have thus spoken of his descendants; but a clause of this kind is just the sort of interpolation<sup>1</sup> that a scribe, living at a later period, when the family of O'Latean had multiplied, would have naturally introduced, forgetting the anachronism of which he thereby made his author guilty.

On the whole we may conclude that, although the work in its present form is modernized and interpolated, the original of it was nevertheless undoubtedly ancient.<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence to prove that its author was Mac Liag, the bard of the Dal Cais, in the court of King Brian Borumha. But its author was either himself an eye-witness of the battle of Clontarf, or else compiled his narrative from the testimony of eye-witnesses. He was certainly, as we have already observed, a partizan of king Brian.

That the work was compiled from contemporary materials may be proved by curious incidental evidence. It is stated in the account<sup>3</sup> given of the Battle of Clontarf, that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23rd April, 1014), coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide at evening, aided considerably in the defeat of the enemy.

It occurred to the Editor, on considering this passage, that a criterion might be derived from it to test the truth

The author a contemporary of king Brian.

The work compiled from contemporary authorities.

<sup>1</sup> *Interpolation.* The parenthesis, "from whom are the O'Lateans still in Munster," is not in the extract from the "Life of Brian," printed by Mr. Hardiman, *Ibid.*, p. 364. This adds some probability to the conjecture that the parenthesis in question is an interpolation.

<sup>2</sup> *Ancient.* In chap. xlii., p. 55, a poem by Cuan O'Lochan, "the poet and chief sage (oUam) of Erin and Alba," as he is there styled, is quoted. This poet, according to the Irish An-

nals, died in 1024, ten years after the Battle of Clontarf. He was chief poet or bard in the court of King Mael-seachlainn, or Malachy II. See Dr. O'Donovan's *Introd.* to the *Book of Rights*, p. xlii. *sq.* The fact, therefore, that some of his verses are quoted is no objection to the antiquity of the present work; the verses may have been composed many years before his death.

<sup>3</sup> *Account.* See chap. cvii., p. 191 *infra.*

of the narrative, and of the date assigned by the Irish Annals<sup>1</sup> to the Battle of Clontarf. He therefore proposed to the Rev. Samuel Haughton, M.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Geology in the University of Dublin, to solve for him this problem:—"What was the hour of high water, at the shore of Clontarf, in Dublin Bay, on the 23rd of April, 1014?" The Editor did not make known to Dr. Haughton the object he had in view in this question, and the coincidence of the result obtained with the ancient narrative, is therefore the more valuable and curious.

Calculation  
of the hour  
of high  
water at  
the battle  
of Clontarf.

Dr. Haughton communicated the particulars of his calculation to the Royal Irish Academy in May, 1861, in the following words<sup>2</sup> :—

"From twelve o'clock, noon, of the 23rd April, 1014, to the noon of the 12th December, 1860, allowing for the change of style and leap years, there were 309,223 real days.

"The synodical period of the moon is 29·530588715 days, and new moon occurred on the 12th December, 1860, at 47·6 minutes after noon. Multiply-  
ing the length of the synodical month by 10472 months, we find

$$29\cdot530588715 \times 10472 = 309244\cdot325 \text{ days.}$$

From which, subtracting the number of days from 23rd April, 1014, to 12th December, 1860, or 309,223 days, we find

$$21\cdot325 \text{ days, or } 21^d 7^h 48^m.$$

<sup>1</sup> *Annals*. The Annals of Ulster give the date A.D. 1014, and thus describe the chronological criteria of the year: "Kal. Jan. 6th feria, Luna 26;" that is to say, the 1st of Jan. fell on Friday (or the Sunday letter was C); and the epact, or age of the moon on the 1st of January, was 26. The chronicle then adds, "Hic est annus octavus circuli decemnovalis" [i.e., the Golden number is 8] "et hic est ccccc et lxxxii, ab adventu sancti Patricii ad baptizandos Scotos. ԲԵՆ ՏՐԵՅՈՐ ՐՍԱՌ ՄՈՏ, ՕՍՄՄ ՄՈՒՇԱՐԸ Ի ՐԱՄՐԱԾ ԻՐՈՒ ՆԿԱԾ-ԱՆՈՐԻ, quod non auditum est ab antiquis temporibus." The Irish words have been entirely misunderstood by Dr. O'Conor. The correct translation of them is this: "The feast of St. Gregory [12th March] fell after Shrovetide, and little Easter [the 1st Sunday after Easter] fell in Summer [i.e., after the 1st of

May] in that year." All these criteria point out the year 1014, in which Easter fell on the latest day possible, viz., 25th April; therefore Shrove Tuesday, called by the Irish, *init*, (Welsh, *ynyf*), i.e., *initium jejunii*, was the 9th March, and "little Easter," or Low Sunday, the 2nd May; the same late Easter had not happened before since A.D. 482. The dates in the Annals of the Four Masters, at this period, are a year short, so that their 1013 answers to A.D. 1014. Dr. Dasent, "Story of Burnt Njal" (Introd. vol. i. p. excv.), speaking of the date of this battle, states that it took place on "Good Friday, the 18th April, 1014;" but the 18th of April in that year was Palm Sunday. The true day of the battle was Good Friday, 23rd April, 1014.

<sup>2</sup> *Words*. Proceedings, Royal Irish Academy, vol. vii., p. 496.

“ It follows from this calculation that new moon occurred at

April, . . . .	23 <sup>d</sup>	0 <sup>h</sup>	47·6 <sup>m</sup>	—1014, A.D.
Minus . . . .	21	7	48	

Or, at . . . .	1 <sup>d</sup>	16 <sup>h</sup>	59·6 <sup>m</sup>	—April, 1014, A.D.
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*i.e.*, at 5 o'clock on the morning of the 2nd April.

“ Therefore full moon occurred at

April, . . . .	1 <sup>d</sup>	16 <sup>h</sup>	59·6 <sup>m</sup>
Plus . . . .	14	18	21·6

	16 <sup>d</sup>	11 <sup>h</sup>	21·2 <sup>m</sup>
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Therefore the astronomical, or true full moon, occurred at 21 minutes past eleven at night of the 16th April, 1014.

“ Calculating by the established rules, the calendar or ecclesiastical full moon occurred on the 18th April, 1014 (Sunday), which would therefore make Easter Day fall on the 25th April, and make the 23rd April, Good Friday, agreeable to the traditions of the Battle of Clontarf.

“ I shall now show that the calculation of the tides makes it quite certain that the date 1014 falls in with all the physical circumstances related of the battle.

“ It appears from the calculation that I have given already that

The age of the moon at noon on the 23rd April, 1014, was 21·292 days, or 21<sup>d</sup> 7<sup>h</sup> nearly.

“ The tide was therefore a neap tide, and the moon in her third quarter.

“ From the Academy's observations [on the tides round the coast of Ireland], it appears that on such a day of the moon's age, at the spring equinox, the tide at Kingstown is full at

5<sup>h</sup> 22<sup>m</sup> in the morning,

from which it follows that the tide along the Clontarf shore, when not obstructed by embankments and walls, could not have differed many minutes on the 23rd April, 1014, from

5<sup>h</sup> 30<sup>m</sup> A.M;

the evening tide being full in at

5<sup>h</sup> 55<sup>m</sup> P.M.

The truth of the narrative (see p. 191), is thus most strikingly established. In the month of April, the sun rises at from 5<sup>h</sup> 30<sup>m</sup> to 4<sup>h</sup> 30<sup>m</sup>. The full tide in the morning therefore coincided nearly with sunrise: a fact which holds a most important place in the history of the battle, and proves that our author, if not himself an eye-witness, must have derived his information from those who were. “ None others,” as Dr. Haughton observes, “ could have invented the fact that the battle began at sunrise, and that the tide was then full in. The importance of the time of tide became evident at the close of the day, when the returned tide prevented the escape of the Danes from the Clontarf shore to the North bank of the Liffey.”

*Summary of the Contents of the Work.*

The work  
divided into  
two parts.

We may now proceed to give a more particular account of the contents of the present work, which divides itself into two parts. The first part ends with the chapter numbered<sup>1</sup> XL, and contains an account in chronological order, or what is meant to be so, of the arrival of the "fleets" of the Norsemen in different parts of Ireland, especially the southern or Munster district. The second part, from chap. XLI. to the end, is devoted to the history of the Dal Cais, or Munster Chieftains, and particularly to the achievements of their great hero, Brian, his usurpation of the throne of Ireland, for such it was, and his death in the celebrated Battle of Clontarf.

Resembles  
the Scan-  
dinavian  
Saga.

The story is told very much after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas,<sup>2</sup> with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative. The style is inflated

<sup>1</sup> *Numbered.* The editor has taken the liberty of prefixing these numbers to the paragraphs or chapters of the work for the convenience of reference; they are not, of course, in the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> *Sagas.* It may be questioned whether the Saga literature was not an imitation, on the part of the Northmen, of the historical tales and bardic poems which they had found in Ireland. Many such productions, of undoubted antiquity, are still extant in the Irish language. In the Book of Leinster, a MS. written, as we have seen, before the middle of the twelfth century, there is a curious list of Romantic tales, which, as we infer from those of them that are still extant, were exactly similar to the Sagas of the Northmen. Mr. O'Curry has printed this interesting list, with a translation (*Lectures*, Append. No. 1, lxxxix, p. 584). They amount in all to 137; and must, of course, be all of greater antiquity than this catalogue of them written in the twelfth cen-

ture. We cannot be wrong, therefore, in assuming that such tales were popular with the Irish in the tenth and eleventh centuries at latest. But we learn from Snorro Sturleson (in the Preface to his *Heimskringla*) that "The priest Are hinn Frode [or the Wise], son of Thorgils, son of Gellis, was the first man who wrote down in the Norse language narratives of events both old and new." Are hinn Frode was born in Iceland, in 1067, and lived to 1148, or as some think 1158. This was about the time when the above-mentioned list of Irish historical tales was compiled, and Are hinn Frode only followed the practice which had before his time prevailed in Ireland. The reader may see specimens of these tales in the "Battle of Magh Rath," or Moira, published, with a translation and notes, by Dr. O'Donovan, for the Irish Archaeological Society; the "Battle of Magh Lena," with the "Courtship of Momera," edited by Mr. O'Curry, for the

and bombastic, dealing largely in alliterative epithets and words of synonymous meaning, for which it is almost impossible to find equivalents in the English, or perhaps any other language.<sup>1</sup>

The love of alliteration appears in the very title of the work, *Cogadh Gaedhil re Gallaibh*, "The wars of the Gaedhel with the Gaill," or of the Irish with the Foreigners. *Gall* was in all probability a name given to all strangers who spoke a foreign language, and were therefore at first confounded with the Galli,<sup>2</sup> or Gauls, the foreigners best known to the aboriginal Irish. Cormac's Glossary<sup>3</sup> tells us that pillar stones were called *Gall*, because they were first erected in Ireland by the Galli, or primitive inhabitants of France. After the twelfth century the name of Gall, as we have already observed, was given to the English; and the Highlanders of Scotland employ it

The word  
Gall, or  
Galli.

Celtic Society: and several others in the publications of the Ossianic Society. It is evident that Ireland had the priority over the North in this species of popular literature; and it is worthy of note that, both in the North and in Ireland, the Saga or historic Tale was in the vernacular language of the people, not in the Latin of the monasteries. They were read at public entertainments, as well as at the fire-side, and their popularity accounts for the remarkable love of historical lore, as well as the singular knowledge of the legendary history of their country, which was once characteristic of the Irish peasantry.

<sup>1</sup> *Language.* The Irish bards and historians, of the period to which this work belongs, appear to have considered it a great beauty in style to heap together synonymous words beginning with the same letter. For examples of this alliteration, see p. 56: *darmmaid dein diulang directea; gamanraid gerata gasta galaigh gnimaig gairgbeoda; croda connerta comcalma; lonna letar-racha luchtmara; brotha brigi bagi beadachta; etc.*

<sup>2</sup> *Galli.* See Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 633, col. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Glossary.* See Stokes's ed., p. 23. Cæsar, B. G., i. 1, seems to say that *Gallus* was the Roman pronunciation of *Celt*, which word, as some think, is *Gaedhel*; but if so, it would follow that the Irish used the Roman pronunciation of the name of their own nation, to denote foreigners. The derivation of *Gall*, from γαλα, milk, given in Cormac's Glossary, in consequence of the milk-white complexion of the Gauls, is of course absurd; but it shows that the word was understood to mean *Gaul*, and that it is, in fact, *Gallus*. The German *Wälsch*, generally used to designate the Italians, but applied also to anything foreign, seems a cognate word. Giraldus Cambrensis tells us that the Anglo Saxons gave the name of Wales to the country of the Britons, from a word in their own language, which signified *foreign*. *Descript. Cambria*, i. c. 7. *Gal*, or *Gelyn*, pl. *Galon*, in Welsh is "an enemy." In Irish, *Gaill* is the nominative, and *Gall* the genitive, plural.

in the same way to denote the Lowlanders. It was evidently the generic name which included all strangers; and the compound term Gall-gaedhel<sup>1</sup>, was given to the descendants of mixed parents, the Scandinavian Irish, who had lapsed into paganism, or, having been brought up among the then heathen Norsemen, were never under Christian instruction.

Two distinct parties of Scandinavians mentioned.

In the commencement of the work the author distinguishes between two distinct parties of Scandinavian invaders; the first are termed "azure Gentiles," but in the older MS. *Lochlanns*; the second are called "Danars,"<sup>2</sup> or Danes. No inference can be drawn from the word *gormglasa*, translated "azure," applied to the former. It signifies literally blue-green, a pale and greenish blue: *glaucus*. In the account afterwards given of the Battle of Clontarf, it is applied to those of the Northmen who wore plate armour;<sup>3</sup> the term can scarcely be regarded as intended to be a characteristic of the *azure Gentiles* as distinguished from the *Danars*, for it is omitted in the older MS., and is elsewhere applied<sup>4</sup> to the Gaill or

<sup>1</sup> *Gall-gaedhel*. O'Flaherty (*Ogyg.*, p. 360) thought that these were the inhabitants of the smaller British islands—Orkneys, Hebrides, Man, &c., which the Irish called *Insi-gall*, or "Islands of the foreigners." The Four Masters also (A. D. 1154, p. 1113) speak of the Gall-Gaadhela of Aran, Cantire, Man, and the coasts of Scotland. *Galloway* is a corruption of *Gall-gaadhela*. And there is no doubt that this mixed race constituted a large proportion of the inhabitants of these islands. But they were also in Ireland. The "Fragments of Annals," published by the Irish Archæol. and Celtic Society mention them as settled in Munster, and especially in the county of Tipperary, p. 138-41, and describe them as "a people who had renounced their baptism, and they were usually called Northmen (*Normannaigh*), for they had the customs of Northmen, and had been fostered by them; and although

the original Northmen were bad to the churches, these were far worse, in whatever part of Erin they used to be." The fact of their apostacy, however, is not noticed by the Four Masters, nor by the Annals of Ulster; although their existence is often recognised. See Four Mast. and Ann. Ult., from 854 to 856.

<sup>2</sup> *Danars*. Ch. i., p. 3. Observe here the alliteration, "ó genntibh, gormglasa, gusmara;" "ó danaraibh doilge, durchroideacha;" and see note <sup>8</sup>, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Armour*. See p. 203.

<sup>4</sup> *Applied*. See p. 159, where we have "Danar dana, durcraidecha; anmargaich [for *Danmarcaich*, the D omitted,] anbli, allmarda; Gaill gormglasa, gentlidi." In both cases the epithet *gormglasa*, "blue or azure," seems to have been selected, principally because its initial letter was *g*; and was therefore equally applicable to *Gaill* and *Gentile*.

foreigners in general. But two distinct nations of the Gaill are here undoubtedly described. They are elsewhere distinguished as white or fair-haired, and black or dark-haired foreigners, the Danes being the dark,<sup>1</sup> and the Norwegians, including, perhaps, Swedes, the white race. The term Lochlann seems used to denote the country of the white foreigners, although not perhaps with entire uniformity.<sup>2</sup> The word is supposed to signify Lake-land,<sup>3</sup> a name which, if we understand the term Lake to include *fiords* or arms of the sea,<sup>4</sup> would well describe the coast of Norway. The two nations are represented as hostile to each other, and battles<sup>5</sup> between them not unfrequently took place. But it is to be regretted that our author does not always very clearly distinguish between them in his descriptions of their devastations in Ireland. We cannot even be sure that the name *Dane* is not sometimes given to the Norwegians. The word Dane in later times was certainly used to signify pirate, robber, a cruel and ferocious barbarian, without distinction of nation.

The date of the Scandinavian invasions is defined at the beginning of the following work by the reigns of the Kings of Ireland and Munster; and an interpolator adds a complete list of all the kings<sup>6</sup> who were "in Cashel" and "in Tara," during the whole period from the first arrival of the strangers to the Battle of Clontarf. The pirates, we are told, appeared when Airthi, son of Cathal, was

Date of  
the Scan-  
dinavian  
invasions.

<sup>1</sup> *Dark*. Thus the Danes are called "Black Gentle Danars," and the other race "White Gentiles," p. 19. See also p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Uniformity*. The name Lochlanners is used as distinguished from Danes, in the MS. L. (App. A., p. 221), and see also *Fragments of Annals*, p. 115, *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Lake-land*. So Dr. O'Brien says in his dictionary: but he would apply the word to the black as well as to the white foreigners. The Irish translator of Nennius seems to use the word Lochland to denote Germany. *Irish Nennius*, p. 84. Mr. O'Mahony, in his

translation of Keating, p. 493 *n.*, endeavours to prove Lochlannach to be equivalent to Laplander; but his reasons, although ingenious, are not satisfactory.

<sup>4</sup> *Arms of the sea*. The word has frequently this signification in Ireland, *e.g.*, Loch Foyle, Loch Swilly, Belfast Lough, Loch Carman (Wexford), Loch Lurgan (Galway), &c.—all arms of the sea.

<sup>5</sup> *Battles*. See p. 27, and *Fragments of Annals*, p. 117.

<sup>6</sup> *The kings*. See p. 3-5, and note  $\nabla$ , p. 4.

King of Munster, and Aedh Oirnidhe, was King of Ireland. This latter sovereign began his reign, according to O'Flaherty's<sup>1</sup> chronology, in the year 797, and Airtri, of Munster, died at the beginning of the ninth century.

Testimony  
of the Irish  
and Welsh  
Annals.

The Annals of Ulster, however, mention the first inroad of the Northmen at their year 794, which coincides<sup>2</sup> with A.D. 795, or two years before the reign of Aedh Oirnidhe. Their words are :—

794. Λορεαο Ρεεϋραμνε ο Ξεντιβ, ουρ α ρεϋν το σορεαο ουρ το λομραο.

794. The burning of Rechru by Gentiles, and its shrines were broken and plundered.

The Four Masters repeat the same statement under their year 790, which Dr. O'Donovan<sup>3</sup> corrects to 795. And so also the Welsh Chronicle,<sup>4</sup> known by the name of *Brut y Tywysogion*, or "Chronicle of the Chieftains," has a corresponding record, under the year 790, equivalent also to A.D. 795 :—

Deg mlyned a peduar ugein a seith cant oed oet Crist pandeuth y pagan-yeit gyntaf y Iwerdon.

Ten years with fourscore and seven hundred was the age of Christ when the pagans first went to Ireland.

Three MSS. add, "ac y distrywyl Rechrenn," "and destroyed Rechrenn<sup>5</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> *O'Flaherty's Chronology*, Ogyg., p. 433. Some remarks on the reigns of these kings will be found in Appendix B.

<sup>2</sup> *Coincides*. The Ulster Annals date from the era of the Incarnation, not from the Nativity, so that their years are all one less than A.D. or the era of the Birth of our Lord.

<sup>3</sup> *Dr. O'Donovan*. Four Mast., vol. I., p. 397.

<sup>4</sup> *Chronicle*. Attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, *Monumenta Histor. Britannia*, p. 843. (Reprint for the Master of the Rolls, by the Rev. J. Williams ab Ithel, p. 9).

<sup>5</sup> *Rechrenn*. This name has been given to more than one of the smaller islands near the coast of Ireland. There was a Rechru in Dalriada, now Raghery or Rathlinn island, off the

coast of Antrim, which Colgan (*Tr. Th.*, p. 509, 510) thought was the Rechru here intended. He is followed in this by Archdall, *Monast. Hib.*, p. 12. Dr. O'Connor was of the same opinion. But Dr. Reeves, *Adamnan.*, p. 164 n., gives some reasons for thinking that Rechru of Bregia, now Lambay (i.e., Lamb-ey, or Lamb island), is intended. This island is situated on the coast of the county of Dublin, in the ancient district of Magh Bregh or Bregia. Rechru is the correct name, as we learn from Adamnan (*Vit. Columb.* i. 5), *Rechrainn* being the genitive and also the accusative case. For an account of the Rechru of Dalriada, see Reeves (*Eccles. Antiq. of Down and Connor*, p. 288 sq.), who notices other islands called Rechru, *ib.*, p. 292.

Another form of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, called the Gwentian Chronicle,<sup>1</sup> of Caradoc of Llancarvan, has the following record of the same event, at the same year, 795:—

Y daeth y paganiaid duon gyntaf i ynys Prydain o wlad Denmare, ac a wnaethant ddrygau mawr yn Lloegr, wedi hynny daethant i Forganwg, ac yno lladd a llosgi llawer, ond o'r diwedd gofu'r Cymry arnynt au gyrru i'r mor gwedi lladd llawer iawn o honnynt, ac yna myned i'r Werddon lle y diffeithiasant Rechreyn a lleoedd eraill.

The black pagans first came to the island of Britain from Denmark, and made great ravages in England; afterwards they entered Glamorgan, and there killed and burnt much; but, at last, the Cymry conquered them, driving them into the sea, and killing very many of them; from thence they went to Ireland and devastated Rechreyn and other places.

Here, under the same date, we have the same fact, with the additional information (not found in the other Welsh chronicles) that the party of "black pagans," who were the first of their nation to land in Ireland, had previously been defeated in Glamorganshire, and after their defeat there by the Cymry, had sought the coasts of Ireland and devastated Rechru.

We may, therefore, safely<sup>2</sup> adopt the year 795, on the

<sup>1</sup> *Gwentian Chronicle*. Published in Welsh in the *Myyrrian Archaeology*, and recently with a translation by Mr. Aneurin Owen, by the Cambrian Archaeological Association.

<sup>2</sup> *Safely*. It is stated (p. 67 *infra*) that Core, son of Cas, son of Ailioll Olum, was "the man who first routed the foreigners." If this were so, the Scandinavians must have been in Ireland at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century. But this is an erroneous reading, as is shown in the note on the passage; the person intended was Corc, son of Anluan, who must have lived about A.D. 800 (see Append. B., General Table III., No. 18). Dr. O'Connor was of opinion that the first appearance of the Norsemen in Ireland was A.D. 747, in which year, according to his mistranslation of a passage in the Annals of Ulster, Arasacach, abbot of Muc-inis, was

"drowned by the foreigners." In his version of the Annals of Ulster, *Rer. Hib. Scriptt.* iv., p. 92, he translates "Dimersio Arasacachi abbatis insule porcorum ab alienigenis," and in his Ann. quat. Magistror. (*ib.* iii., p. 268), he renders the same words "Arasgachus abbas Mucinensis ab alienigenis demersus." Mr. Moore, *Hist. of Ireland*, Vol. IV., p. 2, improves upon this, and by a most ludicrous blunder, assuming the island spoken of to be the Rechru mentioned above, translates Dr. O'Connor's Latin thus, "The Annals of Ulster refer to A.D. 747, the date of this attack upon Rechru by the Danes, and record, as the first achievement of these marauders, the drowning of the Abbot of Rechru's pigs." But the Annals of Ulster at 747 make no mention of Rechru or of Danes; and instead of the abbot's pigs, record the drowning of the abbot himself.

united authority of the Irish and Welsh Annals, as the real date of the first appearance of Scandinavian pirates in the Irish seas. It is true that they had landed some years before<sup>1</sup> in England, as we learn from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; and our author makes their arrival in Ireland somewhat later. There is not, however, any inconsistency. The year 795 is given in the Annals as the year in which the foreigners plundered the island of Rechrú, an event of which the present work makes no special mention. Our author evidently speaks of their landing on the mainland of Ireland, when he dates the beginning of their invasions from the reigns of Aedh Oirnidhe, King of Ireland, and of Airtri, King of Munster. They seem to have attacked at first the islands in which were Monasteries, possessing some wealth; and when they found that the spoils of these establishments were obtained

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See Dr. O'Donovan's note on this passage, *Four Masters*, A.D. 743, p. 345. The real name of this island (which is in Loch Derg) was *Mucinis Riagail* or *Regail*, "Hog island of Riagal," or St. Regulus. Dr. O'Conor divided *Riagail* or *Re-gail*, into two words, and not recollecting that the Irish name for the foreigners was *Gaill*, with a double *l*, not *gail*, he translated "ab alienigenis," assuming *ria*, or *re*, to be a preposition. The passage in the Annals of Ulster records only the fact, that the abbot of *Muc-inis-Riagail* was drowned, without any mention of Danes or foreigners.

<sup>1</sup> *Years before*. See the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 787, where the arrival of three ships on the coast of Dorsetshire is recorded as the first landing of the Northmen in England. They are said to have come from "Hærethalande," which Mr. Thorpe, in the Translation accompanying the reprint of this Chronicle for the Master of the Rolls, says was in Norway. *Hirotha*, or *Irruath*, is the Irish name for Norway.

They are immediately afterwards called Danish ships, "*Scipu Dæniscra manna*." In 793 we have a record of the destruction of "God's church at Lindisfarne," by heathen men; and in the following year the devastation of Northumberland by the heathen, and the plunder of Egferth's monastery at Donemuth, now Wearmouth. At the same year the Annals of Ulster (793=794) have the record "*vastatio omnium insularum Britanniae gentilibus*." In 795 they plundered Hy, (now corruptly Iona), according to the Bodleian Annals of Inisfallen, where the date given is 781; but as this is said to have been two years before the death of Donchadh, King of Ireland, the true date must have been 795. In the same year, according to the same authority, the foreigners burned the islands of Inis Muiredhaigh (Inish-Murry, co. of Sligo,) and Inis-bofinn. (co. of Mayo). But these outrages ought, perhaps, to be dated 807, at which year the burning of Inish-Murry is recorded in the Annals of Ulster.

with little or no resistance, they returned again in greater force, and attacked the mainland. In 798 there was an invasion of the Isle of Man by the "Gentiles," who burned Inispatrick, now Holm Peel, or Peel island, and plundered the country. On their return they took "spoils of the sea," (which probably means the spoils of the Hebrides and other islands) "between Erinn and Alba." These events are described in the *Annals of Ulster*,<sup>1</sup> in the following words:—

Comburrio mhre Dairiacc ó  
 Sennuib, ocuf borume na crué do  
 breic, ocuf rcrun Dáconna do  
 bhréad doab, ocuf mhreá  
 mara doab cene, eirir Erinn ocuf  
 Albain.

The burning of Inis-patrick by the  
 Gentiles, and cattle plunder of the  
 country was borne off, and the shrine  
 of Dachonna was broken by them, and  
 the spoils of the sea [taken] by them  
 also, between Erinn and Alba.

Our *Annals* make no mention of inroads upon the mainland of Ireland until the year 807, which was the tenth year of King Aedh Oirnidhe, and is probably the date intended by our author as the commencement of the Scandinavian wars.

On the whole O'Flaherty's<sup>2</sup> arrangement of these events may be accepted as most consistent with the records preserved in the *Irish Annals*, and in the present work. The pirates began their devastations on the islands off the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, in the year 795, which was the 25th year of Donnchadh, son of Domhnall, King of Ireland. Three years afterwards, A.D. 798, in the first year of Aedh Ornidhe, they plundered Inis-patrick of Man, and the Hebrides; in 802 they burned I-Columcille, and again in 806 plundered the same island; but, perhaps, not then without resistance, for sixty-eight of the monastic society of the island were slain.<sup>3</sup> The next year, 807, they

O'Flaherty's  
 chronology  
 of these  
 events.

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of Ulster*. At A.D. 797 (=798). *Four M.*, A.D. 793 (=798). Dr. O'Donovan understood the Inispatrick here mentioned, of the island so called, on the coast of Dublin. But the mention of the shrine of Dachonna, who was bishop of Man, proves that Peel, on the west of the isle of

Man, formerly called *Insula Patricii*, is intended. See Colgan, *Acti. SS.* (ad 13 Jan.), p. 59. Chronicle of Man, by P. A. Munch, p. 23, *Christiania*. 1860.

<sup>2</sup> *O'Flaherty's*. *Ogyg.*, p. 433.

<sup>3</sup> *Slain*. *Annals of Ulster*, 801, 805. "Familia Iæ occisa est a gentilibus, id est lxxviii." See also *Four Masters*.

entered for the first time the mainland of the west and south of Ireland, and having burned the island of Inismuredhaigh, or Inishmurry, off the coast of Sligo, they advanced inland as far as Roscommon.<sup>1</sup> In 812 and 813 we find them in Connaght and Munster, and they suffer more than one defeat from the native chieftains; finally in 815, according to the chronology of O'Flaherty (or more probably, as we shall see, about 830), Turgesius, a Norwegian, established himself as sovereign of the foreigners, and made Armagh the capital of his kingdom.

The present work speaks chiefly of the South.

The present work, however, takes cognizance chiefly of the depredations of the Norsemen in the southern half of Ireland. *Camas ó Fothaidh Tire*, was the first place at which they landed. Immediately after, *Inis Labhrainn*<sup>2</sup> and *Dair-inis* were burned by them, and they were defeated with great slaughter by the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein, now the Lake of Killarney. There is a *Dair-inis* in the bay of Wexford, called *Dair-inis Caemhain*, which was plundered by the Danes,<sup>3</sup> A.D. 820. But *Dair-inis*, or "Oak Island," was a name given to more than one<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Roscommon*. Ann. Ult., 806.

<sup>2</sup> *Inis Labhrainn*. This was an island probably at the mouth of the river anciently called *Labrainne*, which, as Dr. O'Donovan conjectures (*Four Mast.*, at A.M. 3751 note) was the same as that now called *Casan Ciarraighe*, or *Cashen river*, county of Kerry. The Eoghanacht of Loch Lein were a tribe seated on the east of the Lake of Killarney, barony of *Magunihiy*, county of Kerry. O'Flaherty, *Oggg.*, p. 328. See *Four Masters*, 807; Ann. Ult., 811, true date 812. They had their name from their ancestor Eoghan mór, son of *Oilioll Olum*, but were the immediate descendants of *Conall Core* (4th in descent from Eoghan mór). See *Append. B.*, Table IV., No. 6. *Camas ó Fothaidh Tire* was probably in the territory of *Corea-Luighe*, S.W. of the present county of Cork. See *Miscel-*

*lany of Celtic Society*, p. 43, 50-59; and *Four M.*, 813, 849, with Dr. O'Donovan's notes. *Camas* signifies a bend in a river. Keating calls it *Caoimh Inis ó bFothaidh*, or, according to other copies, *Caoimh Inis Uibh Rathaigh*; i.e., "Fair, or beautiful island, of O'Fothaidh," or "of *Ui Rathaigh*." If we adopt the latter reading this island would seem to have been off the coast of Iveragh, anciently *Ui* or *Uibh Rathaigh*, county of Kerry. These various readings prove that the exact situation of the place has been for many years uncertain or unknown.

<sup>3</sup> *Danes*. See *Four Mast.*, A.D. 819, and O'Donovan's note.

<sup>4</sup> *More than one*. See *Archdall's Monasticon*, p. 695; *Four Mast.*, A.D. 742; and O'Donovan, note <sup>d</sup>. See also the *Index of Places to the Martyrology of Donegal*, published by the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society.

island in various parts of Ireland; and it is evident that the Dairinis here mentioned must have been in or near the territory of the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein. None of these places are now known with any certainty. They were probably ecclesiastical establishments of no great wealth or importance; and having been totally demolished by the Scandinavian pirates on this occasion, their very names may have soon after perished.

This first group of invasions, terminated with the victory by the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein, which is dated in the year after the death of Diman<sup>1</sup> of Aradh, and ten years after the death of Airtri, King of Munster. The year A.D. 812 seems thus determined.

The next series of inroads is said to have begun in the second year of Fedhlimidh, son of Crimhthann, King of Munster, or about 822. The places plundered by this party of marauders are all, with two exceptions,<sup>2</sup> still well

<sup>1</sup> *Diman*. The text says that he was *killed*, or murdered. The Ann. Ult. (followed by the Four Masters) speak of his death only; an event which is dated by them 811, (for 810 of the Ann. Ult. and 806 of the Four Masters coincide with A.D. 811). In the former authority we read "Diman Aradh-Muminensis anchorita vitam feliciter fluivit." Diman was, therefore, an anchorite in Aradh of Munster, now the barony of Aradh or Duharra, county of Tipperary. The death of Airtri, son of Cathal, is not dated in the Annals, but is ascertained here, as the death of Diman is known. A difference of reading, however, causes some difficulty. The text (p. 5) makes the year after Diman's death or 812 to be the tenth *after* (απὸ ἐκ, for ἰαπὸν ἐκ) the death of Airtri. Therefore Airtri died 802. The MS. L. (p. 222) reads the tenth year *before* (πρὸ ἐκ) the death of Airtri. Therefore Airtri died 822. The discrepancy was probably caused by the insertion

of the reign of Tuathal, son of Airtri (*secundum quosdam*, as the Book of Leinster qualifies it), between his father Cathal and Fedhlimidh, son of Crimhthann. The legitimacy of this reign was disputed; and the transcribers of our author wrote *after*, or *before*, according to their opinion on this question, giving the earlier date to the death of King Airtri, in order to make room for the reign of his son. But the later date is more probable, for we find Fedhlimidh in occupation of the throne in 823 (Ann. Ult. 822). Perhaps 802 may be the date of Tuathal's usurpation, and 822 the date of Airtri's death. See Append. B.

<sup>2</sup> *Two exceptions*. Inis Temhni and Rosmaelain are the exceptions. Inis Temhni, or Inis Doimhli, called also Inis Uladh, "because the Ulstermen inhabited it" (Mart. Donegal, 1 Dec., p. 325), is probably the island in the expansion of the Suir, near Waterford, now called "Little Island." See Dr. O'Donovan's Four Masters, A.D. 960,

known, namely, Cork, Inis Temhni, Begere, or Begery Island in Wexford harbour, Cloyne, and Ros-maelain. The barren rock called Scelig Michil, or St. Michael's Rock, the abode of a solitary named Etgall or Edgall, was invaded by them, and as they probably found nothing else to take, they carried off its only inhabitant, who appears to have died soon after in captivity. The death of Etgall of the Scelig is dated by the Annals of Ulster 823 or 824. Keating says that the invaders on this occasion were White Lochlann, or Norwegians. Their devastations seem to have been made along the coast from Cork to Wexford Bay. It was probably on their way back that they entered Skellig-Michael<sup>1</sup> (now the Great Skellig, off the coast of Kerry), and carried away the hermit, Etgall.

Invasion of  
the North  
of Ireland  
A.D. 823  
or 824.

The next invasion mentioned was in the north of Ireland. Bangor, the celebrated monastery of St. Comhgall,<sup>2</sup> was burned, the shrine of the saint broken, the bishop of the monastery slain, with its learned men and clergy, and the *Magh* or plain laid waste: but according to another reading,<sup>3</sup> *Magh-bile*, or *Movilla*, in the county of Down, was laid waste. This act of sacrilege is dated "four years after the death of Aedh, son of Niall, at Ath-da-Fert." This must be Aedh Oirnidhe, son of Niall Frassach, King

p. 681 *n.* The Martyrology of Donegal [4 July, p. 187] describes the situation of Inis Doimhle as "between Ui Ceinnselaigh [county of Wexford] and the Deisi [Waterford]." This agrees very well with the situation of Little Island, at the mouth of the Suir. Ros-maelain is called in L. Rosniallain, and by Keating Rosmaolaidhe; it is called also Rosgiallain, and Roskel-lan, and is now perhaps Rostellan, a parish in the barony of Imokilly, county of Cork.

<sup>1</sup> *Skellig-Michael*, or St. Michael's Rock. It was common, from the fifth century, to dedicate such rocks to St. Michael the Archangel. The word Skellig or Skerry is of Scandinavian

origin. *Sker* is "Scopulus maris." The text says that Etgall escaped, but afterwards died of starvation *with them* (p. 7). A possible explanation of this contradiction is suggested, p. 223, *n.* 1.

<sup>2</sup> *St. Comhgall*. He was the patron saint of Dalaradia; born A.D. 517. The Four Mast., at 822, and *Ult.* 823, attribute to him a prophecy in which he foretells the destruction of his shrine on this occasion. Fleming, *Collect. Sacra*, has published his life, p. 303. See also Reeves's *Eccl. Antiq.*, p. 269.

<sup>3</sup> *Reading*. See p. 6, *n.* 6. "The burning of Maghbile with its oratories by the Gentiles" is recorded by the *Ann. Ult.* at 824.

of Ireland, who died, according to the Annals of Ulster,<sup>1</sup> at a place called Ath-da-ferta ["Vadum duarum virtutum,"—the Ford of the two miracles], in Magh Conaille,<sup>2</sup> or Conaille Muirtheimhne, a district nearly co-extensive with the county of Louth. The fourth year after the death of Aedh Oirnidhe coincides with A.D. 823 or 824.

Our author then returns to Munster, and records an invasion of Ui Ceinnselaigh, the territory inhabited by the descendants of Énna Cennselach, who was King of Leinster in the middle of the fourth century. This district coincides nearly with the present dioceses of Leighlin and Ferns, in the counties of Wexford and Carlow.<sup>3</sup> By this fleet were plundered Tech Munnu (St. Munna's house), now Taghmon, in the county of Wexford; Tech Moling (St. Moling's house), now St. Mullins,<sup>4</sup> on the river Barrow, county of Carlow; Inis Teoc, now Inistioge,<sup>5</sup> a small town on the river Nore, county of Kilkenny; and the whole district of Ossory, where they were met by a spirited resistance, and lost 170 men. They demolished Dundermuighe [Fort of the oak plain], now Dunderrow, or Dundarro, near Kinsale; Inis Eoghanain, now Inishannon, on the river Bandon; Disert Tipraite, a place not now known; and Lismore. Cill Molaisi, or the Church of St. Molaise, now Kilmolash, five miles S.E. of Lismore;

Invasions  
in the  
South.

<sup>1</sup> *Ulster*. A.D. 818 (=819). Keating, for "at Ath da Fert," reads *i Cath da Fert*, "in the battle of Da Fert." No such battle or place is known; and it is curious that Keating makes both Aedh Uariodnach and Aedh Oirnidhe to have been killed in the battle of Da Fert; *O'Mahony's translation*, pp. 468, 498. This looks suspicious, and proves that there has been some mistake or confusion.

<sup>2</sup> *Magh Conaille*. The words of the *Ann. Ulst.* are "Mors Aedha mic Neill juxta Vadum duarum virtutum, .i. ας Ἰθθ ῥα Περτα, in Campo Conaille." For the situation of Campus Conaille, Magh Conaille, or Plain of Conall,

see O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, pp. 10, 11, n. 21, 166.

<sup>3</sup> *Carlow*. See *Book of Rights*, p. 208, n.

<sup>4</sup> *St. Mullins*. St. Moling Luachra erected a monastery there A.D. 632. Archdall, *Monast.* p. 39. The Four Mast., at 888, speak of "the foreigners of Teach Moling," from which it appears that a permanent settlement of "foreigners" had been made there before the end of the ninth century.

<sup>5</sup> *Inistioge*. See Archdall, *Monast.* p. 359. This place is in Ossory, and was perhaps the first ecclesiastical establishment which was attacked in the district.

Cluain-ard Mobeoc,<sup>1</sup> and Lann Leri,<sup>2</sup> were burned. Another party of the pirates plundered Cenn Slebhi [read Cill-Shleibhe], now Killeavy, or Killslevy, near Newry; and another, or the same party, plundered Sord of Columcille, now Swords, near Dublin. Daimhliag Cianain ["the stone church of St. Cianan"], now Duleek,<sup>3</sup> county of Meath; Slane, in the same county; Cell-uasaille<sup>4</sup> ["Church of St. Auxilius"], now Killossy, or Killashee, near Naas, county of Kildare; Glen-da-loch, in the county of Wicklow; Cluain Uamha, now Cloyne, county of Cork; and Mungairit, now Mungret, county of Limerick, were all plundered.

Plunder  
of the  
Churches  
in the  
interior.

From the wide range of these devastations, it is probable that they were committed by more than one body of invaders, landing simultaneously in different parts of Ireland. The majority of the places named are in Munster, but some are near Dublin, or in the counties of Meath, Kildare, Louth, and Wicklow. Our author gives no date to these depredations, and they are for the most part unnoticed<sup>5</sup> by the Annals; but they probably took place

<sup>1</sup> *Cluain-ard Mobeog, or Mobeoc.* The high lawn of St. Mobeoc, or Mobeoc, *i.e.*, in the simpler form of the name St. Becan. See note <sup>10</sup>, p. 7. This place is now Kilpeacon, county of Limerick.

<sup>2</sup> *Lann Leri*, now Dunleer, in the county of Louth; *Lann* [church], having been changed to *Dun* [fortress], at an early period. Dr. Reeves has identified this place with the modern Dunleer by irresistible evidence, from the Primatial Registers of Armagh, and other authorities. Archdall (*Monast.*, p. 722), and O'Donovan (*Four Mast.*, A.D. 740 *n.*, and A.D. 826), as well as Colgan, supposed it to be the place now called Lynn, in Westmeath; and for this there is the authority of the Scholia on the Felire of Aengus, at 18 June. But the Re-

gisters of Primates Fleming [1415] and Octavian [1497] speak of the church of SS. Brethan and Frethan at Dunleer, in the diocese of Armagh, and these were manifestly SS. Baothan and Furadhra, the patron saints of Lann Leri [Mart. Doneg., 18 June]. Lynn, in Westmeath, could never have been in the diocese of Armagh.

<sup>3</sup> *Duleek.* See *Ann. Ult.*, A.D. 831; Four M., 830; Archdall, *Monast.*, p. 533

<sup>4</sup> *Cell-uasaille.* The reading *Orllasaille* in the text (p. 7) is an evident mistake of the MS.

<sup>5</sup> *Unnoticed.* The *Ann. Ult.* record "an inroad upon Ossory by the Gentiles," A.D. 824; and the *Four Mast.* notice a plundering of Lismore, 831; of Duleek, 830 (*Ult.* 831); Glendaloch, 833 [really 834]; and Mungret, 834 [835].

between the years 824 and 835. It is evident that the pirates had now found their way to the ecclesiastical establishments at considerable distances from the sea coast in the interior of the country. The monasteries and churches were the reputed depositories of wealth, the centres of civilization, and of resistance. They were, therefore, the great aim of the plunderers. On this occasion, as our author tells us, "the greater part of *the churches* of Erin<sup>1</sup>" were attacked.

Luimnech, by which name was then known the great branch of the Shannon from the present city of Luimnech, or Limerick,<sup>2</sup> to the sea, was next occupied by the pirates, who plundered the neighbouring country, namely, Corcobhaiscinn,<sup>3</sup> Tradraighe,<sup>4</sup> and the lands<sup>5</sup> inhabited by the Ui Conaill Gabhra, or descendants of Conall Gabhra. This tribe, under the command of their chieftain, Donnchadh (or Donadhach),<sup>6</sup> who was also head of the Ui-Fidhghente, assisted by Niall,<sup>7</sup> son of Cennfaeladh, gave battle to the foreigners, and defeated them at a place called Senati, Seammad, or Shanid,<sup>8</sup> in the barony of Lower Connello, county of Limerick.

Occupation of Limerick.

<sup>1</sup> *Erinn*. See chap. vii., pp. 8, 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Limerick*. The city seems to have been founded by the Danes. See O'Donovan's *Circuit of Muirchertach MacNeill*, line 130, n.

<sup>3</sup> *Corcobhaiscinn*. A district represented by the baronies of Moyarta, Clonderalaw, and Ibrickan, county of Clare. See Book of Rights, p. 48, n.

<sup>4</sup> *Tradraighe*. A territory east of the river Fergus, in the same county, whose name survives in that of the parish and rural deanery of Tradry. O'Donovan's *Four Masters*, A.D. 1054, p. 867, n.

<sup>5</sup> *Lands*. Now the baronies of Upper and Lower Connello, county of Limerick.

<sup>6</sup> *Donadhach*. So he is called by the *Four Mast.* (833 and 834) and by the *Ann. Ult.*, 834 (=835), which

was the year of his death. See *Gen. Table*, V., No. 20, and *Pedigree of O'Donovan*, *Four Mast.*, pp. 2435-6.

<sup>7</sup> *Niall*. Chieftain of Ui Cairbre Aebhda. This Niall succeeded Donadhach as chief of Ui Fidhghenti in 835, and died 846, *Ann. Ult.*, 845. The descent of all the tribes here mentioned will be found in *Gen. Table*, V., p. 249.

<sup>8</sup> *Shanid*. A defeat of the foreigners by the Ui Conaill Gabhra, under the command of Donnchadh or Dunadhach, is recorded by the *Annals of Ulster*, the *Four Masters*, and the *Chronicon Scotorum*, under the date 834; but Senati or Shanid is not mentioned by them. The exact place so called was probably a little south of the present town of Shanagolden, where, in later

Invasion  
under  
Turgesius.

"After this," our author says, came "a great royal fleet into the North of Ireland," commanded by Turgeis, or, Turgesius, "who assumed the sovereignty of the foreigners of Ireland," and occupied the whole of *Leth Chluinn*, or the northern half of Ireland. In addition to the party under the immediate command of Turgesius, three "fleets," probably in connexion with him, appeared simultaneously. One of these took possession of Lough Neagh, another of Louth, anchoring in what is now the bay of Dundalk, and the third having, as it would seem, approached Ireland from the west, occupied Lough Ree.<sup>1</sup>

Its Chrono-  
logy.

The chronology of this invasion is fixed by means of the particulars recorded. Armagh was plundered three times in the same month. This, the annalists all say, was the first plundering<sup>2</sup> of Armagh by the gentiles, and is assigned to the year 832.

Turgesius  
usurps  
Armagh.

Afterwards, but it is not said immediately afterwards, Turgeis "usurped the abbacy of Armagh," and Forannan, the real abbot, or bishop, and *chief comharba*<sup>3</sup> of Patrick, was driven out; he fled to Munster, carrying with him the shrine of St. Patrick, and continued in exile four years, "whilst Turgeis was in Armagh, and in the sovereignty of the North of Ireland." We afterwards find<sup>4</sup> that, when in Munster, and probably in the territory of the Martini<sup>5</sup> of Munster, Forannan was taken prisoner

times, a castle was built by a branch of the Fitzgeralds of Desmond, whose family cry was *Shanid a boo* (Seannao α βασιῶ), or "Shanid in victory," i.e., vanquished, to celebrate the seizure of the ancient district by its Anglo-Norman proprietors. This castle, therefore, most probably occupied the site of the ancient Senati.

<sup>1</sup> *Lough Ree*. An expansion of the Shannon between Athlone and Lanesborough.

<sup>2</sup> *Plundering*. *Ann. Ul.*, 831 (=A.D. 832). The Four Masters make the same statement at their year 830,

that Armagh had never been plundered by strangers before.

<sup>3</sup> *Chief Comharba*. As there were coarbs or successors of Patrick in other churches, his successor at Armagh was distinguished as "Chief Coarb."

<sup>4</sup> *Find*. See c. xiii., p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Martini*. See p. 15. This people were a tribe of the Belgæ or Firlbolgs, of whose territory, Emly, in the co. of Tipperary, was the capital. *B. of Lis-more*, fol. 172, b.a. (quoted by O'Curry, *Battle of Magh Lena*, p. 76, n.). Their name is written also Mairtine and Muirtine. The place Cluain Co-

by the Norsemen of Limerick, who carried him off to their ships, having broken the shrine of Patrick. In the same year Turgesius was made captive by Maelseachlainn, then king of Meath, and drowned in Loch Uair, now Lough Owel, near Mullingar, county of Westmeath.

This event, our author takes care to date accurately. It occurred, he says, "the year before the drowning of Niall Caille," king of Ireland, and "the second year before the death of Feidhlimidh, son of Crimhthann," king of Munster. These criteria indicate<sup>1</sup> the year A.D. 845.

The two facts here made known to us—for which the present work is the only authority,—that the duration of Forannan's exile was four years only, and that he returned to Armagh immediately upon the death of Turgesius—enable us to ascertain the duration of this dynasty with tolerable certainty. Turgesius was recognised by all the foreigners then in Ireland as their sovereign. Having fixed his head-quarters in the North, he attacked Armagh, where it is evident that he must have met with some resistance. The sacking of the town thrice in one month seems to prove that he did not obtain possession of it until after a second and a third assault. And, as he probably lost no time in seeking to become master of a place so important, we may fairly infer that the date of this event is the date also, or very nearly so, of his arrival in the North of Ireland. For nine years afterwards, he seems to have remained content with his secular possession of the country, or unable to overthrow the power of the ecclesiastical authorities. It was not until the year 841 that he succeeded in banishing the bishop and clergy, and "usurped the abbacy," that is to say, the full authority and jurisdiction in Armagh and in the North of Ireland. From these considerations we

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mairdi, from which Forannan was carried off to Limerick, although now forgotten, was probably in this territory.

<sup>1</sup> *Indicate*. Niall Caille was drowned in the river Caille or Callen, A.D. 846; and Feidhlimidh died 847. See *Ann. Ul.*, 844, 846.

infer that the entire duration of the tyranny of Turgesius cannot have been more than about thirteen<sup>1</sup> years, from 831 or 832 to his death<sup>2</sup> in 845.

Dissensions  
of the Irish  
chieftains  
in the 9th  
century.

The times immediately preceding the arrival of Turgesius and his followers were remarkable for internal dissension amongst the Irish chieftains. An old feud had existed for more than a century between the north and south of Ireland, owing to the pretensions of the kings of Cashel or Munster to be kings of all Ireland; and Feidhlimidh, son of Crimhthann, the Munster chieftain, at the period of which we speak, had prosecuted this claim with great pertinacity. About A.D. 840, he seems to have obtained a temporary submission from Niall Caille, the sovereign of the O'Neill

<sup>1</sup> *Thirteen*. Not *thirty*, as Giraldus Cambrensis makes it (*Topogr. Hib.* Dist. iii., c. 42), whose authority has been followed by Keating (O'Mahony's translation, p. 505) and by O'Flaherty (*Ogyg.*, p. 433). These authors suppose Turgesius to have been in Ireland seventeen years before the plundering of Armagh; and, therefore, to have arrived in 815. The authentic Irish annals make scarcely any mention of Turgesius, until they record his death. The *Chronicon Scotorum*, which has probably preserved part of the lost portion of Tighernach, first notices him at the year 845, where mention is made of his having erected a fort (*Dún*) at Loch Ree, from whence he plundered Connaught and Meath, and his being drowned the same year in Loch Uair. The present work contains more full notices of him than any other Irish authority. The thirty years assigned to him have, therefore, no other foundation than the testimony of Cambrensis; and O'Flaherty's date is only a conjecture, in order to reconcile that testimony with the Irish annals.

In p. 9, the arrival of Turgesius is said to have been *after* the defeat of the foreigners by the Ui Conaill Gabhra,

at Shanid. If so, the battle of Shanid must have been before A.D. 832, which all the annals agree in giving as the date of the first plunder of Armagh. Perhaps the battle mentioned in the annals, at 834, may have been a second battle under Donnchadh, chieftain of the Ui Conaill; and it is worth noting that the clause of the present work in which Donnchadh is mentioned seems to have been an interpolation, as it is added in the margin, and not in the text of the older MS. See note, p. 8, and App. A., p. 224.

Ussher makes Forannan to have been expelled from Armagh the same year in which Turgesius was drowned, and gives 848 as the date in his *Index Chron.* Lanigan has adopted this mistake, iii., p. 276, *sq.* But neither of these authors had access to the present work.

<sup>2</sup> *Death*. The romantic story of his death, told by Cambrensis, (*Topogr. Hib.*, Dist. iii., cap. 40), is not found in any old Irish authority, although Keating repeats it. See note <sup>6</sup>, p. li. It is evidently an imitation of the story of Hengist's treacherous banquet to Vortigern, as recorded by Nennius, c. 47.

race, and to have been recognised as King of all Ireland.<sup>1</sup> Although he was himself an ecclesiastic, abbot and bishop, as well as king of Cashel, he did not hesitate, in the prosecution of his political designs, to plunder the most sacred places of the northern half of Ireland, and to put to the sword their monks and clergy. In 826, and again in 833, he had spoiled the Termon lands or sanctuary of Clonmacnois; on which last occasion he slew many of the religious, and burned the Termon up to the very doors of the principal church. He had treated in the same way the celebrated Columban monastery of Durrow. In 836 he took the Oratory of Kildare by force of arms from Forannan of Armagh, who seems to have found refuge there with his clergy, and exacted from him a forced submission.<sup>2</sup> In 840, Armagh was burned "with its oratories and its cathedral;" the Four Masters say "by the foreigners," which may have been so, for it was in 841, as we have seen, that Turgesius "usurped the abbacy;" but the Annals of Ulster make no mention of the Norsemen, and seem to leave it doubtful<sup>3</sup> whether this outrage was not com-

<sup>1</sup> *All Ireland.* See Dublin Ann. of Inisfallen, at 840. Hence Giraldus Cambrensis is not wrong when he calls Feidhlimidh King of Ireland, *Topogr. Hib.* Dist., iii., c. 36, 44. The submission of Niall, is recorded by the Bodleian *Ann. Innisfallen*. A.D. 824, 826 [but we must add 13 years to these dates]. See O'Donovan's *Book of Rights*, Introd., pp. xv., xvi. Dr. O'Donovan does not seem to have observed that the Annals of Ulster and the Four Mast. support the statement of the Ann. of Inisfallen. At 839 (which is 840) both say that Feidhlimidh, after plundering Meath and Bregia, *rested* at Tara, *κοιτοῦσθαι* (Ult.) or *κοινοῦσθαι*, *settled, consedit*. As Tara had long before ceased to be a royal residence, this can only mean that Feidhlimidh had caused himself to be recognised as King of Tara, i.e., King of Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> *Submission.* It is probable that after this submission of Forannan and his clergy, Feidhlimidh went to Armagh, where, as we are told by an authority quoted by Dr. O'Donovan (*Book of Rights*, Introd., p. xvi., *n.*)—"he remained a whole year, during which he preached to the people every Sunday." In other words, he usurped the authority of the rightful bishop, and set an example which the Norsemen were not slow to follow.

<sup>3</sup> *Doubtful.* The words of the Annals of Ulster at 839, are "The burning of Ard-machæ with its oratories and stone church [*ἱερῶν λίθων*]. Feidhlimidh, king of Munster, plundered Meath and Bregia, so that he rested at Tara." For the meaning of the word *Daimliacc*, see Petrie, Round Towers, *Transact. R. Irish Acad.*, vol. xx., p. 141, sq. The *Chron. Scoto-*

mitted by Feidhlimidh, who (as they tell us in the same sentence) plundered Meath and Bregia, and took possession of the royal seat of Tara, in other words, of the throne of Ireland. Be this, however, as it may, Feidhlimidh, in 846, plundered once more the Termon of Clonmacnois, and the next year<sup>1</sup> died of a disease which was supposed to have been miraculously inflicted, in punishment of his sacrilege, by Saint Kieran of Clonmacnois himself.

Contests  
among the  
clergy.

About the same period, that is to say, during the first half of the ninth century, there were also disputes and contests amongst the clergy themselves, at Armagh especially. The succession of abbots or bishops there, was interrupted by these feuds; the Annals differ as to the order and time of each prelate's incumbency. Eoghan Mainistrech,<sup>2</sup> and Airtri, son of Conchobhair, the immediate predecessors of Forannan, were in continual warfare. Airtri was in alliance with Feidhlimidh,<sup>3</sup> of Cashel, and had the support of Cumasgach, son of Cathal, lord of the Oirghialla, who was his half brother; Eoghan, on the

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rum, although it mentions at 840 the plunder of Meath and Bregia by Feidhlimidh, and his "resting at Tara," takes no notice of the burning of Armagh.

<sup>1</sup> *Next year.* It will be borne in mind that the Annals of Ulster are always one year, and the Four M., in this place two years earlier than the true dates, as given above. The plunder of Clonmacnois in 846, is recorded by the Four M. at 844; but is omitted by the *Ann. Ult.* The sacrilegious life of this plundering bishop-king did not hinder his being regarded as a saint after his death. His festival was observed on the 28th Aug. See *Mart. of Donegal*, p. 129; Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 186, n. 54. The *Ann. Ult.*, in recording his death, call him "optimus scriba et anchorita." If the latter years of his life were spent in retirement and penitence, there must

be some mistake in the date assigned to his death: it is probable that he may have retired from public life, struck by conscientious scruples, and devoted his declining years to religion. If so, the date usually assigned to his death may have been really the date of his monastic profession.

<sup>2</sup> *Eoghan Mainistrech.* "Eugenius de Monasterio," i.e., of Monaster-boice. He had been "Lector" or *ferleighim* of that monastery. For the story of the contests between him and his rival, see Four M., 825, *Ann. Ult.*, 826, 830.

<sup>3</sup> *Feidhlimidh.* In 822 [823], we are told "the law of Patrick was promulgated in Munster by Feidhlimidh, son of Crimbthaun, and Airtri, son of Conchobhair, bishop of Armagh." *Ann. Ult.*, and Four M., A.D. 822.

other hand, appears to have been countenanced by Niall Caille, afterwards King of Ireland, whose confessor or "spiritual adviser" he had been. In 826 or 827, Cumasgach drove Eoghan forcibly from Armagh, and put Airtri into his place. The same year Cumasgach was defeated and slain, at the battle of Leith-cam, by Niall Caille; and Eoghan recovered his bishopric, in which he continued for nine years afterwards, upheld, as the Four Masters tell us, "by the power of Niall Caille," who, as they observe, although he had not yet succeeded to the throne of Ireland, was "powerful in Ulster." In 829 or 830 the abbacy<sup>1</sup> of Armagh seems to have been usurped by Suibhne, son of Fairnech,<sup>2</sup> who died after being in possession for two months. The following year Eoghan was plundered, and his cattle carried off or killed, by Conchobhair, son of Donnchadh, king of Ireland, who appears at that time to have been in alliance<sup>3</sup> with Feidhlimidh of Cashel. Similar contentions existed between Forannan, the prelate whose place was usurped by Turgesius, and Diarmait, who is usually accounted his successor. Their contest must have lasted during their whole lives, for they both died in the same year.<sup>4</sup>

It was not wonderful that these dissensions should have suggested to Turgesius the expulsion of the contending parties, for the purpose of taking the power into his own hands. He seems to have had in view a higher object than the mere plunder which influenced former depreda-

Apparent  
object and  
policy of  
Turgesius.

<sup>1</sup> *Abbacy.* The abbot of Armagh, in the phraseology of the Annals, frequently signifies the bishop; the two offices being, at this time, usually, although not always, combined, and the abbacy being regarded as the higher in point of jurisdiction.

<sup>2</sup> *Fairnech.* "Alias MacForannain," Ann. Ult., 829; Four M., 829.

<sup>3</sup> *Alliance.* The same year Feidhlimidh was aided by Conchobhair in the

plunder of Magh Bregh and Magh Lifé. *Ann. Ult.*, 830. Five years before, they had held a conference at Birr, in which they appear to have made some sort of alliance. *Four Mast.*, 825.

<sup>4</sup> *Same year.* "Duo heredes Patricii, i.e., Forannan scriba et episcopus et anchorita; et Diarmait, sapientissimus omnium doctorum Europæ, quieverunt" *Ann. Ult.*, 851. *Four Masters*, 851.

tors of his nation. He aimed at the establishment of a regular government or monarchy over his countrymen in Ireland, the foundation of a permanent colony, and the subjugation or extermination of the native chieftains. For this purpose the forces under his command, or in connexion with him, were skilfully posted on Loch Ree, at Limerick, Dundalk Bay, Carlingford, Lough Neagh, and Dublin. He appears also to have attempted the establishment of the national heathenism of his own country, in the place of the Christianity which he found in Ireland. This may be the significance of his usurpation of the "abbacy" of Armagh. This may also be the meaning of the pretended prophecies,<sup>1</sup> quoted by our author, and attributed to the celebrated saints and prophets, Berehan, Columcille, Ciaran (or Kieran), and Bec-mac-De.<sup>2</sup> These prophecies are, no doubt, palpable forgeries. But the fact that they were forged indicates the popular belief in a special contest between the Christian institutions of the country and the heathenism of the new comers. The common topic of them all is a complaint of the outrages committed by the invaders upon the churches and monasteries of Ireland.

Turgesius attempts the subjugation of all Ireland.

Turgesius was not satisfied with the full supremacy he had acquired in the north of Ireland. He aimed at the extension of his power by the conquest of Meath and Connaught, as a step to the subjugation of the whole country; for this purpose he appears to have gone to Loch Ree,<sup>3</sup> to take the command in person of the "fleet," which had been stationed there. From this central position he plundered, as our author tells us, the principal ecclesiastical establishments of Connaught and Meath, namely, Clonmacnois in Meath; Clonfert of St. Brendan, in Connaught; Lothra, now Lorrha, a famous monastery founded by St. Ruadhan,

<sup>1</sup> *Prophecies.* See chaps. ix., x., pp. 8-13.

<sup>2</sup> *Bec-mac-De*, or Mac Degadh. A celebrated prophet, whose name occurs in the Irish Calendars at Oct. 12.

Martyrol. of Donegal, p. 273. He is said to have flourished in the 6th century. See O'Curry's Lectures, p. 399, sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Loch Ree.* See chap. xi., p. 13.

or Rodan, in the county of Tipperary ; Tir-da-glas,<sup>1</sup> now Terryglass, in the same county ; Inis-Celtra, an island on which were seven churches, and all the other churches of Loch Dearg in like manner. This seems to prove that his object was the suppression of the ecclesiastical as well as civil authorities of the country, and the destruction of the Christian church. With this view he placed his wife, Ota, at Clonmacnois, at that time second only to Armagh in ecclesiastical importance, who gave her audiences, or, according to another reading,<sup>2</sup> her oracular answers, from the high altar of the principal church of the monastery.

In Connaught his arms appear to have had a full triumph, for our Annals,<sup>3</sup> at the year 835, which is probably A.D. 838, mention a most cruel oppression of all the districts of Connaught, and soon after this, speak of the battle recorded by our author,<sup>4</sup> in which Maelduin, son of Muirghes, heir apparent of the throne of Connaught, was slain. This, however, seems to have been just before the usurpation of the abbacy of Armagh, and the war in Connaught was, therefore, most probably conducted by his officers, not by Turgesius in person.

There had arrived almost annually during this period great reinforcements to aid the troops of Turgesius, and the number of the foreigners now in the island must have been considerable. A fleet of three score and five ships landed at "Dubhlinn of Ath-cliaith,"<sup>5</sup> about 837 or 838,

His success  
in Connaught.

Reinforce-  
ments  
arrive at  
Dublin.

<sup>1</sup> *Tir-da-glas*. Adamnan translates the name "Monasterium duorum rivorum." *Vit. Columbae*, Lib. ii., c. 36. Ed. Reeves, p. 153, n. The identification of this place with the modern Terryglass is due to Dr. Reeves.

<sup>2</sup> *Reading*. See note 8, p. 13. The Scandinavian name of this lady was probably *Audr* or *Auda*. She is not mentioned, so far as the editor knows, in any of the Sagas.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals*. "Vastatio crudelissima a gentilibus omnium finium Connach-

torum." *Ann. Ult.*, 835, *Four M.*, 835.

<sup>4</sup> *Our author*. Chap. xi., p. 13. This battle is dated by the *Four M.*, 838, and by the *Annals of Ulster*, 837. The true date was 840.

<sup>5</sup> *Dubhlinn of Ath-Cliath*. "Black-pool of the ford of hurdles," the ancient name of Dublin. This is probably the same invasion which the *Four M.* and *Ann. of Ulster* mention at 836, although they speak of two fleets of Northmen, of 60 ships each, one on

and plundered Leinster and Magh Bregh, or Bregia, the plain to the north of Dublin. The copy of this work in the book of Leinster<sup>1</sup> adds, that after the plunder of Leinster and Bregia, the Dalriadans, headed apparently by their king, Eoghanan, son of Aengus, went northwards from Dublin, and gave the Norsemen battle; but, as it would seem, with doubtful success, for Eoghanan himself was slain.<sup>2</sup> Whether this battle was fought in the Irish Dalriada (now the Route, county of Antrim), or in the Scottish Dalriada, now Argyle, is left uncertain by our author. But it is most probable that the Scotch district is intended. For, since the establishment of the independence<sup>3</sup> of the Scotch and Irish branches of the tribe, the Irish Annals employ the name Dalriada, almost uniformly, to signify the Scottish colony. Moreover, Eoghanan was King of the Albanian Dalriada, and the Four Masters tell us that Goffraidh,<sup>4</sup> son of Fergus, chief of Oriel, "went over to Alba, in 835 (A.D. 837 or 838), to strengthen the Dalriada, at the request of Cinaedh (or Kenneth) MacAlpinn." This may have been on the occasion of the invasion here mentioned, when Eoghanan lost his life; for the Annals of Ulster speak of the battle, at

Battle in  
Scotland.

the Boyne and the other on the river Liffey; "these two fleets," they add, "plundered and spoiled Magh Liphe and Magh Bregh." See Dr. O'Donovan's note, *Four Mast.*, p. 454. The Four Masters, following the Chronicon Scotorum, tell us that this was "the first taking of Ath-cliaith by the Gentiles."

<sup>1</sup> *Book of Leinster*. See Append. A., p. 226. Magh Bregh was the plain extending from the sea into the co. of Meath, between the rivers Liffey and the Boyne. Its ancient limits, on the side of Meath, are not very accurately known.

<sup>2</sup> *Slain*. See p. 13, note 1<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *Independence*. Viz., at the Synod

or convention of Drumcheatt, A.D. 590. "From this time forward," says Dr. Reeves, "the Irish Annals make occasional mention of the lords or chiefs of Dalriada, by whom they intend the Albanian princes; while the Irish territory is comparatively unnoticed, inasmuch as it was a mere sub-territory, of the kingdom of Ireland." *Eccles. Antiq. of Down and Connor*, p. 322.

<sup>4</sup> *Goffraidh*. This must be the Scandinavian name Gothofred, and is a very early instance of the adoption of such names by the Irish, indicating the intermarriages which afterwards became very usual between the two people, notwithstanding their hostility.

the year 838 (=A.D. 839), as having been fought in Fortrenn,<sup>1</sup> or Pictland, a name sometimes used loosely to signify Scotland in general.

At this period our author says the sea seemed to vomit forth floods of invaders, so that "there was not a point of Ireland without a fleet." Nevertheless this statement probably refers, at least in the first instance, to Munster. For the places said to have been plundered by the newcomers are Bri-Gobhann,<sup>2</sup> in the county of Cork; Cill Ita and Cuil Emhni, by a fleet which landed in Ciarraighe Luachra, now Kerry<sup>3</sup>; and the Martini<sup>4</sup> of Munster, a tribe seated near Emly, by the fleet of Limerick. On this occasion, as we have already<sup>5</sup> seen, Forannan, the exiled bishop of Armagh, was made prisoner by the pirates of Limerick, and the shrine of Patrick was broken by them.

This was in 845; and in the same year Turgesius was arrested in his victorious course, and drowned<sup>6</sup> in Loch

Reinforce-  
ments in  
Munster.

Turgesius  
drowned.

<sup>1</sup> *Fortrenn*. "Bellum re gentibh for firu Fortrenn, in quo ceciderunt Eogunan mac Aengusa, et Aed mac Boanta; et alii pene innumerabiles occiderunt." *Ann. Ult.* See Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 390. Kenneth mac Alpinn succeeded his father, A.D. 838, and united the Picts to his kingdom, A.D. 842, thus becoming king of Alba or Scotland. See Ussher, *Index Chron.*, and O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 481, where 858 is an error of the press for 838.

<sup>2</sup> *Bri-Gobhann*. "Hill of the Smith," now Brigown, an old Church, which had formerly a round tower, near Mitchelstown, co. of Cork. Cill Ita or Church of St. Ita, now Killeedy, is in the co. of Limerick. Cuil Emhni, is unknown, but was probably in the same district.

<sup>3</sup> *Kerry*. Called *Ciarraighe*, from the descendants of Ciar, son of Fergus, king of Ulster, in the first century, and *Luachra* [of Luchair], from the mountain Sliabh Luachra, to distinguish it

from other districts inhabited by the Ciarraighe.

<sup>4</sup> *Martini*. See above note 5, p. xlii.

<sup>5</sup> *Already*. See p. xlii.-iii.

<sup>6</sup> *Drowned*. The story of his death, as told by Cambrensis, is refuted by Lynch, *Cambrensis Eversus*, vol. iii., p. 287 (Kelly's edit.) and was disbelieved by Colgan, *Act. SS.*, p. 509, n. 4. But the legend was too tempting to be omitted by Keating. It is briefly this: Turgesius being enamoured of the daughter of King Maelsechlainn, it was arranged that she should receive him at a banquet, in an island in Loch Uair, where she appeared, surrounded by fifteen beardless youths in female attire. They carried arms, however, concealed under their garments; and when Turgesius, who had also fifteen attendants, advanced to embrace them, they suddenly drew their daggers and slew him with his followers.

Uair, by Maelsechlainn, then king of Meath, who soon afterwards succeeded to the throne of Ireland.

Is Turgesius to be found in Scandinavian history?

This may be the proper place for some observations on the attempts that have been made to identify the Turgesius of Ireland with some of the heroes of Scandinavian history.

His real name, Thorgils or Thorikils.

The name Turgesius or Turgeis, is evidently the Latin or Celtic form of Thorgils or Thorikils, which occurs so frequently in the northern Sagas; and the celebrated historian Snorro Sturleson<sup>1</sup> certainly regarded them as the same, for he tells us that Thorgils, the son of Harold Harfagr, was sent by his father with his brother, Frode, on an expedition to Scotland, Ireland, and Bretland, or Britain. They were the first of the Northmen, he adds, who took Dublin. Frode was poisoned there; and Thorgils, after a longer reign "fell into a snare of the Irish, and was killed." This proves that the historian intended, beyond all doubt, the Turgesius of Ireland. The allusion is evidently to the story of the youths, disguised as girls; and it is remarkable that Giraldus speaks of it, in the same language used by Snorro, as "a snare" laid for him, by which he lost his life.<sup>2</sup> From this it seems almost certain that Snorro had Cambrensis before him, and that he meant to identify his Thorgils with the Turgesius of Irish history.

Not the son of Harold Fair-hair.

It is evident, however, that Turgesius could not have been the son of Harold Harfagr, and that Snorro has erred by placing him nearly a century too late.<sup>3</sup> The very mention of Dublin in Snorro's narrative is additional evidence of the anachronism; for, according to the unanimous testi-

<sup>1</sup> *Snorro Sturleson*. Heimskringla Saga, iii., ch. 37 (Laing's transl., i., p. 304).

<sup>2</sup> *Life*. Topogr. Hibernia, Dist., iii., cap. 37.

<sup>3</sup> *Too late*. This conclusion has been drawn from the same reasoning, by P. A. Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie* (Christiania, 1852), vol. i., p. 440; and by Maurer, *Die Bekehrung*

*des Norwegischen Stammes zum Christenthume* (München, 1855), Band. i., p. 73. See also Langebek I., p. 518, n. (a.) The reign of Harold Harfagr is usually dated 861 to 931. If he had had a son old enough to command an expedition to Ireland in 831, he must have been considerably more than 100 years of age when he died, in 931.

mony of the Irish Annals,<sup>1</sup> it was in 837 or 838 that Dublin was first taken by the foreigners, who erected a fortress there in 841 or 842. This was too soon for any son of Harold Harfagr; but it was within the period of the domination of Turgesius, who, according to every account, must have been slain, whilst Maelseachlain was still king of Meath, and, therefore, before the year 846, when that chieftain became king of Ireland.

The occupation of Dublin.

It has been suggested<sup>2</sup> also that Turgesius may have been the king of Denmark and Norway, who is usually known by the name of Ragnar Lodbrok, or Hairybreeks. The history of this personage is full of fabulous and even contradictory adventures, insomuch that some have maintained that there were two of the name, and others solve the difficulty by denying the existence of Ragnar Lodbrok altogether, except in the legends of romantic history. This latter hypothesis, however, is scarcely consistent with the place he holds in Scandinavian genealogy, and he is not the only chieftain of his age and nation whose story has been interwoven with fable. His date<sup>3</sup> agrees sufficiently well with the chronology of the reign of Turgesius, and there are some other very curious coincidences. Saxo Grammaticus,<sup>4</sup> for example, tells us that Ragnar, with his sons, after having spent a year in England, in-

Suggestion that Turgesius was the same as Ragnar Lodbrok.

Ragnar invaded Ireland according to Saxo.

<sup>1</sup> *Annals. Chron. Scotorum*, 837. Four Masters, 836.

<sup>2</sup> *Suggested.* This suggestion is due to Charles Haliday, esq., of Dublin, who kindly communicated to the editor the materials of a learned and valuable paper on the Irish Norsemen, which, it is hoped, may soon be published. In this able paper Mr. Haliday supports the identity of Turgesius with Ragnar Lodbrok, by some very acute and ingenious arguments. Dr. O'Donovan (*Fragments of Annals*, p. 124, *n.*) has suggested the same identity, but the editor happens to know that he borrowed the opinion from Mr. Haliday.

<sup>3</sup> *Date.* The limits of Ragnar's

reign are variously assigned. Torfæus dates the beginning of his reign from 809 to 815, and his death from 841 to 865. *Ser. Reg. Dan.*, p. 389. Heinsfeld makes him reign from 818 to 865. Lyschander, 812 to 841. Svaning, 815 to 841. See Langebek, *Per. Dan. Scriptores*, I., p. 268. The *Annales Islandici*, have 812 to 845; placing his death in this latter year.

<sup>4</sup> *Saxo Grammaticus. Histor. Dan. lib. ix.*, p. 459, ed. Müller, *Hafn.*, 1839. "Cumque ibidem [scil. at Norwich, after having vanquished Hella] annum victor explesset, consequenter, excitis in open filiis, Hyberniam petit, occisoque ejus rege Mel-

vaded Ireland, "killed its king, Melbricus, and took Dublin, a city then full of barbarian wealth." Now, it is curious, that the Irish Annals at a date which answers to 831, mention an inroad of "Gentiles" upon the district of Louth, when *Maelbrihte*, king of the Conaille, and his brother, Cananann, were taken prisoners by them, and carried to their ships.<sup>1</sup> It seems highly probable that the Melbricus of Saxo was the Maelbrihte of the Irish historians, and, if so, that Ragnar Lodbrok was the leader of this party. The year 831 was, therefore, the date of his appearance in Ireland; but 832, as we have seen, was the year in which Turgesius invaded the north of Ireland, and plundered Armagh three times in one month. Here then is a coincidence, which, as far as it goes, would seem to identify the tyrant, Turgesius, with Ragnar Lodbrok. It is true there are discrepancies in the narrative, which shake the certainty of this conclusion. There is no mention of Dublin in the Irish accounts, and the first occupation of Dublin was some six or seven years later. Saxo says that Melbricus was killed, whereas the Annals speak only of his having been made prisoner. But he may have been made prisoner, and afterwards been put to death. There is, therefore, no real contradiction; and so also Turgesius, although he did not take Dublin in 831, did certainly occupy it as a garrison a few years afterwards.

The serious difficulty, however, is, that Ragnar Lodbrok, according to Saxo's account, is said to have remained in Ireland for one year only; nor was he slain in Ireland, as Turgesius was, but returned to his native land to prosecute further conquests. These may indeed be all fabulous variations of the history. A tradition that Lodbrok was slain in Ireland certainly prevailed in the north. It

Difficulties  
in identi-  
fying him  
with  
Turgesius.

Northern  
tradition  
that  
Ragnar  
was slain  
in Ireland.

brico, Duffinam, barbaris opibus refertissimam obsedit, oppugnavit, accepit; ibique annuo stativis habitis, mediterraneum fretum pernavigans, ad Hellesponticum penetravit, &c."

<sup>1</sup> *Ships*. See Ann. Ult., 830, Four M., 829 The Conaille were the

inhabitants of the district of Muirtheimhne, comprising that portion of the co. of Louth between Cuailgne (now the Cooley mountains) and the river Boyne. See the Editor's *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 406.

is preserved in the chronicle of King Eric<sup>1</sup>; and another Scandinavian authority asserts that he was put to death "by Hella, an Irish regulus,"<sup>2</sup> in the year 854 or 864.

Add to this that the text of the Icelandic Annals gives the year 845 as the date of Ragnar's death, thus coinciding remarkably with the date assigned in Irish history to the death of Turgesius. It must be admitted, however, that the argument from this coincidence is impaired by the various readings<sup>3</sup> in other MSS. of those Annals.

Date of Ragnar's death, in the Icelandic Annals.

It is not explained how Ragnar could have come to be known in Ireland under the name of Thorgils, unless we suppose him to have assumed that title as descriptive of his zeal for the god Thor, or possibly of his office, as high priest of Thor, when he usurped the "abbacy" of Armagh, and endeavoured to convert the Christian capital of Ireland into the head quarters of Scandinavian idolatry. But in the Sagas the name Thorgils seems to be in every instance employed as a man's ordinary name; we have no evidence of its having been used as a title of office, or to signify a high priest. And Turgesius may have equally represented the Scandinavian name *Trygve*.

The change of name from Ragnar to Thorgils not explained.

<sup>1</sup> *King Eric*. Apud Langebek, *Rer. Dan. Scriptt.* tom. I., p. 156. "Tandem in Hibernia occisus est, et filii ejus fere omnes in diversis locis sunt occisi." The *Lodbrokar* (Quida *Stroph.* 16), represents Ragnar as having slain *Marstein*, "a king of Ireland," at Vedrafjord (Waterford). The historical authority of this poem is not great; but this passage seems evidence of the existence of a tradition that Ragnar had been in Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> *Regulus*. See *Cornel. Hensfort, Series regum*; ap. Langebek I., p. 36. "Qui Regnerus ab Hella Hybernorum regulo captus, gravi supplicio afficitur, necatus in carcere anno 854, Fossius habet 865." This seems a version of the story, that Ragnar, being taken captive by Ella, king of Deira,

or Northumberland, was cast into a dungeon and stung to death by venomous snakes. *Islendzkir Annal.*, p. 5. Turner's *Anglo Saxons* (2nd. edit.). i., 223. Lappenberg (Thorpe's transl.), ii., p. 30. Ella or Hella, may have been considered an Irish regulus, because in the ninth and tenth centuries the Scandinavian kings of Dublin were also kings of Northumbria; and the *snakes* may have been a bardic description of the *poignards* of King Mael-sechlaimn's daughter and her followers; but there is anachronism as well as confusion in the story.

<sup>3</sup> *Various readings*. Other MSS. of the Icelandic Annals, give the dates 838, 850, and 885. *Islendzkir Annalar*, ed. Werlauff (*Hafn.*, 1847), p. 7.

The kings of Northumberland and Dublin were the descendants of Ragnar.

It is certain, however, that the chieftains who carried on the war in Northumberland from the middle of the ninth century, and who subsequently became masters or "kings" of Dublin, were sons<sup>1</sup> and descendants of Ragnar Lodbrok. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle mentions Ingvar or Ivar, and Ubba, as the leaders of the heathen army which was quartered at Thetford, and there gained a victory over king Eadmund, A.D. 870, in which "the king was slain, all that land subdued, and all the monasteries which they came to destroyed." This seems to have been the same army<sup>2</sup> which had settled in East Anglia in 866. The Ivar or Ingvar here mentioned, as we learn from the Icelandic Annals,<sup>3</sup> was Ivar, surnamed Beinlaus, or the Bone-less, son of Ragnar Lodbrok, by his third wife, Aslauga,<sup>4</sup> or Asloga, daughter of Sigurd Fofnisban. Ubba or Ubbo, was also a son of Lodbrok, but, as it would seem, illegitimate.<sup>5</sup> His name does not occur in the Irish Annals; but Ivar is mentioned in the Annals of the Four

<sup>1</sup> *Sons.* See Lappenberg Hist. of England (Thorpe's transl.), ii., p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Army.* See Anglo-Saxon Chron. at the date mentioned above. Ethelweard, Chron. lib. iv., c. 2, A.D. 866.

<sup>3</sup> *Icelandic Annals.* Hafniæ, 1847, p. 5. The story is thus told. When the news of Ragnar's having been put to death reached his sons, who were then celebrating some public games, Ivar went to England. His brothers followed him soon after with great forces, slew Ella, and Ivar became king of England, i.e., of Northumbria. Saxo Grammaticus has the same story, but he makes the sons of Ragnar to have been in Ireland when the news of their father's death reached them; lib. ix., p. 461.

<sup>4</sup> *Aslauga.* Landnamabok, p. 385. Their sons were Sigurd Ormr-i-auga (or Serpent-eye); Huitserk, K. of Reidgothia and Finland; Biorn Iarnsida (Ironside); and Ivar Beinlaus (the

boneless). They had one daughter, Ragnhillda.

<sup>5</sup> *Illegitimate.* Saxo, tells the story of his birth, *Hist. Dan.*, lib. ix., p. 451. There is a passage in Asser's Gesta Ælfridi, or rather in some copies of it, at the year 878, which proves it to have been the popular belief that Hungar or Ivar, and Ubba were the sons of Ragnar Lodbrok; speaking of their banner called Reafan [the Raven] "illud vexillum quod Reafan nominant,"—he says, "dicunt enim quod tres sorores Hungari et Hubbæ, filie videlicet Lodbroki, illud vexillum texerunt, et totum paraverunt illud uno meridiano tempore; dicunt etiam quod in omni bello ubi præcederet idem signum, si victoriam adepturi essent, appareret in medio signi quasi corbus vivens volitans: sin vero vincendi in futuro fuissent, penderet directe nihil movens: et hoc sæpe probatum est." *Monumente Hist. Britanni.* (ed Petrie), p. 481 Cf. *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, A.D. 878.

Masters as being in alliance with Cearbhall, or Carroll, king of Ossory, and the Gaillgaedhil, or apostate Irish, when they defeated the Cinel Fiachach,<sup>1</sup> in 856 or 857, in the county of Tipperary. In the same year, according to the Annals of Ulster, Ivar and Amlaf, or Olaf, gained a victory over Caittil Find<sup>2</sup> and the Gaillgaedhil in the territories of Munster. If these dates are correct, Ivar Beinlaus was in Ireland ten years before his first appearance in England; and it was from Ireland he conquered the kingdom of Northumbria.

The Earl Onphile is mentioned<sup>3</sup> as a leader of the party of foreigners who were defeated, and Onphile killed, at Roscrea,<sup>4</sup> the Irish having been assembled in great numbers at the fair which was held there on the festival of Paul and Peter (29th June), the same year in which Turgesius was drowned, A.D. 845.

Our author then gives a list of a great number of inva-  
New  
Invasions.

<sup>1</sup> *Cinel Fiachach*, or Kinelea, the inhabitants of the present barony of Moycashel, in Westmeath.

<sup>2</sup> *Caittil Find*. This seems to be the Scandinavian name Ketill, with the Irish addition of Finn, white. He is probably the same whose destruction with that of his whole garrison is mentioned, ch. xxiii., p. 23, of the present work. See p. lxxi, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Mentioned*. See chap. xv., p. 15, and p. 227. The name of this chieftain, which, in some MSS., is written Oilfin, or Oilfinn (perhaps the Scandinavian Halfdane), does not occur in the Irish Annals, and the present work seems the only ancient authority in which the battle of Roscrea is recorded.

<sup>4</sup> *Roscrea*. Keating (O'Mahony's transl., p. 546,) quotes a tract by Fingín or Florence MacCarthy, as his authority for the account he gives of this battle. This tract is a letter, the original of which is in the Library of Trin. Coll., Dublin, E. 3, 16. It is in

English, addressed to some nobleman who is called "your Lordship," but whose name does not appear. The passage referred to by Keating is as follows.—Speaking of the existence of markets and fairs as a proof of the ancient commerce of Ireland, MacCarthy says, "Such as when in the times when the Danes invaded that country, Counte Olfyn ledd 3,000 or 4,000 Danes from Limericke to ruffle or spoyle the fayre that was on St. Peter and Paule's day at Roscrea in Elie" [i.e., Ely O'Carroll, King's co., and part of Tipperary.—see *B. of Rights*, p. 78, n.]: "the number of buyers and sellers that were here came in armes against him, and overthrew and killed him and his forces." The letter is subscribed "your Lordship's most humble and faithfull to be commanded *Florentius Macartye*." It is not improbable that the present work may have been MacCarthy's authority for this notice of the battle of Roscrea.

sions to which he assigns no exact dates. The first of these was by a fleet of sixty ships, which appeared at the mouth of the Boyne, and plundered Bregia and Meath. The arrival of this fleet is dated by our Annals in the same year in which a fleet of sixty ships landed at Dublin,<sup>1</sup> and plundered the plains of Liffey and Bregia. But if our author intended the order of his narrative to be chronological, the sixty ships on the Boyne must have arrived in or after the year 845.

It seems scarcely necessary to do more than mention here the parts of the coast at which the several "fleets" are said to have landed, with the places noticed by our author as having been plundered by each party of invaders. They are as follow:—

Fleets at  
Lough  
Neagh and  
Dublin.

A fleet settled on Loch Echach or Loch n-Echach [now Lough Neagh] and plundered all before them to Armagh. Another on the Liffey, and plundered Magh Breagh, "both country and churches."<sup>2</sup> Then came "a very great fleet" (ch. xvii.) to the south of Atheliath, or Dublin, which plundered the greater part of Ireland.

Monasteries  
plundered  
by the  
fleet of  
Dublin.

Our author gives the names of the principal ecclesiastical establishments that suffered from this invasion, but he evidently does not enumerate them in the order in which they were plundered. Hi Coluim-cille was probably attacked by the pirates on their way to Ireland. Inis-Muiredhaigh,<sup>3</sup> an island off the north coast of Sligo, was

<sup>1</sup> *Dublin*. See chap. xii., and the note <sup>5</sup>, p. xlix, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Churches*. It is possible that this may be a duplicate entry of the arrival of the fleet mentioned, chap. xii. If not, we have three fleets spoken of as having landed at the same place, which plundered nearly the same district about the same time, viz.: 1. The fleet of sixty-five ships which landed at Dublin, and plundered Leinster and Bregia (chap. xii.) 2. The fleet of sixty ships which landed at the Boyne and plundered Bregia and Meath (chap.

xvi.): this fleet our author says came after the battle of Roscrea, i.e., after 845. 3. A third fleet, which settled on the Liffey (meaning, perhaps, the plain so called, not the river), and plundered Bregia (chap. xvi.)

<sup>3</sup> *Inis-Muiredhaigh*. "Island of St. Muiredhach," first bishop of Killala, now called Inishmurray.—*Archdall, Monast.*, p. 635. If the pirates had come from Hi Coluimkille to Inishmurray, it is not likely that they would have gone round all the way to Dublin without landing; possibly, therefore,

not in their course from the Northern seas to Dublin, but it may have been plundered on their way home. It will be seen from the places<sup>1</sup> mentioned that this party of marauders had penetrated into the very heart of the country.

We have next (ch. xviii.) a list of the several ecclesiastical cells and monasteries plundered by a fleet which came to the south of Ireland<sup>2</sup>. The pirates are said to have killed "Rudgaile, son of Trebtade, and Cormac,

Monasteries  
plundered  
by a fleet  
from the  
south.

the Ath Cliath (Hurdleford) where they are said to have landed, was not *Dublinn Atha Cliath*, as it is called, chap. xii., p. 12, but *Ath Cliath Medraighe*, now Clarinbridge, at the eastern end of the bay of Galway. The Eiskir, or ridge of gravel hills which divided the northern from the southern half of Ireland, ("Leth Cuinn" from "Legh Mogha,") is terminated at its eastern extremity by Ath Cliath Dublinne, and at its western by Ath Cliath Medraighe. The ancient district, called Medraighe, was identical in extent with the present parish of Ballynacourty.—(See *Circuit of Muirchertach*, p. 47, note, and *O'Flaherty's West Connaught* by Hardiman, p. 41). However, when Ath Cliath is spoken of simply, without anything to distinguish it from other places of the name, Dublin is generally intended. The present town of Ballymote, in the barony of Corran, county of Sligo, was anciently *Ath Cliath an Chorann*; but as this is an inland town it could not have been the Ath Cliath here intended. There were many other places called *Ath Cliath* in Ireland.—*O'Donovan's Hy Fiachrach*, p. 171, n., 262, n.

<sup>1</sup>The places. These are *Daimhínis*, now Devenish island, in Loch Erne, county of Fermanagh; *Glendaloch*, in the county of Wicklow; *all Leinster*, as far as to *Achadh-ur*, (now Fresh-

ford, county of Kilkenny: see *Petrie, Round Towers*, p. 282, sq.); and to *Achadh-bo*, (now Aghaboe, Queen's county: *Archdall*, p. 588); and to *Liath Mocaenhoc*, (now Leigh, in the east of the parish of Two-mile Borris, in the barony of Eli-Fogarty or Eliogarty, county of Tipperary); and to *Daire-mor*, which the Martyrol of Donegal says was only a mile from Liath, (May 20, p. 135.) The Life of St. Mochaomhoc, (quoted Four Mast. 1014, p. 781, n.,) states that Daire-mor was "in regione Muminiensium;" and Dr. O'Donovan identifies it with Kilcolman in the present King's county, which was indeed a part of the antient Munster, (*B. of Rights*, p. 79, n). But Kilcolman must have been more than a mile from Liath. The other places mentioned are *Clonfert-Molua*, now Kyle, near Borris-in-Ossory, Queen's county; *Roscrea*, now Roscrea, county of Tipperary; *Clonmacnois*, King's county; *Saighir*, now Seirkieran, near Birr, King's county; and *Durmhagh*, now Durrrow, the celebrated abbey of St. Columkille, barony of Ballycowan, King's county. It will be observed that every one of these places was the site of a remarkable ecclesiastical establishment.

<sup>2</sup>*South of Ireland*. The copy of this work preserved in the Book of Leinster says, to Limerick.

son of Selbach, an anchorite," of whom no mention has been found elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> But they met with a very decided opposition. They were "slaughtered" at Ard-Feradaigh by the Mumha Medhonach, or men of Middle Munster; and they were opposed by "the south of Ireland," that is to say, by the Eoghanacht Ua nEochaidh,<sup>2</sup> who were under the command of their chieftain, Donnchadh, son of Amhalgaidh, and of Clochna, (or as the Four Masters call him, Clothnia,) Lord of Corca-Laighe. The latter of these warriors, and probably both, were slain on this occasion, for the Four Masters record the deaths of both in the same year, 844 (really 845), without saying that they were killed in battle, although our author expressly tells us that Clochna was *slain* by the foreigners, and the MS. L. adds, after the mention of Donnchadh, the parenthesis,<sup>3</sup> "it was at Cork he was killed." The battle of Ard Feradaigh, or Carn Feradaigh, as it is also called, a mountain in the south<sup>4</sup> of the county Limerick, is dated by the Four Masters 836 (=838). This, with the date they have given to the deaths of the chieftains who commanded the troops of South Munster, sufficiently fixes the chronology<sup>5</sup> of this invasion. It will be observed

<sup>1</sup> *Elsewhere*. The editor has not succeeded in discovering elsewhere the legend that Cormac, son of Selbach, was thrice set free by an angel, and thrice bound again. See p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Eoghanacht ua nEochaidh*. The descendants of Eochaidh, son of Cas, son of Conall Corc.—See Append. B, Table IV., No. 8, p. 248, and note 8, p. 18. Their territory was originally the barony of Cinel-mBece, now Kinelmeaky, county of Cork, but they afterwards encroached on the neighbouring districts.—See *Book of Rights*, p. 256, *n*. Corca-Laighe, the country of the Ui Edirsecoil or O'Driscolls, was nearly coextensive with the present diocese of Ross.—See *Miscell. of Celtic Soc.*, App. E., p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> *Parenthesis*. See p. 19, *n*. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *South*. In the territory of Clu Mail. *Four Mast.* A.D. 822, p. 245, *n*. O'Donovan suggests that it may have been the ancient name of Seefin, barony of Coshlea, county of Limerick, *Four Mast.*, A.M. 3656.

<sup>5</sup> *Chronology*. If, however, we give any weight, as marks of chronology, to the words of our author, "there came *after this*," which he repeats at every record of a new invasion, there is some discrepancy between his chronology and that of the Four Mast.: for this latter authority dates the slaughter of the pirates at Carn Feradaigh 836, =838. These must, therefore, have been in Ireland before the death of Turgesius, which took place in 845,

that all the places attacked or plundered are in the south,<sup>1</sup> and in Munster.

Then follows (chap. xix.) a list of places plundered by "the fleet of Ath-Cliath," or Dublin. This was apparently the fleet mentioned in chapter xvii., which our author says landed at the south of Ath-cliaith and plundered the greater part of Ireland. He had interrupted his list of their depredations in the interior of Ireland to speak of the other fleet which had appeared in the south of Munster about the same time, and he now continues his account of the monasteries<sup>2</sup> plundered by the former party. In the course of his narrative he particularly mentions the death of Aodh, son of Dubh-da-Crich, who was comarb or successor of Colum Mac Crimhthainn, that is, abbot of Tirdaglass,<sup>3</sup> and also successor of St. Fintan, in other words abbot also of Cluain Eidneach, or Clonenagh. This event is placed by the Annals of Ulster and by the Four Masters in the same year in which Turgesius was slain. The Ulster Annals agree with the statement of our author that the abbot Aodh was slain in the attack upon Dun-Masc; but the Four Masters<sup>4</sup> tell us that he was taken

Additional  
list of  
places  
plundered  
by the  
fleet of  
Dublin.

whereas our author makes them the third fleet of invaders that arrived after that event. Compare chaps. xvi., xvii., xviii.

<sup>1</sup> *South*. These are *Scelig Michil*, the island of which we have already spoken (see p. xxxviii). *Inis Flainn*, or more correctly Inis Faithlenn, now Inisfallen, an island in the Lower Lake of Killarney; *Disert Domhain*, now unknown; *Chuain mór*, now Cloyne; *Ros Ailithri*, now Ross, county of Cork; and *Cenn-mara* (head of the sea), now Kenmare, county of Kerry.

<sup>2</sup> *Monasteries*. These are *Cilldara*, or Kildare; *Cluain Eidhnech*, now Clonenagh, the celebrated monastery of St. Fintan, in the Queen's county; *Cenn-Eligh*, now Kinnetty, King's county; *Cill Ached* now Killeigh, King's county; *Dun Masc*, [fortress of

Masc, an ancient chieftain.] then most probably ecclesiastical, now the rock of Dunamase, near Maryborough, Queen's county—(see Dr. O'Donovan's note, *Four Mast.*, 843); *Cennannus*, now Kells, county of Meath; *Mainister Buite*, the monastery of St. Buite or Boetius, now Monasterboice, county of Louth; *Daimhliac Cianain*, now Duleek (of St. Cianan); *Sord of Colum Cille*, now Swords, near Dublin; and *Finghlass-Cainnigh*, now Finglas, near Dublin, where there was a famous monastery, founded by St. Cainnech, or Canice, of Achadhbo, and of Kilkenny, in the 6th century.

<sup>3</sup> *Tirdaglass*. See above, p. x, n 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Four Masters*. The record of this event in the Annals of Ulster is this: "Plunder of Dun Masc by the Gentiles, where was slain Aedh, or Aodh, son of

prisoner and carried off to Munster, where "he suffered martyrdom for the sake of God."

Arrival of the Dubh-gaill, or Danes.

So far our author has chronicled the depredations of the White or azure Gentiles, that is to say the Norwegians, down to the end of the dynasty of Turgesius, for none of the invasions hitherto mentioned, so far as we can ascertain their actual dates, seem to have been much later than the death of that chieftain. He now proceeds (chap. xx.) to record the arrival of the *Dubhgaill*, Black Gentiles, Danars, or Danes, who contested possession of the country with the Finngall or White Gentiles.

They take Dublin.

The Annals of Ulster and of the Four Masters tell us that this Danish fleet first came to Dublin in 852, where they plundered, after great slaughter, the fortress erected by the Finngall or Norwegians, and that there was soon afterwards a great battle between the two parties at Linn-Duachail,<sup>1</sup> in which the Danes were victorious. The Norwegians or White foreigners then mustered a fleet of eight score ships and gave battle to the Danes at Snamh

Battle of Carlingford.

Dubh-da Crich, abbot of Tir-da-glass and of Cluain Eidhneach, and where were slain Ceithernac, son of Cudinaisg, sub-abbot of Kildare, and many others." *Ann. Ult.*, 444. The Four Masters (843) have the following entry: "An army by the foreigners of Ath Cliath at the Cluana an Dobhair," [the plains round Killeigh, King's county,] "and the burning of the fort of Cill-achaidh" [Dr. O'Donovan has "the fold," an error of the press for *fort*, of Cill-achaidh, or Killeigh,] "and Nuadhat, son of Seighen, was martyred by them. The plunder of Dunmase by the foreigners, where Aedh, son of Dubh-dacrich, abbot of Tir-da-glas, and of Cluain-eidhneach, was taken prisoner; and they carried him into Munster, where he suffered martyrdom for the sake of God; and Ceithernac, son of Cudinaisg, prior of Cilldara, with many others besides, was killed by them, during the same plunder."

<sup>1</sup> *Linn Duachail*: not Magheralin, county of Down, as O'Donovan once thought; *Circuit of Ireland*, note on line 35. He afterwards corrects the error, *Fragments of Annals*, p. 120. *Four M.*, 1045, p. 848, n. Linn-Duachail was in the county of Louth, S.E. of Castle-Bellingham. It was on the banks of the river called Casan Linné, *Mart. Doneg.* (March 30, p. 91, comp. *Colgan*, Act. SS., pp. 792, 793). This river is mentioned in the circuit of Ireland (*loc. cit.*) as a station south of Glen Righe, or the vale of Newry, and between it and Ath Gabhla on the Boyne. This does not describe the position of Magheralin, which is considerably to the north, and inland. Part of the name Casan Linné is preserved in the name Annagassan [*Aonach g-Cusain*, "Fair of Casan,"] a village at the tidal opening of the junction of the rivers Glyde and Dee; a much more likely place for a Danish

Aidhnech<sup>1</sup> or Carlingford. The contest lasted three days and three nights. The Danes gained the victory, and the Norwegians abandoned their ships. The Annals of Ulster mention the names of the two Norwegian leaders in this conflict, Stam, (or perhaps we should read Stain,) who escaped by flight, and Ierne who was beheaded.<sup>2</sup>

The "Fragments of Annals,"<sup>3</sup> copied by Duall or Dudley Mac Firbis, from a MS. belonging to Gilla-na-naemh Mac Egan, add the following very curious particulars to this narrative:—

Account of this battle in the Mac Firbis Annals.

The Lochlanns or Norwegians (we are not told where they were at the time, perhaps at Dublin,) perceive the approach of a fleet. Being uncertain whether it was friendly or hostile, they send out a swift ship to ascertain the fact. The strangers prove to be Danes; and the Norwegian ship is received with a shower of arrows from the nearest vessel of the enemy. A battle at sea ensues between the two hostile ships, in which the Danes are victorious, and the crew of the Norwegian ship are all

piratical settlement than Magheralin. There is a townland called *Linn*s, in the parish of Gernonstown, which runs down along the sea to Annagassan Bridge. The Casan Linné was probably the river now called the Glyde, and Linn-Duachaill must have been at the united mouth of the Glyde and Dee. For this information the editor is indebted to Dr. Reeves.

<sup>1</sup> *Snamh Aidhnech*. This was the ancient name of the present Carlingford bay, which, however, is tautology; for the Scandinavian termination *fiord* signifies "bay." The Four M. have the simple name *Cairlinn* frequently. *Karlingfordia* occurs in Giraldus Cambrensis. *Snamh* in Irish topographical names is a swimming place, a ford, narrow enough to be crossed by swimming, but too deep to be passed on foot. *Snamh Aighneac* is the reading of the Brussels Fragments of Annals p. 121; of the Four Mast.; Ann. Ult.; and L.; but the apparent differences

*Eidhneach*, *Aidhneach*, and *Aigneac* are only variations of spelling. See note 13, p. 19. The place is called *Snamh Ech* in the Mart. of Donegal, (2nd April, p. 93), which signifies "the horse swimming ford." Dr. Reeves has shown that the Danish settlement at *Snamh-aighneac* was near Caoluisce or Narrow-water, at the head of Carlingford Lough. See his note on *Cillsnabha* (Itinerary of Father Cana.) *Ulster Journal of Archaeol.*, vol. ii, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Beheaded*. "Stam [read Stain] fugitivus evasit et Ierne decollatus jacuit." *Ann. Ult.* A.D. 851=852. The Scandinavian names of these chieftains were probably *Stein*, or *Steinar*, and *Eirekr*.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals*. Edited by Dr. O'Donovan from a MS. (not, however, the autograph of MacFirbis,) in the Burgundian Library at Brussels. (Printed for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society—1860.)

slain. The Danes bring up their fleet to the shore, and in another battle kill thrice their own number, and decapitate every one of the slain. They take the ships of the Lochlanns with them to a port (probably Dublin, which the Annals represent as the scene of this first battle,) and carry off "the women, the gold, and all the property of the Lochlanns with them." "And thus," says the historian, "the Lord took away from them [*i.e.* from the Norwegians] all the wealth which they had taken from the churches, and sanctuaries, and shrines of the saints of Erin."

The vanquished collect great forces, and with seventy ships,<sup>1</sup> under their leaders Zain (Stain) and Iargna, make their appearance at Snamh Aighnech or Carlingford, where the Danes had stationed their fleet. The Norwegians or White Gentiles are victorious,<sup>2</sup> and the Danes abandon their ships. The Danish general, Horm, harangues his

<sup>1</sup> *Seventy ships.* The Four M., A.D. 850 [852], and Ann. Ult. 851, say 160. The chieftains here called Zain and Iargna are evidently the same who are called Stain and Ierne in the Annals of Ulster.

<sup>2</sup> *Victorious.* This seems at variance with the account given by the Ulster Annals and by the Four M. But the discrepancy is perhaps only apparent. For the Danes were ultimately victorious: and the only real difference is that the Annals have omitted the story of their having been at first defeated, and afterwards gaining the victory by the intercession of St. Patrick. This story was probably invented to blacken the Norwegians, whose depredations were especially directed against the churches and religious houses of Ireland, and who are, therefore, represented as having been punished by an intervention of Heaven. The Danes may have been vanquished in the first engagement, or else were made to have been vanquished to give greater credit to their subsequent victory against superior numbers, "by the tutelage of St. Patrick," although they had not at

the time received Christianity. They are represented as still barbarous and brutal; supporting, on the bodies of the slain, the spits on which their meat was roasting. Nevertheless, the story of their vow to St. Patrick is not, in itself, incredible. The doctrine of tutelary saints, whose patronage was especially granted to certain territories, was so closely allied to the pagan notion of tutelary gods, that it readily commended itself to the heathen, who knew the Christianity of that age only by this prominent feature of it; and we can easily understand why ecclesiastics, living at the time of the Reformation, would naturally suppress the story of the Danes having purchased the patronage of St. Patrick, by sharing with him the spoils gained by their victory. Their general, Horm, Gorm, or Gormo, may have been possibly the same who was surnamed *Enske* or *Anglicus*, because he was born in England. This Gormo was ultimately converted to Christianity, which renders it the more probable that he may have suggested on this occasion the invocation of St. Patrick.

men; representing to them that they had everything to lose, and advising them to put themselves under the protection of St. Patrick, by promising to the saint "honourable alms for gaining victory and triumph" over enemies who had plundered his churches and outraged all the saints of Ireland. This advice was followed; and in the next engagement, although with very inferior numbers, the Danes gain the victory "on account of the tutelage of St. Patrick." The "treasures of gold and silver" in the camp of the Norwegians became the prize of the victors, together with "the other property, as well of their women and ships." Five thousand<sup>1</sup> "goodly born men," with "many soldiers, and people of every grade in addition to this number," were slain<sup>2</sup> in the engagement.

The arrival of another fleet in Ciarraighe<sup>3</sup> is then recorded (ch. xx). They plundered "to Limerick and Cill Ita."<sup>4</sup> If this be understood as including Limerick, this "fleet" was probably Danish, for we know that Limerick was already in the possession of the first comers, and was probably founded by them.

The county  
of Kerry  
invaded.

<sup>1</sup> *Five thousand.* This seems an incredible number. The Roman numerals ii. and u, might easily have been confounded.

<sup>2</sup> *Slain.* "Fragments of Annals," pp. 114-123. The historian adds, p. 125, that the Danes fulfilled their vow, and after the victory filled "a good wide trench with gold and silver to give to Patrick;" for he adds, the Danes were "a people who had a kind of piety, i.e., they gave up meat and women a while for piety."

<sup>3</sup> *Ciarraighe.* The tribe name of the posterity of Ciar, son of Fergus, king of Ulster, by Meadhbh or Maud, queen of Connaught. There were several districts in Ireland, called Ciarraighe, where branches of this family had settled (see O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 276), but the principal of these tribes was the Ciarraighe Luachra, or Ciarraighe

of Mount Luachair, in the territory of O'Conor Kerry. This district is probably here intended, not only because the name occurs without any other designation, but also because the places mentioned as having been plundered, were all easily reached from the county of Kerry.

<sup>4</sup> *Cill Ita:* now *Killeedy*, four Irish miles from Newcastle, co. of Limerick, the site of a once famous monastery, dedicated to St. Ita, in the spot called Cluain Creadhail, *Mart. Doneg.*, 15 Jan., p. 17. The other places mentioned are Imleach Ibhair, now Emly; Caisil of the Kings, now Cashel; the eastern Cechtraighe; and Liath Mo-coemhoc, of which we have already spoken; (see p. lix. note 1). Cechtraighe (Cechtraighe, L.) is the name of a tribe now unknown. Perhaps we should read *Ciarraighe*.

Chronology  
of these  
events.

Our author adds, "It was in the time<sup>1</sup> of Feidhlimidh, son of Crimthann, that all these ravages were perpetrated." This remark, although it occurs in the ancient fragment of the present work preserved in the Book of Leinster, is probably misplaced. The Annals date the death of Feidhlimidh 847; and the arrival of the Danes, or the battle of Carlingford, 852, five years afterwards. Therefore we must infer either that the above chronological note ought to have been placed before the coming of the Danish ships, or else that the date assigned by the Annals to Feidhlimidh's death is erroneous.<sup>2</sup>

Victories of  
the Irish  
over the  
invaders.

Having hitherto spoken of the ravages committed by the invaders, our author (chaps. xxi. xxii.) next gives a list of the defeats they had sustained from the native Irish: and here it is evident that he makes no distinction between the Danes and other foreigners; neither can we regard his narrative as containing a complete enumeration of these defeats, for many, of which he takes no notice, are recorded in the Irish Annals. At Eas-Ruaidh,<sup>3</sup> now Assaroe, near Ballyshannon, county of Donegal, they were defeated by the Cinel-Conaill, the descendants of Conall Gulban (son of Niall, of the Nine Hostages), the original possessors of the district now called, from them, Tirconnell. This victory is dated<sup>4</sup> 838. In Munster they were defeated at Loch Derg Dheire, now Lough Derg, by the Dal Cais.<sup>5</sup> The Ui Neill, that is, the southern O'Neill, defeated them at Ard Breacain, now Ardraccan, county of Meath. Earl Saxulf<sup>6</sup> was slain by the O'Colgain; but the Four Masters and Annals of Ulster call him "Chief-

<sup>1</sup> *Time*. The word  $\rho\epsilon\mu\eta\gamma$  in the text, p. 20, has been translated "reign;" but its more literal signification is *time, period*.

<sup>2</sup> *Erroneous*. See above, p. xlvi., note 1, where it is suggested, on other grounds, that the date assigned to Feidhlimidh's death by our Annals is really the date of his monastic profession.

<sup>3</sup> *Eas Ruaidh*: properly Eas Aedha

Ruaidh, the waterfall of Aedh the red. See *Four Mast.*, A.M. 4518.

<sup>4</sup> *Dated*. *Four Mast.* 836, = A.D. 838.

<sup>5</sup> *Dal Cais*, pron. *Dal Cash*, the descendants of Cas Mac Tail. See *Gen. Table III.*, No. 8, p. 247, and O'Flah. *Ogyg.*, p. 386. This victory is not recorded in the Annals.

<sup>6</sup> *Earl Saxulf*. The ancient MS. L. reads "Earl Ralph."

tain of the Gaill," and tell us that he was slain by the Cianachta, meaning the Cianachta Bregh, a tribe<sup>1</sup> descended from Cian, son of Oilioll Olum, king of Munster, and seated in Bregia, north of Dublin, where they occupied a district extending from the baronies of Upper and Lower Duleek to the Liffey. The death of Saxulf is dated by the Annalists<sup>2</sup> in the fifth year of Niall Cailne, or 838.

The next defeat mentioned is the battle of Sciath Nechtain, after an interval of ten years<sup>3</sup> from the death of Saxulf. The leaders of the Irish forces were Olchobhar, king of Munster, and Lorcan, son of Cellach, king of Leinster. In this battle 1,200 of the Lochlainn chieftains or nobles were slain, together with the heir apparent or *tanist*, that is (*second*, or next in succession to the throne,) of the king of Lochlainn. The Four Masters tell us that this chieftain's name was Tomrair,<sup>4</sup> which in other

Battle of  
Sciath  
Nechtain.

<sup>1</sup> *A tribe.* See O'Flaherty, *Oggg.* p. 332. The Ui Colgan, or O'Colgan, seem to have been a branch of the Cianachta seated on the banks of the Liffey. There is, therefore, no contradiction.

<sup>2</sup> *Annalists.* Ann. Ult. and Four M. 836. = 838. The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen record the event thus: "837. Six score men of the Lochlanns were killed by the men of Bregia, and their chief, Saxulf, was slain by Cinaodh, son of Conall, and by the Connaughtmen." This should be Cinaodh, son of *Conaing*, who was chieftain of the Cianachta Bregh at the time. The mention of Connaughtmen seems a mistake of the compilers of these Annals. For *Conachta* we should read *Cianachta*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ten years.* In the second year of Maelseachlainn I. *Four M.* 846; *Ult.* 847, = 848. Sciath Nechtain (*Scutum Nechtani*) was a place near Castle-dernot, county of Kildare.

<sup>4</sup> *Tomrair.* The name Tomrair is, perhaps, the Scandinavian *Thormodr* [Thor's man,] which was a common name in Iceland. The Tomrair or Tomar here mentioned is spoken of as a Norwegian. But a Danish chief-

tain of the same name afterwards became celebrated at Dublin, and indeed Tomar or Thormodr seems to have become a sort of common title given by the Irish to all the kings of Dublin, who are called "chieftains of Tomar," *Book of Rights*, p. 40; the king of Dublin is called "Tore Tomar," *i.e.* "Prince Tomar," *ib.* p. 207. In Dr. O'Donovan's *Introd. to B. of Rights*, p. xxxvi. *seq.*, and *Four M.*, A.D. 846, p. 475, *u.*, we read of the ring of Tomar and the sword of Carlus [son of Amlaff, *Four M.* 866,] which were carried off from Dublin by King Malachy II., in 994 (*Four M.*) The ring was, no doubt, one of those deemed sacred by the Northmen, and upon which oaths were sworn—*Anglo Sax. Chron.*, A.D. 876. It is possible (as Mr. Haliday has suggested) that the splendid gold ring, with a smaller one running upon it, now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, is the identical ring of Tomar—the "holy ring" of the Scandinavian kings of Dublin. There was a wood, called Tomar's wood, between Clontarf and Dublin. See pp. 197, 199, of the present volume.

authorities is also written Tomhrar, Tomhar, or Tamar. King Olchobhar soon afterwards demolished Tulach-narighna,<sup>1</sup> which seems to have been a fortress or settlement of the enemy, and they were all ultimately cut off by the men of Leth Mogha, or of Munster.

Minor  
victories.

The other victories recorded may be more briefly noticed. They are, the battle of Caislen-glinni or Caisglinne,<sup>2</sup> under Maelsechlainn, king of Ireland, in which 700 were slain. The battle of Daire-Disiurt-Dachonna,<sup>3</sup> by Tighernach, lord of Loch Gabhair,<sup>4</sup> when 500 of the enemy fell. The battle of Dun-Maeltuli, in which their loss was twelve score, under Olchobhar, king of Munster, and the Eoghanachts<sup>5</sup> of Cashel. Three hundred and sixty-eight of the Danes, it is not said where, were slain by the White Gentiles or Norwegians.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps this may have been the result of the conflict between the seven score ships of the Danes that arrived about this time, "to contend with the

<sup>1</sup> *Tulach-na-Righna*. Tulach-nareena, "hill of the Queens;" a place not now known, unless it be the hill now called Knocknaree, near Castledermot.

<sup>2</sup> *Caisglinne*. So read the MS. B., and Keating. Compare also *Battle of Magh-rath*, p. 349. Caislen-glinne signifies Glen-Castle; there are several places of the name: this one was probably somewhere in Meath, within the territory of the Clann Colmain. Perhaps this is the same battle which the Four M., 846, and Ann. Ult., 847, mention as having been fought at Forach, (now Farragh, near Skreen, county of Meath,) in which 700 were slain. See O'Donovan's note, Four M., l. c.

<sup>3</sup> *Daire-Disiurt-Dachonna*. The oak wood of Disiurt-Dachonna, the wilderness of St. Dachonna, or St. Conna. This place was in Ulster (*Mart. Doneg.*, 12 April, p. 101), but Dr. O'Donovan had not identified it. Four M., 846, note.

<sup>4</sup> *Loch Gabhair*. Now Lough Gower or Logore, near Dunshaughlin, county of Meath. The Four M. say that twelve score fell in this battle, which is also the reading of B. The Ann. Ult. read 1200. The numbers of slain in this and the next battle have evidently been transposed. See the various readings, p. 21, notes.

<sup>5</sup> *Eoghanachts*. See Table IV., p. 248, Dun Maeltuli, "the fort of Maeltuli" is probably in the county of Tipperary, but its exact site is now unknown.

<sup>6</sup> *Norwegians*. B. reads "by the Ui Fidhghente," a tribe settled in the county of Limerick; (see Gen. Table V., p. 248, No. 6, and Book of Rights, p. 67, n.) But this reading is not probable, although Keating follows it.  $\text{Uí-Fídhgēnte}$  and  $\text{Fídhgēnte}$  might easily be confounded. There are also considerable variations in the MSS. as to the number of the slain. See ch. xxii., p. 21, n. 14.

foreigners that were in Ireland before them," and as the Four Masters and Ulster Annals tell us "disturbed Ireland between them."<sup>1</sup> At Inis-Finmic, now Inch, near Balrothery, county of Dublin, 200 were slain by the Cianachta, meaning evidently the Cianachta Breagh, in whose territory Inch was situated. The same tribe, in a month afterwards, gained another victory, in which they slew 300 of the enemy at Rath-Alton, or Rath-Aldain, now Rathallan, near Duleek, in the same territory.<sup>2</sup> This catalogue of victories is concluded by the battle of Rathcommair<sup>3</sup> gained by King Maelseachlinn, and another gained by the Ciarriaghe Luachra, or people of Kerry, the exact site of which is not recorded.

The coming of Amlaibh, (Amlaff or Olaf), "son of the king of Lochlainn," is the next event chronicled by our author. The arrival of this chieftain is dated ten years *before*<sup>4</sup> the death of Maelseachlainn or Malachy I., king of Ireland, and therefore in the year 853.

This was, beyond all doubt, the Amlaff, or Olaf Huita

Arrival of  
Amlaff or  
Olaf.

<sup>1</sup> *Between them.* Four M., 847. Ann. Ult., 848, really 849.

<sup>2</sup> *Territory.* The Four Masters make no mention of Inis-finmic, but record a slaughter of the foreigners in the East of Breagh, and in the same month, the battle of Rath-Aldain, at 850 [= 852]. Of the Cianachta Breagh we have already spoken, see p. lxxvii.

<sup>3</sup> *Rathcommair.* The word *Commar* or *Cumar* signifies the meeting of two or more rivers; and the Rathcommair here mentioned was probably a Fort at the confluence of the Boyne with some four or five small rivers at Cluain-Iraird, now Clonard, county of Meath. There is a *Cumar-tri-nuisce* (meeting of three waters) near Waterford (Four M., at 856); but it is more likely that the battle gained by Maelseachlainn was in his own territory.

<sup>4</sup> *Before.* In the text (chap. xxiii.) we have translated "ten years *after*"

the death of Malachy: but the annals, Keating, and other authorities all seem to have read, or at least to have understood, as in the MS. L., ꝑe nec, *before* the death of Malachy, instead of aꝑ nec, the reading of B. *after* his death. It is probable that aꝑ. in our author's dialect of Irish really did signify *before*. If so, the Editor in translating it *after* (assuming aꝑ to have been put for aꝑ), was under a mistake. See note 8, p. 22. The Four Mast. date King Malachy's death 860, but as they tell us that he died on *Tuesday*, Nov. 30, the Sunday letter of the year must have been C, which shows that the true year was 863.

If we adhere to the translation *after*, Olaf did not arrive until 873, and his exploits are dated in our annals twenty years too soon. This no doubt would diminish some chronological difficulties.

His  
exploits.

(the white), of Scandinavian history, who was usually styled king of Dublin,<sup>1</sup> and was the leader of the Northmen in Ireland for many years. His exploits on his first arrival in Ireland are thus described:<sup>2</sup> The drowning of Conchobhar,<sup>3</sup> son of Donnchadh. The overthrow of the Deisi at Cluain-Daimh,<sup>4</sup> where all the chieftains of the Deisi were slain. The slaughter of the son of Cenn-

<sup>1</sup> *Dublin*. The Landnamabok (p. 106), gives the following account of this chieftain: "Olaf the White [Oleifr hinn Hvite] was the Pirate-King [Herkóngr] who was the son of King Ingialld, son of Helga, son of Olaf, son of Gudraud, son of Halfdan Whitefoot [Hvitbein], King of Up-land. Olaf the White went as a pirate westwards, and seized Dublin in Ireland, and the Dublin-shire [oc vann Dýflina á Írlandi oc Dýflinnarskiri] where he was made King." The name is written *Amhlwibh*, *Anlaf*, *Onlaf*, *Olaf* or *Olave*, *Awley*, *Auliff*. Thora, grandmother of Olaf the White, was the daughter of Sigurd Orm i angr [serpent eye], son of Regnar Lodbrok. The polygamy of the pagan Scandinavians, their very early marriages, and the early age at which they went forth to seek their fortunes in piratical adventures, may have reduced the length of a generation. But the reduction should be considerable to render it possible, assuming Lodbrok to have been slain in 845, for his son's great-grandson to be the leader of a piratical invasion of Ireland in 853. Supposing the average generation to be 20 years, Regnar Lodbrok would have been 80 years of age at the birth of Olaf the White.

<sup>2</sup> *Described*. Chap. xxiii., p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Conchobhair*. He is called in the text "heir apparent of Tara," meaning not heir apparent to the throne of Ireland, but only to the chieftainship of the Clann Colmain, or of East

Meath. The Four Mast. (862=864) call him "the second lord that was over Meath;" and the Annals of Ulster (863=864) "half King of Meath." This alludes to the partition of Meath into two kingdoms by Aedh Oirnidhe in 802 (797 of the Four M.), to which Conchobhar, son of Donnchadh (afterwards King of Ireland) and his brother Ailill were appointed. King Aedh's object evidently was to strengthen himself by weakening the power of the Clann Colmain in Meath. At the time here spoken of, Lorcan, son of Cathal, was lord of one half of Meath, and Conchobhar of the other. Lorcan was blinded by Aedh Finniath, still jealous of the Meath chieftains, and Conchobhar was drowned, as the Four M. tell us, at Cluain-Iraird (now Clonard) by Amlaff, lord of the Gaill. This Conchobhar was probably a grandson of King Conchobhar. He is called "son of Donnchadh" in the text, and also by the Four M., the Ann. of Ult., and the Brussell's Fragments (p. 157), as well as by Keating (reign of Aedh Finniath). We must, therefore, reject the reading of O'Clery's MS. of the present work where he is called "Son of Cineadh." See Gen. Table II., p. 246.

<sup>4</sup> *Cluain-Daimh*. This place is now unknown. The word signifies "Plain or Lawn of the Deer or Oxen." The Deisi Bregh, whose territory is represented by the two baronies of Deece, county of Meath, are probably intended.

faeladh,<sup>1</sup> king of Muscraige Breoghain, and the smothering of Muchdaighren, son of Rechtabrat, in a cave. The destruction of Caitill Find,<sup>2</sup> (Ketill the White) and his whole garrison. This latter chieftain, judging by his name, was probably a Norseman; but some authorities call him Cathal; and we learn from the Annals of Ulster that his followers were the Gaill-Gaedhil, or apostate Irish. We are told also that the battle was in the districts of Munster; but no other clue is given to the position of the fortress of Gaill-Gaedhil to which this garrison belonged, which is not noticed in the Four Masters. His "destruction" in the Ulster Annals is dated 856, equivalent to 857.

The death of Maelgualai, son of Dungaile, king of Munster, his back being broken by a stone, is the next exploit of the Danes recorded by our author. Its date<sup>3</sup> is 859. The next clause is obscure—"they were all killed by the men of Munster:" this seems to mean that the men of Munster, in other words the army of the king of Munster, notwithstanding the loss of its sovereign, gained a complete victory over the enemy; but are Ona, Scolph, and Tomar (see p. 23), the chieftains whose troops were cut off? Or are they Scandinavian leaders fighting on

Death of  
Maelgualai,  
King of  
Munster.

<sup>1</sup> *Cennfaeladh*. This passage is so corrupt that it is difficult to guess at the original reading, especially as the Annals make no mention of these events. The son of Cennfaeladh is not named. See the various readings, note 8, p. 22. For an account of the districts called Musc-raighe or Muskerry, see O'Donovan, *Book of Rights*, p. 42, n. O'Flaherty, *Ogg.*, p. 322. Muscraige Breoghain was a part of the present barony of Clanwilliam, county of Tipperary.

<sup>2</sup> *Caitill Find*. Ware calls him Cathaldus albus; *Antiq.* p. 128, *Ed. 2da.*, and Cathal Finn is the reading of B. That name would be Irish; or an Irish spelling of the Norse name *Ketill*. The Dublin Ann. of Inisfallen

(857) call him *Cartan*, or *Carthan Finn*, a name which looks like the Scandinavian *Kiartan*. Dr. O'Connor (*Ann. Ult.*), although his text reads *Caittil find*, translates "de Cathaldo albo." In his edition of the Dublin Ann. Inisf. he omits the years 856, 857, 859, and part of 860. Mr. Robertson has suggested that the Caitill Finn here mentioned may have been the Ketill Flatnef (Flatnose), of Scandinavian history, *Scotland under her early Kings*, p. 44. But Caitill Finn is said by our author to have been *killed* on this occasion, 857, a fact that cannot be reconciled with the history of Ketill Flatnose.

<sup>3</sup> *Date*. Four M., 857. *Ult.*, 858 really, 859.

the side of the Munster army, and therefore sharers in the victory<sup>1</sup>? The fragment of this work in the Book of Leinster adds the name of Turgesius to the other three—which, if it be not a mistake, must intend a different Turgesius from the celebrated usurper of the See of Armagh. The whole of this passage, however, is evidently corrupt.<sup>2</sup>

Arrival of  
Oisill or  
Oisli.

We read next of the arrival of a chieftain<sup>3</sup> whose name in MSS. of the present work is written Ossill, and Oisli, the true Scandinavian name having perhaps been *Ossur*, or possibly *Flosi*, as other spellings of the name such as Uailsi or Vailsi, lead us to conjecture. He is styled by our author “son of the king of Lochlann,” but he can scarcely be the same as the chieftain whose exploits, under the name of Auilsli or Uailsi, are narrated by the Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters. For the Ossill of our author is represented as having fallen in a battle with the Irish in Munster, whereas the Uailsi of the Annals was slain by his own brethren.<sup>4</sup>

His defeat  
and death.

Ossill, we are told, succeeded in plundering “the greater part of Ireland.” How long a time this occupied is not recorded; but his army was cut off with a loss of five hundred men,<sup>5</sup> and he himself slain “by the men of Erin” in Munster. Some MSS. attribute this victory to the “men

<sup>1</sup> *Victory*. The reading of L. (see note <sup>8</sup>, p. 23) favours the former of these interpretations.

<sup>2</sup> *Corrupt*. B. omits the names of the Scandinavian leaders altogether: and the words of the text, τεορτα γc., “one hundred and three,” are obscure. The contraction, γc., “et cetera,” was probably mistaken for “et c.” i.e. “and one hundred,” and τεορτα, “three,” was made *Turgeis*.

<sup>3</sup> *Chieftain*. Chap. xxiv. See note <sup>10</sup>, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Brethren*. “Auilsle tertius rex gentilium (the other two being Olaf

and Ivar) dolo et parricidio a fratribus suis jugulatus est,” *Ull*. 866. From this hint the Brussels Annals make Amlaff, Imhar, and Oisle to be three brothers, and give a minute account of the murder of the last. *Fragments of Annals*, p. 171. In another place (see p. 33) our author records the murder by Amlaibh, of his own brother, who is there called *Oisill*. There appear, therefore, to have been two of the name.

<sup>5</sup> *Five hundred men*. The MS. L. omits the number of slain.

of Munster," instead of to the men of Erin, the distinction being that the former phrase denotes the clansmen or troops under the command of the provincial king of Munster, and the latter the troops of the *Arđ-Ri*, or chief king of Ireland.

Although our author in this place has given us no means of ascertaining the exact date of this event, which is not noticed in the Annals, he assumes it to be well known, and goes on to tell us that in the same year another chieftain, whom he calls Colphinn,<sup>1</sup> with the fleet of Dun-Medhoın, was destroyed at Cenn Curraig. The Irish pursued them, with slaughter,<sup>2</sup> from Cenn Curraig to Lismore, and many of them were killed by Rehtabrat,<sup>3</sup> son of Bran, chieftain of the Deisi, whose territory is represented by the districts now called Decies, in the county of Waterford. A reference to this victory in another place (see ch. xxix.) enables us to assign it to the year 869.

The Earl Baethbarr or Badbarr (probably *Bodvar*), who escaped from this slaughter with many followers, reached Dublin in safety, but was there soon afterwards drowned, "through the miracles of Ciaran and Aedh Scannail,"<sup>4</sup> whose monasteries or religious houses he had besieged. No notice of this chieftain occurs in the Annals. In the same year<sup>5</sup> Earl Tomar was killed, and his death is attri-

Destruction of Colphinn at Kincurry, A.D. 869.

Death of the Earls Badbarr and Tomar.

<sup>1</sup> *Colphinn*. Not mentioned in the Annals. The true name was probably *Kolbein*. Dunmedhon (Middle-fort) is now unknown. Cenn Curraig, now Kincurry, is a small village on the banks of the Suir, not far from Clonmel, but in the county of Waterford.

<sup>2</sup> *Slaughter*. The literal translation is "They were in their being slaughtered from Cenn Curraig to Lismore."

<sup>3</sup> *Rehtabrat*. The death of this chieftain is recorded by the Four M. at 874=876.

<sup>4</sup> *Scannail*. Ciaran was, of course, the celebrated St. Kieran of Clonmacnois: but no saint named Aedh Scan-

nail is mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegal, or elsewhere so far as the Editor knows. The MS. B. reads "Ciaran and Aedh and Sgandall." If we follow this reading the churches intended are probably those of St. Kieran, of Clonmacnois; of St. Aedh, or Moedhog [Mogue] of Ferns; and of St. Scannall of Aghaboe, who died 774 (=780) Four M.

<sup>5</sup> *Same year*. It is difficult to give much weight to these chronological notes: for in this case Tomar or Tomair is said by the Four Masters to have been slain in the battle of Sciath Nechtain, A.D. 847. See p. 21, and p. lxxvii. above.

buted to the vengeance of St. Brendan, whose church at Clonfert he had plundered three days before.

Battle of  
Loch  
Foyle.

“In that year” also, our author says, the victory of Aedh Finnliath, king of Ireland, was gained over the Danes at Lough Foyle: but this battle is dated by the Four Masters 864, which is 867 of O’Flaherty’s corrected Chronology, and therefore not the year to which the same Annalists have assigned the battle of Sciath Nechtain.

Baraid  
with the  
Dublin  
garrison  
plunders  
from  
Leinster  
to Kerry.

We next read of a Scandinavian chieftain named Baraid or Barith, (possibly *Bárdur*), who, “with Amlaibh’s son, and the fleet of Ath-Cliath,” meaning the Scandinavian garrison of Dublin, plundered Leinster and Munster until they reached Ciarraighe, the present county of Kerry.<sup>1</sup> “And they left not,” says our author, “a cave under ground that they did not explore; and they left nothing from Limerick to Cork that they did not ravage.” The Annals<sup>2</sup> speak of a plundering of the caves in the territory<sup>3</sup> of Flann, son of Conang, king of Bregia in Meath, under “the three chieftains of the foreigners,” Amlaibh, Imhar, and Uisli, with Lorean, son of Cathal, king of Meath. But our author here speaks of the plunder of the sepulchral caves by the army under the command of Baraid and Amlaibh’s son,<sup>4</sup> in their expedition from Leinster to Kerry and from Limerick to Cork; we may therefore infer that these caves contained treasures of gold and silver buried with the dead, of which the Northmen had discovered the intrinsic value, and therefore made it a practice to plunder such monuments wherever they found them.

Emly and  
Decies  
plundered.

On this expedition the ecclesiastical establishment of Imleach Ibhair (now *Emly*) was burned, and the southern Deisi, now Decies in the county of Waterford, ravaged.

<sup>1</sup> *Kerry*. Ch. xxv., p. 25. So the MS. B. interprets, by reading *Ciarraighe Luachra*. See above, p. lxx., n.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals*. Ult., 862. Four M., 861.

<sup>3</sup> *Territory*. See Dr. O’Donovan’s note, Four Mast. 861, p. 496.

<sup>4</sup> *Amlaibh’s son*. He is not named. Perhaps he may have been Thorstein the Red, son of Olaf the White. The death of Carlus, who is called son of Amlaibh, is recorded by the Four M. at 866=868.

Two years before,<sup>1</sup> the same party had plundered Meath and Connaught, as far as Corcumruadh, (now Corcomroe, county of Clare,) and Leim Concullain,<sup>2</sup> or Loophead: but they were ultimately killed by "the men of Erin."

The foreigners, under the command of Ragnall's son,<sup>3</sup> were slaughtered by Aedh Finniath, king of Ireland, at a banquet given to their chieftain at Dublin. This seems to imply that treachery was employed: but, on this occasion, Ragnall's son escaped, for he was slain, as our author tells us (p. 27), in a battle which took place soon afterwards between the Fair Gentiles and the Black Gentiles, the former being apparently under the command of Barith, who was wounded in the engagement, and is probably the same who was called Baraid just before. The MS. L. adds that Barith was lame ever after from this wound, and that the Black Gentiles "after this," meaning apparently in consequence of Barith's victory, were driven out of Ireland, and went to Alba, or Scotland, where they gained a battle over the men of Alba, in which Constantine, son of Cinaedh, or Kenneth, was slain, and many others with him. This event must be dated<sup>4</sup> A.D. 877. The editor

The foreigners slaughtered by Aedh Finniath.

The Black Gentiles take refuge in Scotland, A.D. 877.

<sup>1</sup> *Before.* This chronological note is omitted in the Book of Leinster.

<sup>2</sup> *Leim Conchullain.* "The Leap of Cuchullan." The modern name *Loop-head*, is a corruption of *Leap-head*. It is called *Jölduhlaup*, "mare's leap," in the Landnamabok, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ragnall's son.* Sigurd-Serpent-eye is called Ragnvald, or Regnald, on the authority of *Regn. Lodbr. Saga*, Langebek II., p. 272, n. f, and by Saxo Grammaticus (lib. ix., p. 450), who mentions *Regnald*, Witserc [or Hvitserk] and Eric, as the three sons of Regnar Lodbrok by Suanloag [same as Asloga] dr. of Sigurd Fofnisban. Langebek, however (*loc. cit.*), seems to have been of opinion that Regnald is to be distinguished from Sigurd, who, he says, was the fifth and young-

est of Ragnar Lodbrok's sons by Asloga—"Itaque Sigurdus Anguioculus quintus fuit filius, et ceteris fratribus junior." See p. lvi., *supra.*, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Dated.* Ann. Ult. 876; O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 485. Robertson's *Scotland under her early Kings*, I. p. 48, n. The *Ann. Ult.* have the following record of this battle under their year 874, "Congressio Pictorum *fri Dubgalla* et strages magna Pictorum facta est. Oistin mac Amlaiph regis Norddmanorum ab Albann per dolum occisus est." "A battle of the Picts with the black foreigners, and a great slaughter was made of the Picts. Oistin [Eysteinn or Thorstein], son of Amlaf, king of the Northmen, was treacherously killed by the men of Alba." In the next year we read "Constantinus mac

has not found elsewhere any notice of the miraculous bursting open of the earth under the men of Alba, which is said to have occurred on this occasion.

The forty years' rest, (A.D. 875 to 915, circiter.)

A period of "rest to the men of Erin," we are told,<sup>1</sup> followed this expulsion of the invaders, and their victory in Scotland. For upwards of forty years, counted back from the year before the death of Flann Sionna,<sup>2</sup> king of Ireland, and the accession of his successor, Niall Glundubh, the country is said to have remained "without ravage from the foreigners;" and the annals undoubtedly support this assertion. During this period of forty years we read of no new arrivals of the Scandinavian invaders. The settlements already made in Ireland at Dublin, Limerick, Lough Foyle, and elsewhere, continued; churches were occasionally<sup>3</sup>

Cinaedha, rex Pictorum [moritur]:" which seems as if the Annalist did not suppose him to have fallen in the battle. The Chron. Pictorum (*Pinkerton's Enquiry*, I. p. 495,) makes Constantine the victor, and says that Amlaibh (read son of Amlaibh?) was slain. The Landnamabok, p. 107, tells us distinctly that Olaf the White was slain in Ireland; but the date of his death is not recorded in the Annals.

<sup>1</sup> *Told*. See ch. xxvi., p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Flann Sionna*. The Annals have recorded that Flann Sionna died on Saturday, the 8th of the Kalends of June, A.D. 916. Calculating, therefore, forty years from the year before, we have A.D. 875 as the commencement of the forty year's rest.

<sup>3</sup> *Occasionally*. A few instances may be mentioned, from the Four Mast. In 883 [886] Kildare was plundered by the foreigners, who carried off to their ships fourteen score men with the prior Suibhne and valuable property. In 885 [888] the abbot and prior of Cluain-Uamba (Cloyne) were slain by the Northmen. In the same year King Flann was defeated by the Gaill

of Dublin, and the bishop of Kildare with others slain. In 886 [889] Ard-Breccan, Domnach-Patraic, Tuilen, and Glendaloch were plundered by the Gaill. In 887 [890] Kildare and Clonard were plundered, and there was a slaughter of the foreigners by the Hi Amhalgaidh (the men of Tirawley), in which Elair [Hilary], son of Baraid, was slain. In 888 [891] a battle was gained by Riagan, son of Dungalhal, over the Gaill of Port Lairge (Waterford), Loch Carman (Wexford), and Teach Moling, in which 200 foreigners were slain. In 890 [893] Armagh was plundered by the Gaill of Dublin, under the command of Gluniarain (comp. Ann. Ult. 893). In the following year Flannagan, lord of Breagh, was slain by the Northmen, and a battle gained by the Conailli, in which were slain Amlaph, grandson of Ivar, and Gluntradhna, son of Gluniarain, with 800 of their men. These examples will suffice to show that the forty years' rest recorded by our author was a rest from fresh invasions only, and is not to be understood as implying an entire cessation of hostilities.

plundered, and there were conflicts now and then between the foreigners and the native chieftains. But during the whole reign of Flann Sionna, son of Maelseachlainn, there appears to have been no new arrival of a foreign fleet, no invasion properly so called; and the outrages recorded are all of the nature of those minor feuds which were continually going on between the native tribes and chieftains themselves. It was not until 913 (916), and again in 915 (918), the year before the accession of Niall Glundubh, that the arrival of new fleets in Loch-da-Caech, the harbour of Waterford, is mentioned,<sup>1</sup> after which numerous reinforcements continued to pour in. There had been a settlement at Waterford before, for which reason that harbour appears to have been chosen as the head-quarters of the new comers. Haconn, or Hakon, and Cossa-Narra are said to have been the leaders of the expedition that arrived just before the death of Flann Sionna. The names of these chieftains are not mentioned in the Annals, nor in any other authority known to the editor. They appear to have commenced at once the subjugation of Munster, but were defeated in three or four battles in Kerry<sup>2</sup> and in Tipperary. The Northmen of Limerick seem to have come to their assistance, but were defeated by the men of Connaught, and again by the men of Kerry and Corcobhaiscinn at the river Lemain, now the Laune near Killarney.

Next came a "prodigious royal fleet" of the Clann Ivar.

Keating speaks of a state of peace and prosperity, which he attributes to the wise rule of the celebrated Cormac Mac Cuillennain, king of Munster and bishop of Cashel (p. 519, *O'Mahony's Transl.*) But as Cormac reigned for seven years only, his reign can only be taken as a very small part of the forty years' rest, and other causes must have been at work to extend "the rest" for so long a period to the whole of Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> *Mentioned.* Ann. Ult. 912, 913.

Four M. 910, 912, 913 (really 913, 915, 916). See also *Fragments of Annals*, p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> *Kerry.* The battle in Kerry is recorded by the Four M. at their year 915=A.D. 916, the first year of Niall Glundubh. The names of Thomas of Cinn Crede, Rolt Pudarill, or Rolt and Pudrall, and Murail or Smurall, mentioned in the text, do not occur elsewhere, and are probably corrupt. See the notes pp. 27, 28.

Imhar, or children of Ivar, to Dublin (chap. xxvii.), and plundered the greater part of Ireland. But what follows in the text gives birth to considerable chronological difficulties, and is inconsistent with the limits already assigned by our author to the forty years' rest. It is evident that the remainder of this chapter is misplaced and belongs to an earlier period. The defeat of Flann Sionna by the Danes of Dublin, in the battle wherein fell Aedh, son of Conchobhair, king of Connaught, Lergus, son of Cronecan, bishop of Kildare, and Donnchadh, son of Maelduin, abbot of Delga or Kildalky, is dated by the Four Masters, 885 (= 888); and the other events mentioned are all grouped round<sup>1</sup> that year. They are, in fact, the exploits of an earlier party of the clann Ivar, who had settled in Dublin and were in alliance with Cearbhall, son of Dunghal, chieftain of Ossory, and king of Dublin.

History of  
the Danes  
of Dublin.

To make this clear it will be necessary to call to mind some particulars of the history of the Danes of Dublin. That fortress seems to have been originally founded<sup>2</sup> as a trading and military station by the "White Gentiles," who had established themselves in Ireland before the coming of the "Black Gentiles," or Danes. The arrival of these latter invaders is dated 851. Their chieftain Olaf [the White] came, we are told, to levy rents and tributes,<sup>3</sup> but finding opposition from the Scandina-

<sup>1</sup> *Grouped round.* It has already been suggested that there must be some corruption in the words "the year in which Maelsechlainn was killed," and that the year in which Maelfebhail, daughter of Maelsechlainn, died (Four M. 884=887) may have been intended (see note, p. 233). The plunder of Cluain Uamha [Cloyne] and the death of its bishop-abbot Fergal, son of Finachta, and its prior Uanan or Uamanan, is dated 885=888 (Four M.) The death of Donnchadh, son of Dubhdaboirenn, king of Munster, is also placed by the Four

M. in the same year (they do not say that he was killed); but they make no mention of the death of Sitric, or the burning of Lismore by the son of Imhar.

<sup>2</sup> *Founded.* See p. lxii. The Four Masters record the first taking of Dublin or Athcliath at 836 (838); and the erection of the fortress (Ἰονγορετ) there 840 (842).

<sup>3</sup> *Tributes.* Fragments of Annals, p. 125, 127. The Four Masters mention the first coming of the Dubhgall to Dublin, at 849 (851); and the first coming of Olaf, 851 (=853).

vians already in possession of the country, he left suddenly, probably to seek reinforcements. In 856 he returned to Ireland, and received the submission of all the foreign tribes.<sup>1</sup> At this time he probably obtained possession of Dublin, and is said to have been joined by "his younger brother, Ivar," who seems to have followed him on this occasion, or to have accompanied<sup>2</sup> him at his first coming to Ireland.

There was however another Ivar, the leader of a more considerable party, who, about four years later, invaded East Anglia, where he was met by Amlaff, from Scotland. This was most probably Ivar Beinlaus,<sup>3</sup> son of Regnar Lodbrok, who is called by the Ulster Annals<sup>4</sup> "Rex Nordmannorum totius Hiberniæ et Britanniæ." He was the same Ivar who became king of Northumbria, and was the founder<sup>5</sup> of the Scandinavian dynasty in that country, which was afterwards so closely connected with the Danish kings of Dublin. He appears to have arrived at the time when Amlaf, or Olaf the White, with Anisle [or Flosius] was in Pictland, with all the Gaill of Ireland and Scotland, where they "plundered all Pictland, and took Hostages."<sup>6</sup> In this year (866), says Ethelwerd,<sup>7</sup> the only

Arrival of Ivar, king of Northumbria.

<sup>1</sup> *Tribes*. Fragments of Annals, A.D. 856, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> *Accompanied*. See Fragments of Annals, p. 127. The Sagas, however, do not seem to have recorded any Ivar, brother of Olaf the White. It is possible that what is here said of his younger brother Ivar is a mistake, and that Ivar Beinlaus is intended. He is not called the brother of Olaf by the Ann. Ult. or by the Four M. There is confusion between the names Inguar, Igwar, Imar, Ivar, Ifar, in the English as well as in the Irish Chronicles.

<sup>3</sup> *Beinlaus*. Or the Boneless.

<sup>4</sup> *Annals*. Ult. 872 (=873) which was the year of his death. Annal. Island, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Founder*. In *Olaf's Tryggvasonars*

*Saga* (c. 64, p. 117), *Kaupmanna*. 1825, (*Formanna Sögur*, vol. 1.), we are told that Ivar Beinlaus had no children, and was incapable of having any. But this, perhaps, signifies only that he had gone to England, and having never returned, there was no record of his children in the Scandinavian Chronicles. Thorkelin, Fragments of Engl. and Irish Hist. (*Nordynara*, p. 26), mentions Inguar and Husta, two sons of Ivar by a concubine. In the English and Irish records he is evidently the ancestor of the Clanna Ivar or Ily Ivar, who were the kings of Northumbria and Dublin.

<sup>6</sup> *Hostages*. Ann. Ult. 865 (=866).

<sup>7</sup> *Ethelwerd*. Monumenta Hist. Brit., p. 512, E. Angl. Sax. Chron. 867.

English historian by whom the leader of the expedition is named, the fleets of King Ivar arrived, "advectæ sunt classes tyranni Igwares." The two chieftains uniting their forces crossed the Humber to York, and slew the kings Osbright and Ella<sup>1</sup>; they remained a year at York,<sup>2</sup> and the next year (870 or 871) returned to Dublin from Scotland with booty<sup>3</sup> and captives. Ivar died<sup>4</sup> in 872 or 873, four or five years before the commencement of the forty years' rest chronicled by our author. In 875 Oistin or Eystein, (probably the same as Thorstein the Red), son of Amlaff, was slain *per dolum*, as the Ulster Annals say, in Scotland<sup>5</sup>; and in the same year, or the year before, Cearbhall (*pron.* Carroll), son of Dunghall, chieftain of Ossory, succeeded Ivar Beinlaus as king of Dublin,<sup>6</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *Ella.* Ann. Ult. 866; Anglo-Sax. Chron. 867; Lappenberg (Thorpe's transl.) ii., 33, 34.

<sup>2</sup> *York.* Anglo-Sax. Chron. 868-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Booty.* Ann. Ult. 870 [871]. Amlaff's fortress (Λονγοπορ) at Clondalkin had been burned by the Irish (865=868, *Four Mast.*), who gibbeted 100 heads of the slain; the next year his son Carlus fell in battle. These outrages probably excited his thirst for vengeance; and on his return in 870, he plundered and burned Armagh (*Four Mast.* 867=870). The A. S. Chron. expressly mentions Inguar (or Ivar) and Ubba as the chieftains who slew King Eadmund in 870. See above, p. lvi.

<sup>4</sup> *Died.* Ann. Ult. 872; Ann. Inisf. (Dubl.) 873.

<sup>5</sup> *Scotland.* Ann. Ult. 874; Robertson's *Scotland* under her early King's, I. p. 47.

<sup>6</sup> *Dublin.* See the Genealogy of Cearbhall, *O'Donovan's Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory* [enlarged from Trans. Kilkenny Archæol. Soc. *Dublin*, 1851], pp. 11-13. This chieftain had formed an alliance with the Danes of Dublin soon after their

arrival; and indeed Thorstein, Olaf's son, was married to Thurida, Cearbhall's grand-daughter, by his daur. Rafertach, who had married the celebrated Eyvind Austmann, so called because he had come to the Hebrides from Sweden. In 856 (Four M.) really 857 or 858, we find Cearbhall in alliance with Ivar (probably the same who is called Olaf's brother), and they vanquished the Cinel Fiachach (who seem to have had the Gaill Gaedhil of Leth Cuinn, or the northern half of Ireland, on their side,) in a battle fought in Aradhtire, now the barony of Arra or Du-harra, county of Tipperary. Cearbhall then attacked Leinster, probably with a view to the possession of Dublin, and took hostages, amongst whom was Cairbre, son of Dunlang, heir apparent to the sovereignty of Leinster. The next year he attacked Meath, in alliance with Amlaff and Imhar (Four M.); but the Synod of Rath-aedh-mac Bric, now Rath-hugh, in West-meath, under the bishop of Armagh and the abbot of Clonard, made a temporary peace between the contending parties. It was in 865, according to

continued to be recognised as such until his death in 888. It is evident that during his reign the Scandinavian leaders had abandoned to him and their other followers the care of their colony at Dublin. His death seems to have created in the native chieftains the hope of obtaining possession of the fortress by the expulsion of the Danes; for in that very year Flann,<sup>1</sup> king of Ireland, joining his forces to those of the king of Connaught, and aided by the ecclesiastical authorities of Leinster, attempted the overthrow of the Danish dynasty of Dublin, but was defeated, as we have seen, with the loss of almost all his allies.

“Four years after this,” adds our author, (meaning apparently four years after the death of Donnchadh, king of Munster, or A.D. 888, and the other contemporary events recorded in this chapter,) “the foreigners left Ireland and went to Alba with Sitriuc, son of Ivar.”<sup>2</sup> This clause,

The Danes of Dublin leave Ireland for Scotland.

the Ann. Ult., that Amlaff and Auisle went to Scotland, and plundered all Pietland. It is doubtful whether this event or the death of Ivar in 873 should be regarded as the occasion which enabled Cearbhall to make himself king of Dublin. His reign is not recognised by the Irish Annals, possibly because of its connexion with the Danish usurpation. It is a remarkable proof of the importance of Dublin as a Danish settlement that Cearbhall, king of Dublin, (Kiarvalr ar Dyfflini á Irlandi) is enumerated amongst the principal sovereigns of Europe at the period of the occupation of Iceland. *Landnama*. p. 4.

To the English historians Dublin was wholly unknown; it is mentioned but once in the A. S. Chron., and then only incidentally, as the place to which the defeated Northmen retired after the battle of Brunanburg (937-8). Cearbhall's death is recorded by the *Four Mast*. 885 (=888); by the *Ann. Cambriae*, 887; and by the *Brut y Tywysogion* in the same year.

<sup>1</sup> *Flann*. This prince was the son of Lann (or Flanna, as she is called, *Fragments of Annals*, p. 179), daughter of Dunghall or Dunlaing, lord of Os-sory, (and therefore sister of Cearbhall,) by Maelseachlainn, king of Ireland; after whose death, in 863, she married Aedh Finnliath, king of Ireland, the immediate predecessor of her son Flann—*Fragments of Annals*, pp. 129, 139, 157. She appears also to have had a son Cennedigh (or Kennedy) by Gaithin, lord of Leix, whether legitimately or not is not recorded. *Ibid*, pp. 157, 165, 173, 179. Aedh Finnliath had also married Maelmuri, (daughter of Cinaedh, or Kenneth mac Alpin), who was the mother of Niall Glundubh, and therefore probably Aedh's first wife—(Keating).

<sup>2</sup> *Sitriuc, son of Ivar*. Two chieftains, named Sitric, are mentioned in this chapter. One (styled “king of the foreigners,” or as the MS. B. reads, “son of the king of the foreigners,”) is said to have been killed with Donnchadh mac Dubhdabhloirenn, king of

however, does not appear in the MS. L, nor is the information it contains to be found in the Irish Annals. But it is remarkable that the Annals of Ulster, at their year 892 or 893, which is the fourth year after 888, mention a victory by the Saxons over the Black Gentiles with great slaughter, which was followed<sup>1</sup> by "a great internal dissension among the foreigners of Dublin, who divided themselves into factions, one part siding with the son of Imhar, and the other with Sichfrith the Earl." This dissension no doubt weakened the Dublin Danes, and the year noted by the Annals of Ulster, although not the exact date of their leaving Ireland, was perhaps the beginning of their loss of power. The exact year of their expulsion is given by the Four Masters 897, really 900, and by the Annals of Ulster,<sup>2</sup> 901 or 902. It appears that in that year a new attack was organized against the Danes of Dublin, headed by Maelfinnia, king of Bregia, and by Cearbhall, son of Muiregan, king of Leinster; the confederates succeeded in displacing the foreign garrison, who "escaped half dead across the sea," leaving behind them a great many of their

Munster, in 888; but there seems some confusion about him. L. calls him "*Siugrad*, son of Imar, king of the foreigners," p. 233; and the Ann. Ult. at 887 = 888, have "*Sicfrith* mac Imar rex Nordmannorum a fratre suo occisus est." *Singrad*, if the *u* be pronounced *v*, does not differ essentially from *Sicfrith*; the name is frequently used as identical with *Sitric* and *Sigurd*, even by Scandinavian writers. The other *Sitriuc* is spoken of as the leader of the foreigners who left Ireland, and went to Scotland, in 902. A third *Sitriuc* (if he be not the same as the first) is mentioned by the Ann. Ult. 895 (896): "*Sitriucc* mac Imair ab aliis Nordmannis occisus est." Of him, most probably, at 893 (894), the same Annals say "*Mac Ivar*" (but without naming him) "came again to

Ireland." *Mac Ihar* *terrum* *to* *cum* *nErenn*.

<sup>1</sup> *Followed*. It is not, however, said expressly that the one was the consequence of the other, although the two events are recorded in immediate juxtaposition.

<sup>2</sup> *Ulster*. The event is thus recorded by the Ulster Annals: "The banishment of the Gentiles from Ireland, i.e., from the fortress of Dublin, by Maelfinnia, son of Flannagan, with the men of Bregh, and by Cerbhall, son of Murigan, with the men of Leinster, so that they left great numbers of their ships behind them, and escaped half dead across the sea wounded and broken." Comp. Robertson, *Scotland under her early Kings*, vol. i., p. 56, sq.

ships. The Four Masters add that they were afterwards besieged, and reduced to great straits, at Inis mac Nesain, now Ireland's Eye,<sup>1</sup> where they appear to have taken refuge on their way to Scotland. The Annals make no mention of their leader on this occasion; the present work is the only authority which tells us that he was Sitriuc, son of Imhair, apparently not the same as "Sichfrith the Earl,"<sup>2</sup> who is distinguished in the Annals of Ulster from "the son of Imhair" as having been the leader of the party opposed to him.

It appears then that the forty years' "rest," interpreted as a rest from fresh invasions, although it is not expressly mentioned in the Annals, is perfectly consistent with the events recorded by them; and that there was such a period of rest is incidentally confirmed by the circumstance mentioned in the Annals of Ulster, that in 877 (878), about three years after the commencement of the forty years' rest, the *Scrinium*, or shrine of St. Columcille, with his *minna* or precious things,<sup>3</sup> were removed to Ireland "to protect them from the foreigners;" and the year before *i.e.*, 876 (877), as the same Annals<sup>4</sup> inform us, Ruaidhri, son of Murminn [Mervyn], king of Britain or Wales, fled to Ireland to escape the Dubhgaill or Danes.

Ireland was therefore then regarded as a place of comparative safety; and the absence of fresh inroads during the long period of forty years, may possibly be accounted for by the hope of more valuable booty held out to the Northmen of Ireland, by the extensive depredations<sup>5</sup> of their

The forty years' rest, incidentally confirmed.

Its probable cause.

<sup>1</sup> *Ireland's Eye*, antiently Inis Faithlenn, *Mart. Doneg.* (15 *March*). A small island north of Howth. *Eye* here is the Scandinavian *Ey*, insula, not the English *Eye*, oculus. Inis mac Nechtain, in the printed text of the Four M., is a mere error of transcription.

<sup>2</sup> *Sichfrith the Earl*. There was a Sigfried, Earl of Orkney, at this time.

<sup>3</sup> *Precious things*. See Reeves's *Adamnan*, p. 315, sq.; *Ann. Ult.* 877; Four M. 875 (=878).

<sup>4</sup> *Annals*. *Ult.* 876; Four M. 874. See also Keating (reign of Aedh Finliath).

<sup>5</sup> *Depredations*. See Depping, *Hist. des expéditions des Normands et leur établissement en France*—(Livre III.) *Paris*, 1843. Biörn Ironside, son of Regnar Lodbrok, is said to have been the leader in some of the earlier depredations of the Northmen on the Continent of Europe. *Ibid*, p. 135.

countrymen at that period on the Rhine, in France, Brittany, Italy, and other parts of the Continent of Europe, as well as in Great Britain.

Arrival of  
Danes at  
Waterford.

The reinforcements which came to the Danes of Waterford<sup>1</sup> are next mentioned, chap. xxviii. They are described as "innumerable hordes," under the command of Ragnall, grandson of Ivar, and of the Earl Ottir. This latter chieftain is not mentioned in the Annals, although they record at A.D. 916 (first year of Niall Glundubh) the arrival of Ragnall,<sup>2</sup> grandson of Ivar, to reinforce the foreigners already established at Waterford. In chap. xxxv. we have mention of an earl called Ottir Dubh, or the black, who came with 100 ships to Waterford, and put all Munster under tribute. We read also in the Annals of Ulster, A.D. 913, of a Barid, son of Ottir, who was killed in battle at the Isle of Man, by Ragnall, on his way to Waterford.<sup>3</sup> Ottir, or Ottar, the father of this Barid, can scarcely have been the same Ottar the Earl, who accompanied Ragnall three years afterwards as his ally and joint commander of reinforcements to the Danes of Waterford.

Munster  
plundered.

After some exploits<sup>4</sup> of minor importance, this party of

<sup>1</sup> *Waterford*. Called in the text Loch Dacaech: the estuary or bay of Dacaech, for so the word Loch here signifies. See above, p. xxxi., n. Dacaech (according to the Drimseanchus) is the name of a woman. The Four M. first mention the settlement of Danes in Waterford at A.D. 912—*Ann. Ult.* 913.

<sup>2</sup> *Ragnall*. He is called king of the black foreigners, or Danes, by the Four Masters, 915; *Ult.* 916. At 913 (*Ult.*), and 912 (Four M.), we have mention of "a great new fleet of gentiles at Loch Dacaech." We ought, perhaps, to infer from this that the reinforcements recorded in the text arrived between the years 913 and 916.

<sup>3</sup> *Waterford*. The words are "Bel-

lum navale oc [i.e. *apud*] Manainn etir [inter] Barid Mac nOitir, et Ragnall ua Imair, ubi Barid pene cum omni exercitu suo deletus est." *Ann. Ult.* 913. Dr. O'Conor (*Rev. Hib. Scriptt.* iv. p. 247,) reads *Barid mac Noctir*, a mistake for Mac n-Oitir. Mr. Robertson (Scotland under her early Kings, i. p. 57,) has it "Barid mac Nocti." The Dublin MS. of the Ulster Annals has *Mac n-Oitir*, "son of Oitir," which is evidently the true reading.

<sup>4</sup> *Exploits*. These were, the murder of Domhnall or Donnell, son of Donnchadh, heir apparent of Cashel, who was probably son of Donnchadh mac Dubhidabhoirenn, king of Munster (see App. B., p. 238); the plunder of Musc-

invaders divided themselves into three companies, one of which took up their station at Corcach,<sup>1</sup> the other at Inis-na-hEidhnighi, in Kerry, and the third at Glas-Linn. From these garrisons they plundered the whole of Munster, so that there was not a house left standing from the river,<sup>2</sup> meaning, perhaps, the Shannon, southward to the sea; and it is particularly mentioned that Gebennach, son of Aedh, king of the Ui Conaill Gabhra,<sup>3</sup> was beheaded by them. A chronological note is added that this conquest of Munster took place in the year *before* the death of Flann Sionna. This ought perhaps to have been the year *after*,<sup>4</sup> or A.D. 917.

A paragraph which stands in the text at the end of the next chapter,<sup>5</sup> is obviously misplaced, and ought to come in here; all that intervenes belongs to an earlier period, and is evidently an interpolation.<sup>6</sup> The paragraph alluded to records the flight or banishment of Ragnall and Ottir into Scotland, where they were defeated, and both chieftains slain by Constantine, son of Aedh. This battle, according to some English authorities, took place at Tynemore, or Tynemoor,<sup>7</sup> in the year 918;

raighe [now Muskerry, co. of Cork,] and of Ui Cairpre, or Ui Cairpre Aebhdha, in the co. of Limerick. (*Book of Rights*, p. 77.)

<sup>1</sup> *Corcach*, now Cork; Inis-na-hEidhnighe, now Iny, in Kerry; Glas-Linn, (probably on the Shannon; see *Tribes and Customs of Hy Many*, p. 130, n.)

<sup>2</sup> *River*. The original word is *lu*, a stream, flood, or river, written also *li*, *liu*; (Welsh, *Llif*; the sea); probably cognate with *f-lu-men*, and with the Irish *li-nao*, to fill. It is also the name of the river Lee, which is generally written *lioi*, *O'Flaherty*, *Ogyg.*, p. 164. In this sense it has been taken in the translation, p. 31, and p. 234. But the district from the Lee to the sea southwards would be a very small portion of the country.

<sup>3</sup> *Ui Conaill Gabhra*. See note, p.

31, and comp. *Book of Rights*, p. 76, n. The descent of this tribe is given App. B., *Genealog. Table V*. For the other chieftains slain, see p. 31, and note 2.

<sup>4</sup> *After*. We have already had occasion to notice the ambiguity of the phrase *ne nec*, which may signify *before* or *after* the death, perhaps according to the pronunciation of *ne*. See p. lxix, n. Flann Sionna died 8 Kal. Jun. 916. *Ogyg.*, p. 434. This chronological clause does not occur in the ancient MS. of the present work, and is therefore probably an interpolation.

<sup>5</sup> *Next chapter*. See p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> *Interpolation*. See p. 34, and n. 2, p. 234-5.

<sup>7</sup> *Tynemoor*. Innes, *Critical Essay*, App. 3. Simeon Dunelm. says, at Corbridge-on-Tyne, ii., c. 16.

Battle of  
Tynemoor.

and the Annals of Ulster, at that date, give a more circumstantial account of it than is customary with them; but without saying where the battle was fought. They tell us that Ragnall was accompanied by two earls, Ottir and Gragaban,<sup>1</sup> with some others whom the annalist calls *og-tigherna*, "young chieftains." The North Saxons also were in alliance with "the men of Alba;" which circumstance seems to prove that Ragnall's object was to secure his right to the sovereignty of Northumbria, and consequently he was resisted. He divided his forces into four battalions—one led by his brother Godfrith, grandson of Ivar; one by the two earls; one by "the young chieftains;" and the fourth kept in concealment or ambuscade by himself. The united forces of Constantine and his Saxon allies soon routed the first three battalions, and "there was a great slaughter of the Gentiles round Ottir and Gragaban." Then Ragnall attacked the victors in the rear, and rendered the result of the battle doubtful; "for neither king nor *mormaer* [great steward or earl]" was slain by the Danes, and "night alone put an end to the conflict." In other words the battle was a drawn one.<sup>2</sup> It is not said in the Ulster Annals that Ragnall or Ottir, or any other of the leaders, was slain; but we infer that at least Ragnall, grandson of Ivar, whom they call "king of the Fingall and Dubhgall," survived; for they record his death three years after the battle,<sup>3</sup> A.D. 921.

<sup>1</sup> *Gragaban*. In *Spaggaban*, "with Graggaban." It is evident that this is the name or surname of a man. He is not mentioned in the other Annals; but Simeon Dunelm. in his shorter Chron. (*Monum. Hist. Brit.* p. 686, B.) at the year 812, mentions this chieftain under the name of *Osvul Cracabam*, in these words, "Reingwold Rex, et Oter Comes, et Osvul Cracabam irruerunt et vastaverunt Dunblin" [Dunblain]. In Lappenberg's *Hist. of England* (Thorpe's ed. ii. p. 94) Cracabam is mistaken for the

name of a place. But it is a well known name or surname, and is supposed to signify *crow-foot*, indicating skill in augury. See Langebek, ii. p. 153, *n*.

<sup>2</sup> *A drawn one*. Ann. Ult. 917 (918). Dr. Reeves has given this passage in the original, and with a translation, *Adamnan*, p. 332, *n*. See a good account of this battle in Robertson's *Scotland under her early Kings*, i. p. 57, *sq*.

<sup>3</sup> *Battle*. Ann. Ult. 920, *al*. 921.

The other events recorded in this chapter (xxix.), which, as we have said, are not in their chronological order, fall within the period which our author calls "the rest," that is to say, the forty years during which there were no fresh invasions of Ireland. These were "an extraordinary and indescribable slaughter of the foreigners at Dun Main,<sup>1</sup> in the west of Ireland," or, according to another reading, in the west of Munster. The Dun itself was demolished, and was therefore probably a fortress of the enemy; for the victors were the principal tribes of the south-west of Ireland, namely, the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein, or Killarney, under the command of their chieftain, Conligan,<sup>2</sup> son of Maelcron; the Ui Conaill Gabhra, of Limerick, under Flannabrat, or Flannery, grandson of Dunadach,<sup>3</sup> their king; and the Ciarraighe, or men of Kerry, under their chieftain, Congalach,<sup>4</sup> son of Lachtna.

Our author fixes the date of this great victory by telling us that in the same year the following events took place:—1. Colphinn<sup>5</sup> was slain at Cenn Curraigh, and Baethbarr was slain at Dublin. 2. Amlaff plundered Lismore. 3. Foenteran, son of Drognean, chieftain of the Fir Muighi (now Fermoy), burned Amlaff's camp on the same night, in revenge for the plunder of Lismore. 4. After which Amlaff murdered<sup>6</sup> his own brother, Osill, or Oislé. These calamities were brought upon the Danish chieftains by the miraculous vengeance of St. Mochuda,<sup>7</sup> patron of Lismore, for their sacrilegious plundering of that sacred place.

<sup>1</sup> *Dun Main*. This place is not mentioned in the Annals. There is a Dunmaine in the west of Kerry. Dunmedhoin is mentioned, p. 25, which is perhaps another spelling of the name.

<sup>2</sup> *Conligan*. This chieftain is not mentioned in the Annals, although the Four M. record the death of his father, Maelcron, at their year 837.

<sup>3</sup> *Dunadach*. He died 833 (=835), *Four M.* See App. B., Genealog.

Table V., No. 20. Flannabrat was killed, A.D. 876 (=878). *Four M.*

<sup>4</sup> *Congalach*. He is not mentioned in the Annals.

<sup>5</sup> *Colphinn*. See chap. xxiv., p. 26, and p. lxxiii above.

<sup>6</sup> *Murdered*. See Fragments of Annals, p. 171, and p. lxxii., supra.

<sup>7</sup> *Mochuda*. Called also Carthach, from the name of his master, St. Cathach. See Mart. Donegal, 14 May, p. 127. His original name was Cuda.

Slaughter  
of the  
Gail at  
Dun Main

Contem-  
porary  
events.

Their date  
deter-  
mined.

Unfortunately, however, none of these events are mentioned in the Irish Annals, and therefore we are ignorant of their precise dates. But the next paragraph in our author's narrative enables us to supply this defect. He there tells us that this was the same year in which Aedh Finnliath, king of Ireland, with Conchobhair,<sup>1</sup> or Conor, king of Connaught, gained the battle of Cill Ua nDaighre<sup>2</sup> over "the Fair Gentiles," six years after the death of King Maelseachlainn, and therefore A.D. 869.

The battle  
of Cill Ua  
nDaighre  
or Killi-  
neer.

It appears from the curious account of this battle given in the Brussels "Fragments of Annals," that it originated in some insult offered to King Aedh Finnliath, by his nephew Flann,<sup>3</sup> king of the Cianachta Bregh, who called to his assistance the crews of a fleet of Norsemen, at that time anchored at the mouth of the Boyne. He had also as his allies the men of Leinster, and thus was considerably superior in point of numbers to the king of Ireland. Nevertheless he was defeated with great slaughter, and beheaded. The chronicle<sup>4</sup> represents the victory as due

<sup>1</sup> *Conchobhair*. See Dr. O'Donovan's note <sup>b</sup>, *Four M.* 866, p. 504.

<sup>2</sup> *Cill Ua n-Daighre*: now Killineer, near Drogheda. (See *Fragments of Annals*, p. 183, *n.*)

<sup>3</sup> *Flann*. The Annals of Ulster (867) give the following account of this battle—"Bellum [battle gained] by Aedh Mac Neill, at Cill-ua-nDaigri, over the Hy Niall of Bregia and the Leinstermen, and over the great army of the Gaill, i.e. 300, or 900, or more. In which fell Flann, son of Conang, king of all Bregia, and Diarmait, son of Edirscell" [Driscoll], "king of Loch Gabhor" [Loch Gower or Lagore, near Dunshaughlin, co. of Meath] "et in isto bello plurimi Gentilium trucidati sunt. And Fachtna, son of Maelduin, *righdomhna* [heir apparent] of the North, fell in the heat of the

battle, et alii multi." Flann was the son of Conang, or Conall, king of the Cianachta (or posterity of Cian) of Bregia, by a daughter of Niall Caille, whose name is not preserved, and sister of Aedh Finnliath. To her the poem quoted in the text is ascribed; and see the other poems quoted by the Four M., A.D. 866 (=869), on the battle of Cill-Ua-nDaighri, showing that the victory was considered at the time one of great triumph and importance.

<sup>4</sup> *Chronicle*. *Fragments of Annals*, p. 181, *sq.* Before the battle, Aedh is represented as reminding his army that "it is not by force of soldiers that a battle is gained, but by the aid of God and the righteousness of the prince. Pride" (he adds) "and superfluous forces are not pleasing to God, but humility of mind and firmness of

to the piety and Christianity of King Aedh, who spared the men of Leinster after the battle, as being Christians, and turned his troops altogether against the Pagan Norsemen.

The events recorded in the next chapter (xxx.) are dated in the year "in which Niall-Glun-dubh became monarch of Ireland," or A.D. 916. At this epoch Sitric, grandson of Ivar, and brother of Ragnall of Waterford, of whom we have just spoken, came with another fleet and settled at Cenn Fuait.<sup>1</sup> From this place they plundered Leinster, and soon afterwards gained a great battle over the king of Leinster. Our author does not say where; but the Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters tell us expressly that the battle was at Cenn Fuait, which was probably somewhere near the coast of the counties of Kilkenny or Wexford. After their victory<sup>2</sup> they went northwards

Battle of  
Cenn Fuait.

heart." Flann, on the other hand, avows to his followers that his sole object is ambition, "to gain the throne of Ireland or be killed." Again King Aedh exhorts his soldiers "Think not of flight, but trust in the Lord, who gives victory to the Christians;" and after the battle, "Beloved people spare the Christians, and fight against the idolaters, who are now routed before you." It appears, therefore, that the religious element had begun to make itself felt in the contest between the parties.

<sup>1</sup> *Cenn Fuait*: "Fuait's Head." This place, Dr. O'Donovan conjectures (*Four M.* 915, notes, p. 589, 560), is now Confev, in the county of Kildare, near Leixlip, (the Danish *Lax-lep*, Salmon Leap,) in the barony of *Salt* (Saltus Salmonis). But the Annals of Ulster, at 916 (*Four M.* 915), tell us that Cenn Fuait was *in the East, or anterior part of Leinster;* and it must have been near the sea, as Sitric, "with his fleet," settled

there. A poem, quoted by the *Four M.*, seems to speak of the battle (if it be the same) as having taken place in "a valley over Tigh Moling," which may signify either Timolin, in the south of the county of Kildare, or St. Mullins on the Barrow, in the south of the county of Carlow. This latter place may have been approached by water, from Waterford, and as it is situated at the foot of Brandon Hill, the battle may have been in some "valley over Tigh Moling," and the Danish fortress called Cenn Fuait, on some *head* in the mountain, accessible to light ships by the Barrow.

<sup>2</sup> *Victory*. In the battle we are told were slain 600, with fifty kings. The following are named:—1. Ugaire, son of Ailill, king of Leinster, whose father was also slain by the Norsemen in 871 (*Four M.* 869); 2. Maolmordha, son of Mairegean, king of western (or more probably eastern) Liffey. See note 4, p. 34. That part of the county of Kildare which lies between

and plundered Kildare, and "the greater part of the churches of Erin."

The Clanna Ivar land forcibly at Dublin.

We next read of the arrival of another party of the Clanna Imhar, or children of Ivar, as the Irish call them. They came in "an immense royal fleet," under the command of Sitric, grandson of Ivar, to Dublin, where they "forcibly<sup>1</sup> landed," and encamped. Whether this was the same Sitric, grandson of Ivar, who was the leader of the Gentiles of Cenn Fuait three years before, is not certain. He is here called Sitric *Caech*, "the Blind," and by the Four Masters (at 917) Sitric *Gale*, a word which, if it be Irish, may signify "the champion" or "hero."

Battle of Kilmashogue and death of Niall Glundubh, 919.

Be this however as it may, King Niall Glundubh lost no time in mustering his clansmen and kindred from the north of Ireland. He attacked the invaders, and a great battle ensued in the mountains south of Dublin, where he himself was slain; twelve kings fell in the battle, with a great part of the nobles of the northern half of Ireland,

the river Lifè or Liffey and the sea, and is included in its horse-shoe winding, was eastern or Airther Lifè; the rest of the county was western or Iarthair Lifè (See Four M. 628, note 2, p. 250). 3. Mughron, son of Cenneidigh, king of Laighis (now Leix) and the three Comanns, (septs situated in the north of the county of Kilkenny. See Four M. 871, note 1, p. 516). His father, Cenneidigh, or Kennedy, was the son of Gaithin, by Lann, sister of Cearbhaill of Ossory. See above, p. lxxxix, note 1. 4. Cinaodh, son of Tuathal, king of the Ui Enechglais, a tribe seated in the barony of Arklow, county of Wicklow. They were descended from Bresail, surnamed Enechglais, or of the green face, son of Cathair Mór, king of Ireland in the second century (Four M. 915, p. 590). 5. Maelmoedhog, son of Diarmaid, abbot of Glenn Uissen, now Killeslin, Queen's county, in the territory of Ui

Bairche. He was probably abbat-bishop; and is called by our author Archbishop of Leinster, i.e. *Ará* (chief or eminent) bishop, because of his eminence in learning, for the Four Mast. tell us that he was "a distinguished scribe, anchorite, and learned sage, in Latinity and in the Scotie speech." The Ann. Ult. call him "a sage, and bishop of Leinster." He is not mentioned by Ware or Harris, nor does his name occur in connexion with any of the known episcopal sees. There were no Archbishops, in the modern sense of the word, at that time in Ireland; see *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 14, sq.

<sup>1</sup> *Forcibly*. We have seen that the foreigners were expelled from Dublin in 902 by the Irish chieftains, who probably still held possession of the place, and resisted the landing of the new invaders. This explains the phrase *quæ eicim*, "by force."

and a "countless army besides." The Annals have recorded chronological criteria which place it beyond a doubt that Wednesday, September 15th, 919, was the precise date of this engagement, and the Four Masters tell us that the battle was fought at Cill Mosamhog,<sup>1</sup> now Kilmashogue, in the mountains near Rathfarnham, about six miles from Dublin.

The names of the twelve<sup>2</sup> kings or chieftains who were slain in the battle are then given in detail; and it is evident Twelve  
kings slain.

<sup>1</sup> *Cill Mosamhog.* The church of Mosamhog. The name of this saint would be Samh, or perhaps Sabh, taking away the devotional prefix *mo*, my, and the termination *og*, little or young. But no such name has been found in the Irish Calendars. Sabia or Sabina, was the mother or grandmother of St. Cuthbert. The remains of a very large cromlech are still to be seen on Kilmashogue mountain, in the grounds of Glen Southwell, near St. Columba's College. This, in all probability, marks the grave of the chieftains and kings slain in the battle. Kilmocudrig, or the church of St. Cuthbert, now Kilmacud, is in the neighbourhood.

<sup>2</sup> *Twelve.* See note, p. 36, where the variations of the MSS. and other authorities in the list of the kings are collected. The Dublin MS., from which the text is taken, is the only authority which adheres to the number twelve. The names are there given thus:—1. Conchobhair, son of Mael-seachlainn I., heir apparent of Tara, that is, of the chieftainry of the Clann Colmain. (See General Table II., p. 246). 2. Conaing, son of Flann Sionna, heir apparent of Ireland (*ib.*) 3. Flaithbheartach, s. of Domhnall, another heir apparent of Ireland. 4. Aedh, son of Eochaidh [Eochagan, *Four M.* 917.] king of Uladh. Reeves's *Ecl. Antiq.*, p. 352, sq. 5. Maelmithigh, son of Flan-

nagan, king of Bregia; a district including the counties of Meath, Westmeath, Dublin (north of the Liffey), and part of Louth (*Book of Rights*, p. 11, n.) 6. Eremhon, son of Cennedigh, chief of Cenel Mani, a tribe in Teffia, Westmeath. (*Ibid.*, p. 180, n.) 7. Congalach, son of Cele, king of Ua Mac Uais, now the barony of Moygoish, in Westmeath. 8. Congalach, son of Dreman, k. of Crimthainn, now the barony of Lower Slane, in Meath. 9. Maelmuire, son of Ainbith, k. of Mugornn or Mugdhorn, now Cremorne [the anglicized form of Crioch Mughhorn], county of Monaghan. 10. Deochan, son of Domhnall, king of Cianachta, a district of Bregia, in Meath. 11. Dunan, or Diman, son of Cerballan. 12. Brenan, son of Fergus. These two last named are not elsewhere mentioned. The MS. B. adds the three following names—(see p. 36, n. 4):—1. Maeldubh, king of Oirghiall (Louth and Monaghan), [who is called Maelcroibhe Ua Dubhsionaigh, lord of Oirghiall, by the *Leabhar Gabhala* and *Four Mast.*, and Maelcraibi Mac Dubhsionaigh, king of the Airghiallu, by the *Ann. Ul.*] 2. Maelcraibi, son of Doilgen, whom the Four M. call king of Tortan, or of the Ui Tortain [a tribe of the Oirghialla seated near Ardbraccan in the co. of Meath]; and 3. Celach, son of Fogartach, king of South Bregia.

that those who obeyed the summons of King Niall were the families immediately interested in the succession to the monarchy, namely, the tribes of Meath and those of Tyrone and Down. The possession of Dublin was of peculiar importance to the Clann Colmain, from the disposition shown by the neighbouring chieftains of Ossory and Leinster to make alliances with the invaders.

Godfrey,  
grandson of  
Ivar, plun-  
ders Ar-  
magh, A.D.  
921.

In the next chapter (xxxii.) we read that Gothrin, Gofraigh, or Godfrey,<sup>1</sup> "son of Imar," plundered "the north of Erin," and spoiled Armagh. He must have been not son but *grandson* of Imar, as he is rightly styled in the Brussels Annals, and by the Four Masters. The attack upon Armagh is dated in the Annals,<sup>2</sup> Saturday, the day before the feast of St. Martin (Nov. 11), which indicates the year 921; and it is evident that the paragraph in which this event is recorded is out of its place, and ought to be at the end instead of the beginning of this chapter. For our author's next words (p. 37), "notwithstanding that *this battle* was gained over them," that is, over the Irish, evidently refer to the Battle of Kilmashogue, not to the battle (if there was one) in which Armagh was spoiled; but the words above quoted ought to have been rendered "that battle, however, was avenged on them in full measure<sup>3</sup> before the end of a year," meaning, no doubt, a year after the battle of Kilmashogue; for Donnchadh, grandson<sup>4</sup> of Maelseachlainn, gained a battle over the Danes at Tigh Mic Deicthig in which an im-

Battle of  
Tigh Mic  
Deicthig.

<sup>1</sup> *Godfrey*. The Annals of Ulster (921) record the death of Ragnall, "grandson of Ivar, king of the Finngall and Dubh-gall; and immediately afterwards "Goithbrith, grandson of Ivar, in Athliath;" in other words Gotfrith, immediately after the death of his brother Ragnall, came from Armagh to claim the sovereign power in Dublin, and to take advantage of the victory gained at Kilmashogue by his brother Sitric. See Appendix D, General Table, VII.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals*. Vol. 920 or 921. Four M. 919. See p. 37, n. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Measure*. The word *μεαυρ* signifies measure. In the text, p. 36 (as Mr. Hennessy has pointed out), it was mistaken for a proper name.

<sup>4</sup> *Grandson*. The text has *son*, which is a very common mistake, and in this case a palpable error of the scribe. See p. 37, n. 11, and General Table, II., p. 246. There is obscurity in our author's phraseology, "notwithstanding, however," (he says) "that this battle was gained over them," meaning the Irish, "Donnchadh gained a battle over them," meaning the Danes,

mense number of the enemy was slain, and there escaped "not more than enough to tell what had happened;" and "in this battle," say the Four Masters,<sup>1</sup> "revenge was had of them for the battle of Ath-cliaith" (meaning the battle of Kilmashogue), "for there fell of the nobles of the Norsemen here, as many as had fallen of the nobles and plebeians of the Gaedhil in the battle of Ath-cliaith."

The arrival of Tamar, or Tomar, "son of Elgi," is next recorded (chap. xxxiii.). He is said to have come "after that," that is either after the battle of Kilmashogue, which is most probably the meaning, or after the battle of Tigh-mic-Deicthig. He landed at Inis-Sibhtonn, now King's Island, at Limerick, with "an immense fleet," and plundered "the chief part of Munster, both churches and chieftainries." Our author adds that Lorcan,<sup>2</sup> son of Conligan, was king of Cashel at that time. Tomar was the name given by the Irish to the Scandinavian chieftain Gormo *Gamle* (the aged), called Mac Elgi, that is son (but perhaps grandson) of Gormo *Enski* (the *English*),<sup>3</sup> the Guthrum of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, surnamed *Enski*, because he was born in England.

The next chapter (xxxiv.) speaks of a fleet on Loch

A fleet on Lough Derg.

<sup>1</sup> *Four Masters*. The battle of Tigh mic Deicthig is placed by the Ann. Ult. in 919 or 920, and by the *Four M.* in the first year of King Donnchad, which began September 919; a year or two therefore *before* the spoiling of Armagh by Godfrey, and a year after the battle of Kilmashogue. Tigh-mic-Deicthig, is variously written, Tigh mic nEathach (*Four M.*), and Tigh mic Nechtaiagh (B.): the words mean, House of the son of Deicthach, or Eochadh, or sons of Nechtach. The place is now unknown; but the Four Masters (A.D. 918, p. 599) tell us that it was in the district of Cianachta Breg, in the counties of Meath and Dublin.

<sup>2</sup> *Lorcan*. He began his reign 920 (=922), *Four M.* He was of the race

of Failbhe Flann, (son of Aedh Dubh), ancestor of the Hi Failbhe. See Geneal. Table, IV., No. II, p. 248. His genealogy up to Aedh Dubh is given in the Book of Leinster thus: Lorcan, son of Conligan [sl. 898=901, *Four M.*], s. of Corcraín, s. of Corc, s. of Artgall, s. of Dombhall, s. of Conall, s. of Snedgus, s. of Natfraich, s. of Colga, s. of Failbhe Flann, king of Munster, who died 638 (*Four M.* 633).

<sup>3</sup> *English*. The Danish word *Enski* (English) was corrupted by the Irish into *Elgi*, *Ailche*, or *Ailge*. It is not so easy to see how Gormo became Tomar. See p. lxxvii, n. The genealogy of this Gormo, and of his successor Gormo Gamle (*grandævus*), is very obscure and confused.

Derg-dere, the celebrated expansion of the Shannon now known as Lough Derg. This fleet seems to have been sent out from the Danes of Limerick; for the historian adds, that after having plundered several of the ecclesiastical islands of the Lough, and committed other outrages,<sup>1</sup> they "arrived again in safety at Limerick without battle or conflict."

Apparent conclusion of a section of the work.

These, our author says, were the "mighty deeds" of the Clanna Elgi, or sons of Gormo Enski, and of the ships of Dublin, in the northern division of Ireland (called Leth Cuinn or Conn's Half) and in Leinster. These words seem to mark the conclusion of a division or section of the work, in which the northern half of Ireland was principally concerned; but as the sons of Elgi are particularly mentioned, perhaps the "mighty deeds" spoken of are only those described in chapters xxxiii. and xxxiv. The remainder of the work is devoted to the history of the conflicts between the men of Munster and the sons of Ivar, or Danes, properly so called, of Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford.

The oppression of Munster; Ottar Dubh at Waterford.

The oppression of Munster began by the arrival of a fleet of one hundred ships, under the command of Oiter Dubh,<sup>2</sup> or Ottar the black, at Port Lairge, or Waterford.

<sup>1</sup> *Outrages.* They plundered Inis Celtra, and "drowned," i.e. cast into the lake, its shrines, relics, and books. They plundered also Muc-inis-Riagail, (Hog-island of St. Riagal or Regulus, see above, p. xxxiii, n. 2), and other churches on the islands of the lake. On the mainland they plundered Tirdaglas (Terryglass, in Tipperary). Lothra (see above, p. xlix), Clonfert, and Clonmacnois. Sailing up the Shannon to another expansion of the river, called Loch Ribh or Loch Ree, they plundered its islands also, on which there were celebrated religious houses; especially Inis Clothrann (now Inehcleraun) and Inis-bo-finne (Inchbofin, the white cow's island). They

then attacked the west of Meath, and south of Connaught, (the present King's county and south of Galway,) where they slew Duach, king of Aidhne, i.e. of Uí Fiachrach Aidhne, in the south of Galway, a territory represented by the present diocese of Kilmacduagh. See note 3, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Oiter Dubh.* Chap. xxxv. The English Chronicles, at dates which vary from 912 to 918, mention a fleet of "Pagan pirates" who, having left Britain for Gaul nineteen years before, now returned from Llydwicca [Armorica] under the command of *Ohter* and Rhoald; they entered the mouth of the Severn, but being driven off, took refuge in South Wales, and then

This chieftain plundered the eastern coast of Munster, compelling the inhabitants to pay tribute, or personal service. In his wake followed innumerable hosts, so that, in the language of our author (p. 41), "there was not a harbour, nor a landing-port, nor a Dún, nor a fortress, nor a fastness, in all Munster without fleets of Danes and pirates." The leaders of several of these fleets are named,<sup>1</sup> and a pathetic description is given of the ravages and outrages committed by them, which exceeded, we are told, all that the country had hitherto endured. Particular mention is made of the captives of both sexes, who were carried off, "over the broad green sea," into oppression and bondage; and our author exclaims, "Alas! many and frequent were the bright and brilliant eyes that were suffused with tears, and dimmed through grief and despair, at the separation of son from father, and daughter from mother, and brother from brother, and relatives from their race and from their tribe."

Outrages  
committed  
upon the  
Irish.

In the next three or four chapters<sup>2</sup> we have a record of some battles in which the Danes of Dublin and other

Victories of  
the Danes  
of Dublin.

sailed to Ireland. "Ii tamen clade oppressi, quamdam insulam, quæ Reoric [Flatholme] nominatur, petierunt, ubi tamdiu considerunt, quousque plures eorum essent fame consumpti; unde necessitate compulsi, prius ad Deomedum [Suthwalliam], deinde autumnali tempore ad Hiberniam navigarunt." So says *Flor. Wigorn.*, A.D. 915 (*Monum. Hist. Britan.* p. 570). Comp. *Anglo-Sax. Chron.* A.D. 912 (*Ibid.* p. 375) and *Lappenberg* (Thorpe's Transl.) ii., p. 94 sq. The Otter and Rhoald of the English Chronicles are very probably the Oiter or Ottir and Ragnald of the Irish (see ch. xxviii., p. 31, and note 6, p. 39). This is rendered the more likely, because Waterford Harbour, where they landed, is easily reached by sailing due west from South Wales. The date also agrees

sufficiently. We have seen also that our author's statement (ch. xxix., p. 35) that Otter and Ragnall were both killed in Scotland, is not confirmed by other records. See p. lxxii.

<sup>1</sup> *Named.* These are Oibert, Oduinn, [Audunn?] Griffin, Snuatgar, Lagmann, Erolf, Sitriuc, Buidin, Birndiu, Liagrslach, Toirberduch, Eoan Barun, [John the Baron?] Milid Buu, [the Knight Buu?] Suimin, Suainin, and the *Inghen Ruaidh*, which is Irish, and signifies the red or red-haired virgin. Examples of female adventurers, taking the command of a fleet, are not uncommon in Scandinavian history. The Editor has not identified the above named chieftains with any of those mentioned in the Sagas.

<sup>2</sup> *Chapters.* See p. 43, chaps. xxxvii.-xl.

parties of the enemy were victorious over the native chieftains.

Battle of  
Muine  
Broccain.

The first of these was the victory gained by the fleet of Ath Cliath, or Dublin, and the sons of Imar, in the battle of Muine Broccain, a place now unknown, but probably in the county of Meath.<sup>1</sup> In this battle were killed Ruaidhri (*pron.* Rory) O'Cannannain, king of Tir Connell (county of Donegal), who was by some deemed king of Ireland,<sup>2</sup> and around him fell many of his kinsmen, "the Nobles of the North." This event is carefully dated

<sup>1</sup> *Meath.* We may infer this from the fact, recorded by the Four M. (A.D. 992), that the foreigners of Ath Cliath plundered Ardraccan, Domhnach Patrick, and Muine Broccain. Therefore, as the two former are known to be in Meath, Muine Broccain was probably in the same neighbourhood. *Comp. 4 M.* 948 (p. 663).

<sup>2</sup> *King of Ireland.* Rory O'Cannannain was of the race of Conall Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. His ancestor Cannannan, from whom the tribe name, was the son of Flaithbertach, king of Ireland (727-734.) See the Genealogical Table in O'Donovan's *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 338. Ruaidhri appears to have asserted his claim to the throne of Ireland in 947 (945, 4 M.) when he gained a battle over the legitimate king, Congalach, son of Maelmithigh, who was supported by Amlaf, or Olaf Cuaran, the Danish king of Dublin. This was near Slane, in Meath. Two years afterwards the Danes burnt the belfry or round tower of Slane, in which perished Caenechar, Lector (*Firleighinn*) of Slane, who had taken refuge there, with the crossier of his patron St. Ere, a sacred bell, and many relics. O'Cannannain the same year (949) gained another victory over Congalach, whom

he reduced to great straits, entering Bregia, which he plundered. He encamped at Muine Broccain [Brogan's Brake or shrubbery], and there assumed the name and authority of king of Ireland; "the dues of the king of Ireland," as the Four Masters tell us, "were sent him from every quarter;" his own people gave him the name of king; but the Annals style him only Righ-domhna, or heir apparent, i.e. eligible to the throne. After remaining encamped at Muine Broccain for six months, he appears to have been attacked by the Danes of Dublin, and was slain, after a bloody battle, in which the Danes lost Ivar, tanist or heir apparent of their chieftain, as the Four Masters call him. Another of their chieftains, Godfrey, son of Sitric, escaped by flight. The Four Masters make the victory to have been on the side of Ruaidhri, notwithstanding his having fallen in the battle, and tell us that 6,000 of the foreigners were slain. The *Ann. Ult.* say "2,000 vel plus."

O'Cannannain's pretensions to the throne were probably founded on the fact that Congalach, the actual king, was of the Southern Hy Neill, and had therefore succeeded irregularly, his predecessor, Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna, having been also of the same race. See *Append. B.*, p. 243.

by our author: it was thirty years after Nial Glundubh was slain, two years after Lachtín, son of Goffraith, was slain, and four years after the death of Muirchertach,<sup>1</sup> son of Niall Glundubh, the hero of the Leather cloaks. It was the year in which the foreigners plundered Cennannus<sup>2</sup> of Colum Cille, now Kells, county of Meath, and also the year in which Ceinmedigh,<sup>3</sup> or Kennedy, son of Lorcan, king of North Munster, or Thomond, was slain. These criteria seem to indicate the year 949 or 950 as the date of the battle of Muine Broccain.

In the next chapter (xxxviii.) is recorded the death of Congalach,<sup>4</sup> son of Maelmithigh, king of Ireland. He was slain whilst engaged in an inroad upon Leinster, with the nobles of Meath, in an ambuscade laid for him, by the Dublin Danes,<sup>5</sup> under the command of Amlaff, or Olaf Cuaran, son of Sitric, king of Dublin. This was seven

Death of  
Congalach,  
King of  
Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> *Muirchertach*. Perhaps we should read *six* instead of four years, for he was slain by the Danes in 943. See *Circuit of Ireland*, p. 9, sq. The numerals *iu* and *iiii* might be easily confounded. It is curious that our author has made no other mention of this celebrated chieftain, and has passed over without notice his many combats with the foreigners. This silence was probably the result of partisanship. Muirchertach was an O'Neill, and a hereditary enemy of the Munster tribes. Lachtín, son of Godfrey, is not elsewhere mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> *Cennannus*. See the Four M. at their year 949, and Ann. Ult. 950 or 951.

<sup>3</sup> *Ceinmedigh*. This chieftain, "heir apparent of Cashel," i.e. of the sovereignty of Munster, was the father of the celebrated Brian Borumha, but the date of his death is not given in the authentic Annals. The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen, as they are called, mention his death at 951, the same year

as the plunder of Cennannus or Kells, and the other churches of Meath, recorded by the Four M. under their year 949 (=951).

<sup>4</sup> *Congalach*. He is described as "king of Temhair and of all Erin;" that is, king of Tara, or chieftain of the Clan Colmain, of Meath, and also king of all Ireland. See App. B., Geneal. Table II., p. 246.

<sup>5</sup> *Dublin Danes*. The Ann. Ult. say that he was slain by the foreigners of Dublin and the Leinstermen, A. D. 955 or 956, at Taig-giurann *illaighnib* [i.e. in Leinster]. The Four M. (954) spell the name of this place *Tigh-Gighrainn*, [House of Gighran,] and in the B. of Leinster (folio 16, b. a) it is written *Allen Tighi Giurand* [island of Tech Giurand]: this explains the genitive form *Tigh*, in the other spellings of the name, which is otherwise anomalous. Mr. Hennessy suggests that the place may be Inchicore (formerly written Inchi-gore, for *Inis-tigh-Gore*), a few miles from Dublin, near the Liffey.

years after the death of Ruadhri O'Cannannain, mentioned in the preceding chapter, and therefore in the year 956.

Battle of  
Cill-Mona.

The battle of Cill-Mona [church of St. Munna], now Kilmoon, near Dunshaughlin, county of Meath, is next mentioned. It took place, our author says, "seventeen years" after the death of Congalach, which would give its date, 973. But the Annals<sup>1</sup> do not agree in this Chronology. They give us, however, the additional information, that Domhnall, son of the late King Congalach, in alliance with Amlaff, or Olaf, and the Danes of Dublin, had in this battle defeated the actual sovereign, Domhnall O'Neill, his father's successor. It appears, therefore, that he had been tempted by an alliance with the Dublin Danes, notwithstanding their slaughter of his father, to dispute the succession of the Northern Hy Neill, in the hope of obtaining the sovereignty for himself. But his victory on this occasion did not secure his object, for Domhnall, son of Muirehertach Leather-cloaks, continued to be recognised as king of Ireland until his death in 980.

Chieftains  
slain.

The chieftains slain in the battle of Cill-Mona are enumerated<sup>2</sup> by our author, as well as in the Annals;

<sup>1</sup> *Annals*. The Four Mast. (976) say the twenty-second year of King Domhnall [O'Neill] or 22 years after the death of Congalach, i.e. 978; but the Annals of Ulster record it under the year 969 or 970, which would be only 13 or 14 years after the death of Congalach.

<sup>2</sup> *Enumerated*. These are—1. Ardul, son of Maducan, (called Ardgall, or Ardgarr, s. of Madudain, *Ann. Ul.* 969, *Four M.* 976), king of Uladh; who is the 42nd king in Dr. Reeves's list. *Eccl. Antiq.*, p. 355. 2. Donnucan, s. of Maelmuire (called Donnagan, or Donnacan, in the Annals). The Four M. give him no title. The Ann. Ul. call him simply "Airchinnech;" and our author, who is followed by Keating, styles him "King of Airghiall, or Oirghiall," in Louth and

Monaghan, called Uriel or Oriel by the English. Its boundaries are described by Dr. O'Donovan, *B. of Rights*, p. 21, n. 3. Cinaedh, son of the son of Cronghaille, called son of Cronghaille [Cronnelly] by the Four M. and Ann. Ul. This personage is called King or Lord of Conaille by the Annals, and the death of a Cronghaille, Lord of the Conaille Muirtheimhne, the inhabitants of the level plain of Oirghiall, co. of Louth, is mentioned by the Four M. at 935 (=937). See *B. of Rights*, *loc. cit.* and p. 166, n. i. 4. Maelbrighde, son of Gairbith, King of Uí nEchdach, now Iveagh, co. of Down. See p. 44, n. 12, and Reeves's *Eccles. Antiq.*, p. 348. This chieftain is not mentioned in the Annals, and has also been overlooked by Dr. Reeves, *loc. cit.*

and we are told that eight years after this battle, the two heirs of Ireland, namely, the heirs of the Northern and Southern claimants of the throne, were slain "by them," that is to say, by the Danes of Dublin. The first of these was Muirheartach, son of Domhnall O'Neill, heir presumptive to the throne of Ireland, in the line of the Northern Hy Niall.<sup>1</sup> The second was Congalach, son of Domhnall, and grandson of the King Congalach whose death in an ambush laid by the Danes has just been recorded.<sup>2</sup> Thus the two rival claimants being removed, the throne, on the death of Domhnall O'Neill, reverted to the southern line in the person of Maelseachlainn, or Malachy II., son of Domhnall, the last of his race who ever held the undisputed sovereignty of Ireland.

A battle fought in Munster, at Cathair Cuan, by Brian, is assigned to the same year, that is to say, the same year in which the two heirs of Ireland were slain. This is the battle recorded by the Four Masters, under the same year as the battle of Cill-Mona (976=978). They do not, indeed, mention Cathair Cuan,<sup>3</sup> but they describe a battle wherein Donnabhain, son of Cathal, lord of Hy

Battle of  
Cathair  
Cuan.

5. Fergus Fial, king of Codlaighe, or of Cuailgne, which is probably the true reading, a district in the co. of Louth, (now *Cooley*). See note 13, p. 45, and Reeves *ibid.*, p. 369, note b. This hero has been also passed over without notice in the Annals. It will be observed that all the chieftains here mentioned were in the interest of the Northern Hy Niall.

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Hy Neill*. See *Geneal. Table I.*, p. 245 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Recorded*. See *Geneal. Table II.*, p. 246 *infra*. The Four Masters give the death of the two heirs in the year before the battle of Cill-Mona, or in their year 975 [=978], and tell us that they were slain by Amlaf, son of Sitric, that is to say, by Olaf Cuáran. The *Ann. Ult.* have the same entry

at their year 976 or 977 [=978], but place the battle of Cill-mona *eight* years before. Tighernach dates the death of the two heirs 977.

<sup>3</sup> *Cathair Cuan*. This place has not been identified: the name signifies "Fort of Cuan," perhaps from Cuan, son of Conall, chieftain of Hy Fidhgente, who was slain in the battle of Carn Conaill A.D. 649, (*Tigh. 645, Four M.*) Cathair Cuan is mentioned ch. lxiv., p. 103, whence we infer that it was in Hy Fidhgente, co. of Limerick, *B. of Rights*, p. 67, n. 9, and that it was a fortress of Donnabhain, or Donovan, chieftain of the Hy Cairbhre Aebhda, as also lord of the Hy Fidhgente (see *Geneal. Table, V.*, p. 249 *infra*). Comp. also *Four M.* and Tighernach 976.

Fidhgente, in alliance with the Danes of Limerick, was defeated by Brian; and we learn, from a subsequent mention of it in this work (see p. 103), that Donnabhain was slain at Cathair Cuan.

Victories of  
the Danes.

The next chapter (xxxix.) records several battles in which the Danes of Dublin were victorious over the native chieftains. The first of these was a victory over Ugaire, son of Tuathal, king of Leinster, at Bithlann,<sup>1</sup> now Belan, in the south of the county of Kildare. Another battle, in the same year (where,<sup>2</sup> we are not told), was gained by them<sup>3</sup> over the Cinel Conaill, of Tirconnell, county of Donegall; in which Niall, grandson of Cannannan, king of the Cinel Conaill, and other chieftains<sup>4</sup> fell.

Battle of  
Tara, 980.

Two years after this, a more important battle was fought at Temhair, or Tara, against Maelsechlainn, or Malachy, son of Domhnall, who this same year (980) became king of Ireland. Our author admits that the victory gained by the Irish chieftain was dearly purchased. "It was woe," he says, "to both parties, but it was worse for the foreigners." They lost in the battle Ragnall, son of Amlaibh, or Olaf Cuaran, king of Dublin, and Conmael, son of Gille, whom our author calls "another<sup>5</sup> high king

<sup>1</sup> *Bithlann*. This battle is dated 977 or 978, *Ann. Ult.*, and 976 [=978] *Four M.* In it fell Ugaire, king of Leinster; Muiredach, son of Rian (or Brian, as Tighernach calls him), king of the Ui Ceinnselaigh (see *Book of Rights*, p. 208, *n.*); and Congalach, son of Flann, king of Lege [now Lea, Queen's co.] and of Rechet, [or Magh-Rechet, now Morett, near Maryborough, same co.]

<sup>2</sup> *Where*. The *Four M.*, 976 (978), say that this was a naval battle on Loch Erne, gained by the Airghialla, or Oighialla, over the Cinel Conaill. So also *Ann. Ult.* 977 (978). But they were probably aided by the Danes.

<sup>3</sup> *By them*: i.e., by the Danes of Dublin. But see p. 46, note <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *Other Chieftains*. Niall, grandson of Cannannan, is not mentioned in the *Annals*; but the *Four M.* record the death of his son, A.D. 996 (=998). See also Dr. O'Donovan's *Hy Many*, p. 335. "The son of the son of Congalach," ought to be "son of Congalach," as in the MS. B., for the death of the grandson of Congalach, in the battle of Cill-Mona, was recorded, chap. xxxviii. In like manner, "son of the son of Murchad Glun-fri-lar" ought to be "son of Murchad Congal-lar," as in B. and the *Four M.* He was of the race of the Northern O'Neill, and Heir of Ailech."

<sup>5</sup> *Another*. The name Conmael, or Conamael, son of Gilli, is decidedly Celtic, and the MS. B. calls him simply Conmael, omitting the words "son of

of the foreigners," together with "all the nobles of the foreigners" of Dublin.

One of the most important consequences of this battle was that Amlaibh Cuaran, king of Dublin, leaving his authority to his son Sitric, quitted Ireland and went on a pilgrimage to Hi Colum-Cille, the celebrated monastic island, now corruptly called Iona, where he died.<sup>1</sup> Another result of the battle was that the Danes were compelled to liberate all the hostages in their custody, and especially Domhnall Claon, king of Leinster, whom they had taken prisoner more than a year before. The annalist Tighernach, and after him the Four Masters, represent the liberation of this chieftain as the result of a second attack on the Danes of Dublin, in which Malachy, in conjunction with Eochaidh, son of Ardgall, king of Uladh,<sup>2</sup> besieged Dublin for three days and three nights,

Consequences of the battle.

Gilli, another high king of the foreigners." From the various spellings of this name in the Annals, there is reason to think that the true reading is preserved in the Ann. Ult. "Conamhal mac Airrigall," which may mean either "son of Airegal," or "son of an Oirri [or sub-king] of foreigners." See note 15, p. 46, *infra*. He was in all probability a chieftain of the Gall-gaedhil of the isles, paying tribute to the Danish king of Dublin; for the Ann. Ult. and Four M. tell us that this battle was gained by King Malachy "against the foreigners of Dublin and of the isles," i.e. of the Sudreya, Isle of Man, &c. He may have been son of a Gille, for that name occurs among the chieftains of the Sudreys. (See *Burnt Nial*, ii. p. 322, and *Index*). Tighernach calls him Conmael Mac Gille airre, "son of Gille the sub-king."

<sup>1</sup> *Died*. The Four M. record his "going across the sea" here, and his death in Hi, "after penance and a good life," the year following. See *Tighernach*, 980. This Olaf is called

*Cuaran*, or Olaf of the *sandal*, by the Irish Annalists; Kuaran, Kuoran, or Quaran, by the Sagas. See *Landnama*, p. 42; *Fornmanna Sögur*, I., p. 149; *Nial's Saga*, p. 268 (cap. clv.) Lat. transl., p. 590; Laing's *Kings of Norway*, I., p. 399. Dr. Dasent translates the name "Olaf *rattle*," *Burnt Niall*, ii., 323; but *Cuaran* is an Irish word, signifying a sock, a sandal, a shoe fastened with thongs. Gyda, sister of Olaf Cuaran, was married to Olaf Tryggvasson, who met her in England, and afterwards took her to Ireland, living "sometimes in England, sometimes in Ireland."—Laing, *ubi supra*, p. 400, 417.

<sup>2</sup> *Uladh*. See Reeves, *Eccl. Antiq.*, p. 352-6. Dr. O'Connor, in his translation of the Annals of Tigernach in this place, renders "*Mors sluaiged*" as if it had been written *Mors Lwaiged*, and translates "*Mors Lugadii occisi a Maelsechlanno*." The true version of the passage is this—"A great host led by Maelsechlainn the Great, son of Domhnall, king of Temhair, and

and having reduced the garrison to submission, recovered the hostages, including Domhnall Claon.<sup>1</sup> They compelled the enemy also to pay a fine of 2,000 oxen, and to release the Ui Neill from a tribute, which it seems had been imposed upon all their territory between the Shannon and the sea.<sup>2</sup>

Arrival of  
the sons of  
Ivar in  
Limerick.

The next chapter (xl.) records the arrival of the sons of Ivar in Limerick. They are described as coming in command of "an immensely great fleet, more wonderful than all the other fleets, for its equal or its likeness never before came to Ireland."

This event  
out of its  
place.

Chronologically, however, this event is certainly out of its place in the narrative. The phrase "there came after that," with which this chapter begins, would naturally mean after the events recorded in the preceding chapter; that is to say, after the battle of Tara, A.D. 980. But Ivar and his sons were settled at Limerick long before that year, and it is remarkable that no mention either of the exact date of their arrival, or of the immense and wonderful fleet which they are said to have brought with them, is found in the Irish Annals.

Leaders of  
this fleet.

The leaders of this fleet, we are told, were "Ivar,<sup>3</sup> grandson of Ivar, chief king of the Gaill, and his three sons, Dubhcenn (or Black-head), Cu-allaidh (or Wild Dog),

by Eochaidh, son of Ardgall, king of Uladh, against the Gaill of Ath Cliath, and they besieged them three days and three nights, and took the hostages of Erin from them, together with Domhnall Claon, king of Laighen, and with the hostages of the Ui Neill likewise. And they exacted submission from the foreigners, i.e. an hundred score oxen, with jewels and goods, and the freedom of the Ui Neill from tribute also, from the Sionainn [Shannon] to the sea." *Tighernach*, A.D. 980.

<sup>1</sup> *Domhnall Claon*. Our author speaks of the "treacherous conduct" of Am-

laidh towards this chieftain; what that was the editor is unable to explain.

<sup>2</sup> *And the Sea*: i.e., from the Shannon, across the present counties of Westmeath and Meath, to the eastern sea.

<sup>3</sup> *Ivar*. The O'Clery or Brussels MS. (B), reads "Amlaibh mor ua Imhair," Amlaff or Olaf the Great, grandson of Ivar; but this is evidently a clerical mistake, and the same MS., in another place, speaking of the death of this chieftain calls him Ivar, not Amlaff. Ch. lxiv., p. 103. See also p. 71. There are other instances of these names being interchanged.

and Aralt (or Harold.)”<sup>1</sup> They entrenched themselves on Inis Sibhtond, now King’s Island, in the Shannon, upon which a part of the present city of Limerick is built. From this position they plundered all Munster, “both churches and chieftainries, exacting hostages, and levying black mail, under a well-organized system of tax-gatherers, who were distributed over the country and billeted in the houses of the inhabitants, “kings and chiefs, stewards and bailiffs, in every territory and in every chieftainry.”<sup>2</sup> Of the excess of this oppression our author gives a pathetic and somewhat bombastic account, in which the most important particular noticed is the imposition of a nose tax,<sup>3</sup> in addition to the royal tribute, consisting of an ounce of silver or white bronze<sup>4</sup> “for every nose;” and whoever was unable to pay was sold as a slave.

It may be doubted whether this glowing description

<sup>1</sup> *Aralt (or Harold.)* The Celtic names Dubhcenn and Cn-allaidh, were doubtless given by the Irish in accordance with their usual practice, as descriptive of the supposed peculiarities of these chieftains. The annals mention Dubhcenn and Aralt, but substitute Amlaibh for Cu-allaidh (Four M. 975, Tigern, 977); which seems to indicate that Amlaff or Olaf was the Scandinavian name of this latter warrior. Perhaps he was the same as Olaf Cenncairech (scabby head), of Limerick, who gained the battle of Dubhthir, near Athlone, in 931 (933), over the Hy Many. He afterwards settled in Loch Ribh, from whence he was carried off prisoner by Olaf son of Godfrey, of Dublin, in 935 (937). *Four M.*

<sup>2</sup> *Chieftainry.* See p. 49, sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Nose tax.* An ounce of silver “for every nose” is probably only another way of saying “for every man.” So in the poetical account of the Gaill of Dublin, attributed to St. Benen or Benignus, of Armagh, we

read that the Gaill gave tribute to St. Patrick “a screapall for each man, an ounce of gold—an ounce for each nose there—and a screapall of gold for each man.” *B. of Rights*, p. 229. So also *Ynglinga Saga*, c. 8 (*Heimskr.*, p. 13, *Havn.*, 1777). “Um alla Svethíod gulldu menn odni skattpenning fyrir nef hvert,” which Mr. Laing translates “so much on each head,” although it is literally every nose. The MS. B. adds that he who could not pay had the alternative of being sold as a slave, or losing his nose (see p. 50, n. 13). Keating improves upon this by telling us that the nose was immediately cut off, without any alternative; but there is no authority for this. See *Lexicon Poet. Ling. Septent. Sveinhjörn Egilsson. Hafn.*, 1860, voc. *Nefgiöld*.

<sup>4</sup> *Silver or white bronze.* This is the reading of B. The text reads “silver Findruni” (p. 51), in which phrase (which occurs again, p. 95), the word *Findruine* seems to be used as an adjective for well polished, ornamented (*druine* signifies embroidered);

was originally intended to apply solely to the policy pursued by the sons of Ivar of Limerick. If their arrival, as we have good reason to suspect, is an interpolation in this place, there will be nothing to limit the oppression spoken of to the Danes of Limerick;<sup>1</sup> and indeed, although the plunder of Munster is particularly mentioned, yet it is distinctly stated that the organization of a steward or bailiff, billeted on the principal chieftains and farmers of the country, extended to all Ireland.<sup>2</sup>

The foreigners of Limerick, by whom the Primate Forannan was carried off to their ships from Cluain Comardha,<sup>3</sup> were Norwegians, or White Gentiles, not Danes.

but usually *Findruine* is a substantive, and denotes a metal of some kind. In p. 115, it is mentioned among gold, silver, precious stones, taken as spoil from the Danes. It is the metal of which "leg armour" was made (*Battle of Magh Lena*, p. 113), and the rim (comb<sup>l</sup>) of a shield, *Sickbed of Cuchulainn* (*Atlantis*, No. 3, p. 113). "A bed of Findruine," τολξ φουρουνη, i.e. a bedstead, or box made of this metal upon which a bed might be laid, is mentioned in the Legend of Corcalaidhe, *Miscell. Celtic Soc.*, p. 77, 79. The word is also written φουρουνη (*Petrie on Tara*, p. 198), φουρουνη, and φουρουνη, in which latter form it occurs in the Irish Version of the Bible to denote copper or brass, *Ezra* viii., 27; *Rev.* ii., 18. The Crozier of St. Aodh mac Bric was made of Finnbruine, which is glossed .i. φουρα "i.e. brass." *Martyr. Doneg.*, *Introd.*, p. xli.

<sup>1</sup> *Limerick*. See above, ch. xxxvi. Keating who quotes this passage (with some abridgement), understands it to refer to all Ireland, and places it in the times of Turgesius, to whom he attributes this organization of a soldier in every house, &c. *O'Mahony's Transl.*, p. 507. In this he is followed by Lynch, MacGeoghegan,

O'Halloran, Warner, Moore, and all our modern historians.

<sup>2</sup> *Ireland*. The words "moreover he ordained," p. 49, line 13, are abrupt, and strongly indicate the loss of something in the text; for the sentences preceding are in the plural "they plundered." "they took hostages," "they brought under indescribable oppression;" then comes a sudden change to the singular, without its being said who *he* was who ordained kings and chiefs, stewards and bailiffs, in every territory. The same thing is told of Turgesius. But it is remarkable that the prophecies applied by our author to that chieftain (see p. 8-12), speak of "Black Gentiles of Dublin," and parties of "Danars of black ships." Therefore we may reasonably conclude that the oppressions intended by those supposed predictions belong to a later period than the times of Turgesius, when the Danars or Danes had established their power in Dublin and Limerick.

<sup>3</sup> *Cluain Comardha*. "Lawn of the Sign or Token." Dr. Reeves has recently identified this place with Colman's well, a village in the barony of Upper Connello, in the southern border of the county of Limerick.

They were in possession in the times of Turgesius, that is to say, prior to the year 845. But Ivar, grandson of Ivar, seems to have been of the Black Gentiles, or Danes; and although the exact date of his arrival is not recorded in our annals, he is spoken of as being chieftain of the Gaill of Limerick, in 930, so that he must have landed with his sons before that year.<sup>1</sup> Therefore the paragraph at the beginning of chap. xl., which records his arrival at Limerick, has been misplaced. It ought perhaps to have been inserted in connexion with the arrival of the "immense fleet" which came with Tamar Mac Elgi, as we have seen,<sup>2</sup> about the year 922. Indeed it is probable that Tamar's fleet acted in conjunction with the fleet of Ivar and his sons, for both occupied Inis Sibhtonn, and we read of no conflict or jealousy between them on the arrival of the latter party. Tamar or Tomar mac Elgi, however, seems to have been chieftain of the Limerick Danes for two or three years<sup>3</sup> only, and was succeeded apparently by the dynasty of Ivar and his sons, in or about the year 930.

<sup>1</sup> *That Year.* The Four M., at 928, 929 (=A.D. 930, 931), tell us that the grandson of Ivar was encamped in command of the foreigners of Limerick, at Magh Roighne, a plain in Ossory, whither Godfrey of Dublin went in the last mentioned year to displace him. In 963 (967) Mathgamhain, or Mahoun, brother of the celebrated Brian Borumha, gains a victory over the Gaill of Limerick, and plunders their stronghold, Inis Sibhtonn; in 969 (971) he drives them from Inis Sibhtonn, altogether. They then took refuge in the other islands of the Shannon, making their stronghold in Inis Cathaigh (now Scatterry Island, at the mouth of the Shannon), where, notwithstanding the sanctity of the place, Ivar and his sons, Olaf and Dubhcenn, were attacked by Brian in 977 (4 *Mast. and Tigern.*), or by his allies the O'Donnells of Corca-

bhaiscinn (p. 103). The death of Ivar and his sons is recorded by our author (chap. lxiv.), at a date which corresponds to A.D. 977, 978. So that Ivar's career was quite run out before the battle of Tara.

<sup>2</sup> *We have seen.* See chap. xxxiii. p. 39, and p. xciii., *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Two or three years.* In 922 the fleet of Limerick, commanded by Mac Ailgi, was on Loch Ri, and plundered Clonmacnois and the islands of the Lake. In 923 or 924 Godfrey, grandson of Ivar, came from Dublin to attack the Limerick foreigners, and a great number of his people were slain by Mac Ailgi. In 927 or 928 Mac Ailgi had his fleet on Loch Neagh when he plundered the islands and the surrounding country. These notices occur in the Ann. of Ulster. Dr. O'Donovan (*Book of Rights, Intr.*, p. xli.) quotes from the Annals of Clonmacnois, under

The great  
superiority  
of the  
Danes.

It is remarkable that our author, notwithstanding the bitterness of his lamentation over the success of the victors, and the iron rigour of their rule, gives them, without reserve, the praise of valour; he admits that the Irish kings and chieftains, with all their heroism, were unable to cope with the strangers, the superiority of whose arms, defensive and offensive, together with "the greatness of their achievements and deeds, their bravery, their valour, their strength, their venom, and their ferocity,"<sup>1</sup> rendered them invincible to the feebler powers and inferior numbers of the Irish; especially, he adds, as they were animated by an "excess of thirst and hunger" for the bays, rivers, cataracts, the fruitful smooth plains, and sweet grassy land of Ireland.

The Clanna  
Luigdech  
or Dal  
Cais.

But this distinct admission of the invincible prowess of the enemy, and the superiority of their armour and discipline, seems only intended to enhance the author's panegyric upon his own tribe and its chieftains, by whose valour and perseverance the power of the enemy was ultimately undermined. These were the Clanna Luigdech, or descendants of Lughaidh Menn,<sup>2</sup> son of Aongus Tírech, of the race of Oilioll Olum, the celebrated king of Munster in the third century. They were otherwise called Dal Cais Borumha, or race of Cas mac Tail, grandson of Lughaidh, called Borumha,<sup>3</sup> some say from the name of a village near Killaloe. They were one of the two pillars of nobility, one of two houses—(the

the year 922, the following notice of his death: "Tomrair mac Ailchi, king of Denmark, is reported to have gone to hell with his pains, as he deserved." The date, however, is probably wrong, being the date of his arrival in Ireland, not that of his death. He is not mentioned in the annals after 928, and it is remarkable that in 930, Ivar, grandson of Ivar, is first named as leader of the Gaill of Limerick; so that Ivar appears to have arrived immediately after, or just before the death of Mac

Ailgi, and to have succeeded to the command of the Limerick garrison.

<sup>1</sup> *Ferocity.* See p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Lughaidh Menn.* See p. 52, and note 14; also *Geneal.* Table III., No. 5, p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> *Borumha.* Beal Borumha "Pass of Borumh," or Ath na Borumha, "Ford of the Borumh." See Dr. O'Brien's *Irish Dict.*, in *voc.* Others derive the name Borumh from the celebrated Borumean or cow tribute of Leinster, restored by Briau. *Four M. A. D.* 106.

Eoghanachts of Cashel<sup>1</sup> being the other)—by whom were sustained “the rule and sovereignty of Ireland.” But the Clanna Luighdech, we are told, excelled all other tribes in Ireland; “as a bright watch tower shining above all other lights of the earth; as a clear fountain, or a sparkling fire, excels the lustre of the most brilliant gems; as the bright sun outshines the noblest stars of the sky and firmament.”<sup>2</sup>

Their pre-eminence.

The privileges and prerogatives of this illustrious tribe are then described. They were exempt from all taxes, hostages, rents, and fees to the king of Cashel, or any other chieftain, “so long as Erinn<sup>3</sup> was not theirs.” They were bound in honour to defend the king of Cashel against aggression, and to support his rights against the claims of Leth Cuinn, the Northern half of Ireland, that is to say, against the chief kings of Ireland, or of Tara, who were of the O’Neill race, and whose sovereignty over Munster was disputed by the descendants of Oilioll Olum. The Dal Cais were privileged to take the place of honour in war, that is to say, to occupy the van in entering an enemy’s country, and to guard the reere in a retreat.<sup>4</sup> They had “an alternate right to Cashel,” that is, the kings of Cashel were to be chosen in alternate succession from the descendants of Eoghan Mór and Cormac Cas, of which last race the Dal Cais of Thomond were the

Their prerogatives.

Their alternate right to Cashel.

p. 100, and A.D. 696, note p. 298–9. The name of Dal Cais is commonly derived from their more remote ancestor Cormac Cas, son of Oilioll Olum (see *Geneal.* Table III., No. 2). But if so the name would have belonged to many tribes besides the race of Lughaidh. Cas mac Tail (see *Geneal.* Table III., No. 8, p. 247) is called by O’Flaherty “Dalcassiorum stirps,” or ancestor of the Dal Cais of Thomond. *Oggg.*, p. 386.

<sup>1</sup> *Eoghanachts of Cashel.* See *Geneal.* Table IV., p. 248. This tribe was descended and had its name from Eoghan Mór, son of Oilioll Olum.

<sup>2</sup> *Firmament.* See p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> *Erinn.* Perhaps we should read “so long as *Cashel* was not theirs,” i.e. when the king of Cashel was of the Eugenician and not of the Dal Casian race. But our author probably intended to insinuate that the king of Cashel was *de jure* king of Ireland, and that to be king of Cashel was virtually to be king of Ireland.

<sup>4</sup> *Retreat.* See these privileges in the Book of Rights, viz.: exemption from tribute to Cashel, pp. 63–67; the place of honor at feasts and in war, pp. 69, 71, 81.

most celebrated. This was in accordance with the will of Oilíoll Olum,<sup>1</sup> the father of Eoghan and Cormac Cas, who is said to have imposed this rule upon his posterity, a rule which proved a perpetual source of discord,<sup>2</sup> and was very irregularly observed. Two bardic poems in support of these privileges of the Dal-Cais are then quoted, one attributed to the famous Cormac, son of Cuilennan,<sup>3</sup> king and bishop of Cashel, who was slain at the beginning of the tenth century; and the other to Cuan O'Lochain,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Oilíoll Olum*. See *Book of Rights*, p. 72, n. *O'Flaherty Ogyg.*, p. 326. In Vallancey's *Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis*, vol. I., Nos. 3 and 4, the reader will find an able dissertation on the law of Tanistry, or alternate succession, which in part 4 is illustrated by the case of the alternate succession to the throne of Munster, in the Eoghanacht and Dal Cassian descendants of Oilíoll Olum. See p. 236, n.

<sup>2</sup> *Discord*. The discord is continued in the pens of the historians; the authors of the Eoghanacht race ignore all the kings of the Dal-Cais; and the Dal-Cassian chieftains, from the superior power of their rivals, seem to have, in fact, enjoyed very little more than their own hereditary territory, with the empty claim to the sovereignty of Munster, under the will of Oilíoll Olum. See Dr. O'Brien's remarks on this subject. Vallancey's *Collect*, *ibid.*, p. 441, sq. 469-476. Very few kings of Munster, of the Dal-Cassian race are on record, and even of these, it is probable that some were in fact only lords of Thomond, and are styled kings of Munster by writers of their own clann only. See O'Curry's *Lectures*, p. 213. Keating (*reign of Flann Siomna*), *O'Mahony's Transl.*, p. 520.

<sup>3</sup> *Cormac son of Cuilennan*. He was of the Eoghanacht or Eugenian race, descended from Aongus, son of Nat-

fraich (see Table IV., No. 7, p. 248.) His descent, as given by the books of Leinster and Lecan, is as follows: s. of Cuilennan, s. of Selbach, s. of Algenan, s. of Eochadh, s. of Colman, s. of Donnchadh, s. of Dubhinrecht, s. of Furudhran, s. of Eochadh, s. of Bresail, s. of Aongus. He was slain in 908 (Four M.), 920 (Ann. Ul.), at the battle of Belach Mughna, in Magh Ailbhe (now Ballaghmoon-bridge, in the S. of the co. Kildare, about halfway between Castledermot and Carlow). Keating relates a curious anecdote to the effect that when his own tribe, the Eoghanacht of Cashel, refused him food and treasure for the celebration of Easter, Cormac was liberally supplied by the Dal-Cais, both being equally free from any legal obligation to pay him tribute. *O'Mahony's Transl.*, p. 520. This may account for his favourable recognition of the rights of the Dal-Cais, in the verses quoted by our author, if indeed they are really his, which may be doubted.

<sup>4</sup> *O'Lochain*. See above, p. xxv., n. 2. He was murdered, A.D. 1024, in Tebhtha, or Tefia, an extensive district in the N.W. of the ancient province of Meath. See *B. of Rights*, p. 11, n., 180, n. The family of O'Lochain were chieftains of Gailenga, a part of Tefia, now represented by the baronies of Morgallion, co. of Meath, and Clankee, in the co. of

“chief poet of Erin and Alba” (Ireland and Scotland), in the times of Brian Borumha.

We have next (ch. xlv.) the genealogy<sup>1</sup> of Brian and his elder brother Mathgamhain, who are described in bombastic language as the two fierce, magnificent heroes, the two stout, able, valiant pillars, who then governed the Dalcassian tribe; Mathgamhain, in virtue of his seniority, being the actual chieftain, and Brian his destined successor or heir apparent. These great heroes resolved to submit no longer to the oppression and tyranny of the foreign invaders; they transported their people and chattels across the Shannon, westwards, where they dispersed themselves in the forests and woods of the country.<sup>2</sup>

A harassing war of skirmishing in the woods of Thomond<sup>3</sup> was then carried on for some time with the foreigners, in which no quarter was given on either side, for “there was no termonn or protection from the foreigners, and it was woe to either party to meet the other.”<sup>4</sup>

Genealogy  
of Brian.

Mathgamhain, after harassing warfare, makes a truce.

Cavan. He was therefore murdered by his own kinsmen, which made the deed more heinous. See 4 *M.* The Ui Lochain were descended from Cormac Gaileng, son of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilíoll Olum, and therefore were of the same great Munster family as the Dal-Cais. See Curry's *Battle of Magh Leana*, p. 175.

<sup>1</sup> *Genealogy.* See Table III., p. 247. Mathgamhain, as has been already remarked, is pronounced *Mahoon*.

<sup>2</sup> *Of the country.* Our author says, p. 59 “in the woods of the three tribes (*macm*), that were there,” or perhaps we should translate “the three Maicnes that were there.” These were the descendants of Conmac, son of Fergus Rogius and Maud, queen of Connacht. Three tribes of the Conmaicne were settled west of the Shannon, viz.: Conmaicne-Cuille-tola, now the barony of Kilmaine, co. of Mayo; Conmaicne

Dunmor, N. of the co. of Galway, and Conmaicne mara (the Conmaicne of the sea), now Conemara. A fourth tribe of the same race was settled in the cos. of Longford and Leitrim. *O'Flaherty, Ogyg.*, p. 275. The Brussels MS. B. reads “the three *Uaithne*,” instead of *Macni*. But the districts called *Uaithne*, were S. of the Shannon. They are now the baronies of *Uaithne* or *Owney-beg*, in Limerick, and *Owney* and *Arra* in Tipperary. *B. of Rights*, p. 46, *n.* There are only two districts called *Uaithne*, and “the three *Maicni*’s” is certainly the true reading.

<sup>3</sup> *Thomond.* The district of Thomond (which is the anglicized pronunciation of *Tuath-mumhain* “North Munster,”) is represented nearly by the present county of Clare. See O'Donovan's note, *Book of Rights*, p. 260.

<sup>4</sup> *The other.* See p. 59.

At length tired out with this kind of warfare, Mathgamhain made a temporary truce with the enemy.

Brian  
continues  
the war.

Brian, however, refused to join in this truce. He returned to the forests of Thomond, and continued to carry on the same sort of guerilla warfare from the deserts and caves of Ui-mBloit.<sup>1</sup> He laid waste the country from Loch Derg Dheire to the river Fergus, and from Sliabh-mEchti<sup>2</sup> to Tratraighe or Tradry.<sup>3</sup> This latter place was fixed upon by the foreigners of Thomond, or North Munster, as the head quarters of their troops; they fortified Tratraighe with earthworks, and filled it with a strong garrison, in order to conquer from thence Thomond, or the present county of Clare, and Ui Conaill,<sup>4</sup> or Connello, south of the Shannon, in the county of Limerick. Between this garrison and Brian's followers perpetual skirmishes and mutual annoyances were kept up, until Brian was driven to the greatest extremities, and at length he found his army reduced to fifteen men.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ui-mBloit*. The region inhabited by the Ui-mBloit, the descendants of Bloit, Blait, or Blod, son of Cas mac Tail, ancestor of the Dal-Cais of Thomond (see Table III., No. 9, p. 247). This district is in the co. of Clare, N.E. of the diocese of Killaloe, and the name is preserved in that of the rural deanery of Omelode or Omulled. *Liber. Reg. Visitat.* 1619. *Four M.*, A.D. 1598, p. 2088, note b.

<sup>2</sup> *Sliabh-mEchti*. Now SlieveBaughta, or the Boughtha mountains in the co. of Galway, on the borders of Clare. Forgas, now Fergus, is a river which rises in the N. of the barony of Inchiquin, co. of Clare, flowing by the town of Ennis, and falls into the Shannon below the village of Clare.

<sup>3</sup> *Tradry*. See p. xli., n. 4. Tra-traighe was originally the district round the town and Castle of Bunratty. It is curious that the English adventurer, Thomas de Clare, in 1277,

selected this place as his military head quarters, and built the Castle of Bunratty, with the same object in view which the Danes had when they fortified themselves in the same spot, namely, the conquest of Thomond.

<sup>4</sup> *Ui Conaill*. The country inhabited by the Ui Conaill Gabhra, or descendants of Conall Gabhra. (Tab. V., No. 10, p. 249.) It is now represented by the baronies of Upper and Lower Connello, together with the present baronies of Shanid and Glenquin. See *B. of Rights*, p. 76, n. Comp. p. lxxxv. and note, p. 31. See also p. xli. *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> *Fifteen men*. Our author qualifies this statement by "historians say," or, according to the reading of B., "there are historians who say." This does not imply that *historians*, in the more dignified sense of the word, had already begun to preserve a formal record of these events. The Irish

Hearing of his brother's disasters, Mathgamhain sent to him to request an interview. When they met, Brian reproached Mathgamhain for having made a truce with the enemy. An interpolation in the O'Clery or Brussels MS. gives a poetical dialogue between the two brothers, in which Mathgamhain<sup>1</sup> asks the cause of Brian's coming almost alone, and where he had left his followers. Brian answers that he had left them on the field of battle, cut down by the foreigners; that they had followed him in hardship over every plain,—“not,” he adds, “like thy people,” who had remained inactive at home. He then gives a short account of his exploits, and concludes by the reproach that neither Cennedigh, their father, nor Lorcan, their grandfather, *for the sake of wealth*, would have been so quiescent towards the foreigners. This seems to intimate that Mathgamhain's “quiescence” had arisen from some interested motive, an interpretation which is confirmed by Mathgamhain's answer—

Poetical  
account of  
Mathgamhain's  
interview  
with Brian.

“This is pride, O brave Brian,  
Thy mind does not consider consequences;  
Thy care and thoughts are *not on wealth*,  
And yet methinks thou art alone.”

In other words, “pride has made thee despise all prudent considerations, and what hast thou gained by it, since here thou art now without followers, and alone?”<sup>2</sup>

*Sencaidh*, or Shanachy, which, for want of a better word, we translate historian, was an officer attached to great families. He itinerated among the clan, relating the deeds of his chieftain, and sometimes, but not always, committing them to writing. We are not, therefore, to infer that any great length of time was necessary between the events themselves and their being recorded by such “historians.”

<sup>1</sup> *Mathgamhain*. This poetical account of the conversation is attributed to Mathgamhain himself.

<sup>2</sup> *Alone*. See ch. xlvi., pp. 62–65.

One or two remarks are necessary upon this poem. In ver. 1. Brian is called “Brian of Banba,” i.e. of Ireland, Banba being one of the poetical names of Ireland; see Keating, *O'Mahony's Transl.*, Book I., ch. i., p. 79, sq. *Craig Liath* (Grey-stone), now Craig-lea, or Carrick-lee, is a remarkable rock near Killaloe, celebrated in Irish fairy lore as the dwelling place of *Aoibhinn* (incorrectly Aoibh-ill), the Banshee or family sprite of the Dal-Cais, especially of the O'Briens; see *Feis Tighe Chonoin*, edited by Mr. Nicholas O'Kearney (*Ossianic Soc.*).

Prose  
account of  
the same.

Then follows (ch. xlvii.) a prose account of the same interview between the brothers, which, although in some places probably interpolated, is doubtless the narrative of the original author, and the source from which the poetical dialogue was taken. Brian reproaches Mathgambain for having made peace with the foreigners. He asserts that their common grandfather, Lorcan, son of Lachtna, would never have made such a truce, seeing that he had denied it<sup>1</sup> to his own countrymen, Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, king of Ireland, and to the five provinces<sup>2</sup> of

1855, p. 188, *n.*, and comp. the editor's *Introd.*, p. 98, *sq.* Perhaps Brian's answer, "I have left them on Craig Liath," may signify "I have left them in the other world—the world of fairies and spirits." The names of several Danish chieftains slain by Brian are mentioned: *Birn* (Biörn); *Edoun*, or *Eodunn* (Audunn); *Elius* (possibly Elyfir); and *Elgin* (perhaps Helgi); we do not, however, meet these names elsewhere in the present work. Bréintir is a district in the co. of Clare, near Slieve Callan, or Cullane, about five miles E. of Milltown Malbay. It is called Breintir *mbuain*, durable, or everlasting, from its mountain and rocky character.

<sup>1</sup> *Denied it.* The words τᾶσιτον and τὰσίλλ, translated "submission and tribute," p. 66, ought, perhaps, to have been rendered "protection and delay," meaning a delay of hostilities, and protection during the truce. Ὀσίον, or ὀσιεον, signifies protection, shelter; and τὰσίλλ, also written τὰίλλ, is delay, respite. The general meaning of the passage certainly is, that he who refused all truce or compromise with his own countrymen, when they invaded his territory, would never have made peace with a foreign enemy, who had taken forcible possession of the country.

<sup>2</sup> *Five provinces.* It will be recol-

lected that the ancient Meath was originally one of the provinces of Ireland; O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, pp. 24, 25, 304. Our author's chronology is here greatly at fault, if, indeed, as is most probable, the mistakes are not rather to be attributed to his transcribers and interpolators. Lorcan, son of Lachtna, grandfather of Brian, could not possibly have been a contemporary of Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, or Malachy I., who died in 863. Brian was born, according to the Four M., in 925, or, according to the more probable date of the *Annals of Ulster*, in 941. Allowing 30 years to a generation, this would give 865 as the year of Lorcan's birth, or, if we adopt the later date of Brian's birth, 881. In neither case could Lorcan have had any warfare with Malachy I.; and it is equally impossible that Malachy II. can be intended, for he began his reign in 980, at which time, Lorcan, if living, would have been at least 100 years old. Perhaps we should read (p. 67), "He who gave not submission or tribute to [the son of] Maelseachlainn, son of Maelruanaidh," meaning Flann Sionna, who reigned from 879 to 916. Keating represents Lorcan as contemporary with Cormac mac Cuilennain, who was slain in 908, or, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, in 920. Ac-

Ireland, and would not grant them a truce, not even for as much time "as would have sufficed to play a game of chess on the green of Magh Adhair;"<sup>1</sup> neither would he allow the seven great battalions four days and four nights to burn Ath U Doghair. He appeals also to his

cording to Keating, Cormac, foreseeing his death, designated Lorcan mac Lachtna his successor, on the ground that the Dal-Cais had never had their lawful turns of sovereignty, according to the will of Oilioll Olum. *O'Mahony's Trans.*, p. 323. Lorcan, it is needless to say, was "king" of Thomond only, and never succeeded to the throne of Munster; but another Lorcan, son of Conligan, of an allied tribe (the Hi Failbhe) of the Eoghanaacht branch, became king of Munster in 920 (=922), according to the Four M. (See above, p. xciii., and note<sup>2</sup>.) He is not included, however, in O'Dubhagain's poetical list of the kings of Munster, although that is an Eoghanaacht account. The chronology and order of succession of the Munster chieftains at this period is very confused and imperfect. See App. B., p. 241.

<sup>1</sup> *Magh Adhair*. This was the celebrated plain in which is still to be seen the mound where the chieftains of the Dal Cais were inaugurated under an ancient tree (búle). This tree was uprooted by King Maelseachlainn, or Malachy II., in 982 (*Tigh*), in contempt of the Dal Cais. Magh Adhair was first identified by Dr. O'Donovan; it is situated about four miles W. of Tulla, in the co. of Clare. See *Circuit of Muircheartach*, p. 47, *Four M.*, 981, n. <sup>d</sup>, p. 714. Dr. O'Connor, in *Tighernach* (loc. cit.), spells this name *Maghadrad*, and translates it *Campus Adorationis*. In his *Four M.* (loc. cit.) he spells it correctly, *Magh Adhair*, but retains his former translation.

The Irish traditions derive the name from Adhar, son of Umor, a chieftain of the Fir Bolgs, who had settled in the present counties of Clare and Galway before the arrival of the Milesians in Ireland. See O'Donovan's note <sup>y</sup>, *Four M.*, 1599, p. 2104.

The singular mode of describing a short time as "the time necessary for playing one game of chess on the green of Magh Adhair," is probably an allusion to an invasion of the Dal Cassian territory by Flann Sionna, monarch of Ireland, during the reign of Lorcan, son of Lachtna, king of Thomond. Flann having encamped on the plain of Magh Adhair, ostentatiously commenced a game of chess with his courtiers to show his security, and as a mark of contempt for the chieftains of the country. But he was soon surprised and ignominiously defeated in an action which lasted for three days. This story is told by Dr. O'Brien, from what he calls the Book of Munster, *Vallancey's Collect.*, vol. i., p. 450. It is probable that the allusion to Ath U Doghair relates to the same transaction. Flann Sionna was kept too hotly engaged for the three or four days of the battle—(the MS. B. has three days and four nights)—to have time to burn Ath U Doghair—the name signifies Ford of U, or Ui, Doghair; some now obscure and forgotten family of the district. The place has not been identified. The seven great families of Connaught, here called "the seven great battalions," are enumerated by O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 175; and see *West Connaught*, by Hardiman, p. 125, *sq.*

more remote ancestors, Lugaidh Menn and Core. The former of these had never yielded "even the leveret of a hare" to the tribe of Tlaman Tuathbil,<sup>1</sup> and treated with contempt the three battalions<sup>2</sup> of Connaught, until he had gained seven battles over them, killed seven of their kings,<sup>3</sup> and driven them from Carn Feradaich to Ath Lucait, that is to say, from the present counties of Limerick and Clare.<sup>4</sup> Core is described as the first man,<sup>5</sup> that is the first

<sup>1</sup> *Tlaman Tuathbil*. O'Dubhagain, in his Topographical Poem, mentions the *Muintir Tlamain*, or *Cinel Tlamain*, as a tribe seated somewhere in Westmeath; but the exact seat of their territory is unknown. In one place Mag-Aedha (or Magee) is mentioned as their chieftain, and his branch of the territory seems to have been a part of Teflia; (*Topogr. Poems*, pp. 3, 11.) In another place (*ibid.*, p. 13), O'Muireadhaigh, or Murray, is spoken of as their chieftain, and his territory as part of Corca-Adhamh, now included in the barony Magheradernon, co. of Westmeath. This tribe was descended from Tlaman, whose pedigree is given in fifteen generations from Niall of the Nine Hostages; *Book of Lecan*, fol. 69, b. b.; *M'Firbis Genealogies*, p. 176. The *Muintir Tlamain* were allied to the tribes of Connaught; but it is not easy to explain why they are called Tuathbil. The word is probably inaccurately written, and may have been meant to signify *northerly* or *northwards*; if so, the *Muintir Tlaman* may have been divided into north and south. Mr. W. M. Hennessy suggests that the meaning of the passage may be this: "Lugaidh Menn guarded his territory so well that he never allowed so much as the leveret of a hare to go northwards (*tuathbil*) to the Sil Tlaman." But the text is certainly corrupt. Lugadh Menn lived about A.D. 300.

<sup>2</sup> *Three battalions*. Alluding to the tripartite division of Connaught by its first inhabitants, the Damnonii, a tribe of the Fir Bolg, or Belgians. See O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 175, 269; Keating (*O'Mahony's Transl.*), p. 89, 265.

<sup>3</sup> *Kings*. This story of seven battles and seven kings looks very unlike authentic history; but it is given by Dr. O'Brien from his "Book of Munster." (*Vallancey, Collect.* i., p. 431.) The MS. B. has "so that he killed their king," which seems more probable. See p. 66, n. <sup>9</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *Clare*. Carn Feradaich, according to Dr. O'Donovan, is a Carn on the mountain of Seefin, S.W. of Kilmallock, on the confines of the counties of Limerick and Cork; but Dr. O'Brien says that Carn Feradaich is Knock-Aine, in Limerick; *Vallancey, Collect.* i., p. 432. Ath Lucait (now Lochid Bridge) is in the north of the barony of Inchiquin, parish of Kilkeedy, co. of Clare. Thomond was originally part of Connaught, although south of the line from Galway to Dublin which separated Leth Mogha from Leth Cuinn. As being in Leth Mogha, it was claimed by the Dal-Cais, and forcibly taken from the Connaught tribes by Lugaidh Menn. See O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.* (iii., 82), p. 386.

<sup>5</sup> *The first man*. This shows that Core, son of Anluan, great grandfather of Cenneideigh, or Kennedy, the father of Brian, must have been intended, for

of the Dal-Cais, who routed the foreigners; "the man also who fought eight battles in defence of Munster, and of Legh Mogha (the southern half of Ireland) in general." This was not the man to brook an insult, or make an inglorious truce with the enemy, as Mathgamhain had done.

Mathgamhain's answer was remarkable for its moderation. He admitted the truth of what Brian had said; but added, not without some spice of satire, that seeing the superiority of the enemy, in numbers and in arms, he saw no advantage in leading his followers to certain destruction, as Brian had done. Mathgamhain's answer.

Brian replied that he had followed the example of his ancestors in sacrificing everything; risking his life and the extermination of his clan, rather than submit to insult or contempt from an enemy. But his ancestors had never set him the example, which Mathgamhain's conduct had sanctioned, of abandoning their inheritance, without a contest, to "dark foreigners and black grim Gentiles." Brian's reply.

The immediate result of this conference was that Mathgamhain assembled the tribe, and having stated the case, put it to them whether they would have peace or war. The unanimous voice was for war; and they marched at once (ch. xlix.) into the country of the Eoghanacht, the present county of Kerry, then occupied by the enemy. The Eoghanacht, or native tribes of the country, as well as the Muscraighe,<sup>1</sup> joined the Dalcassian standard, from Dun- The tribe resolve on war.

he lived at the time when the Scandinavian fleets first made their appearance on the coasts of Ireland. See note, p. 66, and p. xxxiii., n. 2. The words "Corc, son of Cas, son of Ailioll Oluim," in the text are therefore corrupt. They do not occur in the MS. B., and are probably the marginal note of some ill-informed reader or transcriber, afterwards copied into the text. The Annals preserve no record of the *eight* battles here

spoken of. The number may or may not be correct.

<sup>1</sup> *Muscraighe*. This tribe were the descendants of Cairbre Musc, king of Ireland in the third century. Their territory is represented by the present baronies of East and West Muskerry, co. of Cork; and by those of Clanwilliam and Upper and Lower Ormond, co. of Tipperary. See p. lxxi., n. 1. And there were also other districts called Muscraighe.

na-Sciath<sup>1</sup> to Belach Accailli. Mathgamhain [*pron.* Mahoun] succeeded in obtaining possession of Cashel, and encamped at Dun Cuirc<sup>2</sup> the year after the death of Donnchadh, son of Cellachau, king of Cashel.

In this expedition the settlements of the enemy in every part of Munster were plundered with great slaughter.

The Danes  
invade the  
Dal-Cais.

This aroused the Limerick Danes. Ivar resolved to carry the war into the Dalcassian country, and to exterminate that tribe, as the only means of recovering his power. There were still native chieftains and clans who adhered to the Danish dynasty, and were ready to follow the standard of Ivar rather than submit to the rule of the Dal-Cais. "The great muster and hosting of the men of Munster, both Gail and Gaedhil," followed the summons given them by the Limerick Viking, and they came together to the appointed place anxious to depopulate Dal-Cais "so that there should not be of them a man to guide a horse's head over a channel, or an abbat or venerable ecclesiastic in all Munster, who was not made subject to the foreigners within the four points of Munster."

<sup>1</sup> *Dun-na-Sciath*. "Fort of the Shields," a fort which gave its name to the present townland of Donaskeagh, in the parish of Rathlynin, barony of Clanwilliam, co. of Tipperary. Belach Accailli (road of Accaill) is probably a corrupt spelling. Dr. O'Donovan conjectured that it ought to be Belach Eochaille, the ancient name of the road from Lismore to Eochail, now Youghal. *Four M.*, 287.

<sup>2</sup> *Dun Cuirc*. "The fortress of Corc," a fort at Cashel (and indeed a name of Cashel itself), from Conaill Corc, king of Munster, son of Olioll Flanbeg, who first selected Cashel as the royal fortress of Munster. O'Flaherty, *Oggg.*, p. 382. This seems to imply that Mathgamhain on this oc-

casion became king of Cashel; the author of the List of Kings (ch. ii.) having already set down Donnchadh, son of Cellachan, as his immediate predecessor. This would give 964 as the date of Mathgamhain's accession: for Donnchadh died in 963 (961, *Four M.*) If it be a mistake that Donnchadh was king of Munster, as we have endeavoured to show (App. B., pp. 239, 240), there must have been a short interregnum after the murder of Fergraidh (who was slain by his own people), 961 to 963. Probably during that time Donnchad and Mathgamhain had both claimed the throne, each being considered king by his own followers.

Some of the chieftains who resisted this movement, and declared themselves in favour of the Dal-Cais, were put to death<sup>1</sup> by Ivar and his followers (chap. l.) ; but Maolmuadh [*pron.* Molloy], son of Bran, king of Desmond, and Donnabhan [*pron.* Donovan], son of Cathal, king of Ui Cairbhri,<sup>2</sup> were amongst the most zealous enemies of Mathgamhain, and united their forces to those of Ivar. They were actuated, our author adds, not so much by any favour to the cause of the foreigners as by hatred and jealousy towards the Dal-Cais.

Chieftains who supported the Dal-Cais put to death.

Mathgamhain and Brian, hearing of this confederacy, summoned their followers to a council of war at Cashel. It was resolved to march to Cnamhchoill,<sup>3</sup> a place near the present town of Tipperary, where it seems the enemy were encamped. At this critical moment an important auxiliary arrived, Cathal, son of Feradach, chieftain of the Delbhna-mór,<sup>4</sup> "the king-soldier and champion of Erin," with an hundred well armed men. The Delbhnas,

The Dal-Cais begin the war.

<sup>1</sup> *Put to Death.* The chieftains named are—1. Faelan, king of the Deisi-Mumbhan, or Decies of Munster. The Four M. give 964 (=965) as the year of his death, which agrees with our author's chronology. 2. Flathri, son of Allmorau, king of Ressad. 3. Sidechad, or Sidichan, son of Segni, king of Titill [Ticcill, B.] The two latter chieftains are not mentioned in the Annals; nor have the districts called Ressad and Titill been identified.

<sup>2</sup> *Ui Cairbhri.* For the descent of Maolmuadh and Donnabhan, see App. B., Geneal. Tables IV. and V. The territory of the Ui Cairbri, descendants of Cairbre Aebhda (Tab. V., No. 8), comprised the barony of Coshma, and along the west side of the river Maigne, from Bruree to the Shannon, co. of Limerick.

<sup>3</sup> *Cnamhchoill*, i. e. "Hazle, or Nutwood," now Clechoill, or Cleighile, in

the barony of Clanwilliam, parish of Kilshane, co. of Tipperary, about a mile and a-half east of the town of Tipperary; *O'Donovan, Supplem. to O'Reilly*, in voc. *Ord. Survey Map, Sheet 67.* Cnamhchoill is mentioned by Keating, *O'Mahony's Transl.*, p. 92. Haliday, in his *Transl.*, p. 139, anglicises the word *Knawhill*. But he intended this merely to give the pronunciation, not as the modern name of the place.

<sup>4</sup> *Delbhna-mór.* The name of Delbhna, or *Delvin*, is given to several districts inhabited by tribes descended from Lugaidh Delbh-n-Aodh (*pron.* Delv-nae), son of Cas mac Tail. The Delvins were, therefore, closely allied to the Dal Cais. See Genealogical Table III., p. 247. Some enumerate five (see p. 75), and others seven Delvins, or Delbhnas. *O'Flaherty, Ogyg.*, p. 387; *Hy Many*, p. 83; *B. of Rights*, p. 107, n. p.

or Delvins, were near relatives of the Dal Cais, and came to support their kinsmen. The occasion was of such importance that the absent individuals of the clan, even though they may have been in the service of Maelseachlainn of the Southern O'Neill, and Aedh of the Northern O'Neill, all flocked in to answer the summons of their chieftain, and to support their clan in this emergency (p. 75). When they had all arrived a second council of war was held, and it was determined unanimously to risk a general engagement at Sulcoit,<sup>1</sup> near the town of Tipperary. This place, as its name applies, was at that time probably a large wood of willow trees. It was about five miles westward of Cnamhchoill where the enemy had encamped, and its trees afforded the shelter so necessary for the aggressive warfare of the period.

Constitution of the Irish clans.

It appears incidentally from this narrative that the whole body of the clan were summoned to decide upon the question of war or peace. Every petty chieftain of every minor tribe, if not every individual clansman, had a voice, not only in this primary question, but also when war was declared, in the questions arising upon subsequent military operations. This constitution of the clans was one of the evils of ancient Ireland. It weakened the power of the kings or supreme chieftains. The kings or chieftains were themselves chosen by the clan, although the choice of the clan was limited to those who possessed a sort of hereditary right, often vague and open to dispute, and complicated by a comparison of the personal merits of rival claimants. It is not wonderful that such elections should have led frequently to abiding animosities and faction fights, ending in savage bloodshed.<sup>2</sup> To this

<sup>1</sup> *Sulcoit*, or *Salcoit*, p. 76. This word signifies a willow-wood, *Salicetum*. *Coit* (Welsh, *Coed*) is a wood. The site of this wood is still marked by the two parishes of Solloghod-beg and Solloghod-more, in the barony of Clanwilliam, co. of Tipperary, about 2½ miles N. and N.W. of the town

of Tipperary. See O'Donovan, *Supplem. to O'Reilly, in voc.*; and *Cormac Glossary* (ed. Stokes), p. 41, in voce *Salchuaít*.

<sup>2</sup> *Bloodshed*. See O'Flaherty's account of the political constitution of the ancient Irish clans; *Oggg.*, p. 57, *sq.*

essential weakness of the government, even in times of peace, must be added the relation of the supreme chieftain to his army in the case of war. The army was, in fact, a rope of sand. It consisted of a number of minor clans, each commanded by its own petty chieftain, receiving no pay, and bound by no oath, or any other obligation of allegiance to the "king," or chief commander. Each clan, no doubt, adhered with unshaken loyalty to its immediate chieftain; but the chieftain, on the smallest offence, could dismiss his followers to their homes, even at the very eve of a decisive battle. He was ready at every personal insult, or supposed insult, to abandon the national cause, and for the sake of a selfish revenge, disguised under the name of honor, to expose the whole national army to inevitable defeat. Nor did his defection, however capricious or unreasonable, expose him to any loss of caste or of reputation, for all were conscious that under similar circumstances they would have done the same.<sup>1</sup>

These facts must be borne in mind if we would rightly

<sup>1</sup> *The same.* This state of things is well described by Dr. Charles O'Connor, in his *Memoirs of Charles O'Connor, Esq., of Belanagare*:—"The subordinate chiefs were so numerous, that their operations resembled nearly the tumultuous operations of the people: roused to resistance only by what immediately affected their respective districts, what they felt only was what they were concerned for; remote consequences, apprehensions, and possibilities operated too feebly . . . they submitted to many oppressive acts, not only as individuals, but as a nation, before even a partial confederacy could be procured. Every clan preserved, with peculiar attention, the genealogy of its leader, which was the historical knowledge of those times; and thus, very much to the prejudice of the nation at large, so many family coles were formed as made the dis-

tinction and separation of each clan a barrier against national union, which was insurmountable to all. The small principalities into which the nation was thus unfortunately divided, exercised perpetual rapine and violence against each other. Being divided by fierce family contentions, they were more intent on the means of mutual injury than on the expedients for common, or even for private defence; and, while they fought against the English invader, they fought with equal animosity against themselves. *Dum singuli pugnant, univcr si vincuntur.*" *Memoirs, &c.*, by the Rev. Charles O'Connor, D.D., *Dedicat.*, p. xxii. The above words were written in reference to the English invasion under Henry II.; but they are equally applicable to the wars of the Danes, and, indeed, to all the internal wars of Ireland.

Inherent  
weakness  
of the Irish  
in warfare.

understand the inherent weakness of warfare in ancient Ireland, and the ease with which the Irish were always subjugated by a handful of disciplined men. In the case before us, Ivar, of Limerick, well knowing the source of this weakness, resolved to concentrate his whole force upon the destruction of the Dal-Cais. He knew that the petty jealousies of the surrounding tribes would secure to him their public or secret aid in an enterprise, which, if successful, would rid them of powerful and dangerous neighbours, and probably give them possession of the conquered territory. It would never occur to them to consider that the feuds, certain to arise on the attempt to divide that territory among themselves, would expose them to a similar extermination; whereas by an union of their forces they might have recovered Limerick, and delivered themselves and the whole province from an intolerable oppression.

Battle of  
Sulchoit.

The battle that followed at Sulchoit appears to have commenced by the advance of the Danes. It continued from sunrise to mid-day (see chap. lii, p. 77), and ended in a complete rout of the foreigners, who fled "to the ditches and to the vallies, and to the solitudes of the great sweet flowery-plain;" but they were followed by the conquerors, and massacred without mercy or quarter. A poem, attributed to Mathgamhain, is here interpolated in O'Clery's MS. It is in the form of a dialogue, in which Mathgamhain requires from Brian an account of the battle. It contains, however, no information of any great consequence. The victory at Sulchoit put the important station of Limerick into the hands of the Dal-Cassian leaders.<sup>1</sup> The survivors

<sup>1</sup> *Leaders.* It is something in favour of the antiquity of this poem that it sets down the number of slain in the battle of Sulchoit, as "little less than one hundred heads," instead of the 7,000 of Keating (*O'Mahony's Transls.*, p. 543), and the 3,000 of the "Book of Munster" (*Vallancey, Collect* i, 479). The poem gives the whole honour of the victory to Brian, and represents

Mathgamhain asking from Brian an account of the battle as if he had not himself been present. But the prose narrative gives no ground for this, and makes no mention of the leader of the Dal-Cais on this occasion. In the poem the Danish force is described as "a battalion of horsemen in corslets," p. 77.

fled to the fort they had erected there, but were pursued and slaughtered in the streets and in the houses. The names of several Danish chieftains slain on this occasion are given,<sup>1</sup> and we have also a particular account of the rich spoils of the city which fell into the hands of the victors.<sup>2</sup> In a word, the fort and the good town were sacked and burnt. The prisoners were collected on the hillocks of Saingel,<sup>3</sup> where "every one that was fit for war was put to death, and every one that was fit for a slave was enslaved." This decisive battle is dated<sup>4</sup> A.D. 968.

Another poetical account of the battle, also in a dialogue between Brian and his brother, is here interpolated<sup>5</sup> in the O'Clery MS. (B). In this poem, the author of which is not named, but simply called "the poet," the praises of Brian are celebrated in the dialogue by Mahoun, and those of Mahoun by Brian. The bard concludes by putting into Brian's mouth a call upon Mahoun to give gold to those who had so well merited reward, by estab-

Poetical  
Account of  
the battle.

<sup>1</sup> *Given*. These names are also repeated in the poem (ch. liv.), with some variations, which are pointed out—p. 78, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Victors*. Amongst the spoils "beautiful and foreign saddles" are particularly mentioned; besides jewels, gold, and silver; "beautifully woven cloth of all colours;" satins and silks, scarlet and green; "soft, youthful, bright, girls;" "blooming silk-clad women;" "active, well-formed boys"—p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> *Saingel*. Now Singland, or St. Patrick's, a parish on the south bank of the Shannon, forming part of the city of Limerick. The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick (iii., c. 44) tells us that here Carthenn Finn, son of Blodh, son of Cas Mac Tail, the first Christian chieftain of the Dalcais, was baptized by St. Patrick, and that the name

Saingel was corrupted from *Sain Aingeal* ["a different angel"], because an angel had appeared to St. Patrick there, who was not *Victor*, the angel who generally attended him, but a different angel. *Trias Thaum.*, p. 158. See General. Table III., Nos. 9, 10, p. 247.

<sup>4</sup> *Dated*. So *Dubl. Annals of Inisfal*. The *Four M.* at 965 (=967) have the following record of this battle, without mentioning Sulchoit:—"Mathgamhain, son of Cenneidigh, king of Cashel, plundered Limerick, and burned it." If this date be correct, we have another proof that the mention of the arrival of Ivar of Limerick and his sons after the battle of Tara (980) is misplaced. See above, p. cii.

<sup>5</sup> *Interpolated*. See ch. liv., p. 81.

lishing in this victory his undoubted right to the throne of Munster:—

“King of Munster thou art, I deem,  
High king of lofty Cashel;<sup>1</sup>  
Give gold to those who merit,  
They are many, O Mathgamhain.”

The prose account (ch. lv.) tells us that Mahoun did not neglect this great duty of a chieftain after such a victory. He ordered to every one his proper and befitting share, as he deserved, “according to his bravery and valour.”

Races, or  
Games of  
the son of  
Feradach.

After this (p. 83) follows a singular record, which the editor confesses himself unable to explain satisfactorily.<sup>2</sup> “Then,” says our author, “they celebrated the races [or

<sup>1</sup> *Lofty Cashel.* Καμύλ να σσει-  
μενσ, *lit.*, “Cashel of the steps,”  
which has been taken figuratively in  
the translation (p. 81) to signify cele-  
brated, renowned. See also p. 89, n. <sup>2</sup>.  
But perhaps the meaning may be  
more literal, “high,” “lofty,” in allu-  
sion to the great Rock of Cashel.

<sup>2</sup> *Satisfactorily.* It is not clear that  
the curious ceremony here described  
had anything to do with racing or  
horse racing, although the transla-  
tion, p. 83, gives that idea. The  
women knelt around in the posture  
described, but it is not expressly said  
that they were in motion, much less  
running a race, unless motion be im-  
plied in the word translated *marshal-  
led*. The foreign women alone were  
engaged in the ceremony, and the  
*gillies* (not necessarily *horse boys*) of  
the army, whether of the Irish or  
Danish army is not said, *marshalled*  
them (whatever that may mean) from  
behind. The mention of the son of  
Feradach is probably an interpolation,  
for it does not occur in the MS. B.

The whole was, no doubt, a heathen  
performance, intended, in some way,  
to benefit the souls of those who had  
fallen in the battle. Mr. W. M. Hen-  
nessy has pointed out a curious pas-  
sage in the Book of Fenagh, in which  
the Druids of Fergna, son of Fergus,  
king of Brefné, performed a similar  
ceremony in resistance to St. Caillin  
and his clergy. The position of the  
Druids, with their hands on the  
ground, is described in somewhat  
coarse language (*Book of Fenagh*,  
Brit. Mus. Cott. Vesp. E. 2), but is  
exactly the same as the position of the  
women spoken of in the text. See also  
Dr. O'Donovan's copy of the Book of  
Fenagh (*R. Irish Acad.*), fol. 13, b. b.,  
where the poetical account of this  
transaction describes the act of the  
Druids thus, Ερηξτε να ερασθησθε κο  
λασφ, ιφ αυησσ α τσνα ρσασφ.  
These Druids were afterwards turned  
into stone by the prayers of the  
saint, as a punishment for their pro-  
fanity. See *Mart. of Donegal*, (Nov.  
13), p. 307.

games] of the son of Feradach, viz., a great line of the women of the foreigners, on the hills [or hillocks<sup>1</sup>] of Saingel, in a circle, and they were stooped, and their hands on the ground, and the gillies of the army marshalled them [or drove them on] from behind, for the good of the souls of the foreigners who were slain in the battle.”<sup>2</sup>

The next chapter (lvi.) gives a short summary of the exploits of Mahoun. He spoiled the Ui Enna<sup>3</sup> of Aine, now Knock-any, in the county of Limerick. Here Cathal, son of Feradach, chieftain of Delbhna-mór, “the king soldier

Exploits of Mahoun.

<sup>1</sup> *Hillocks*. The original is the diminutive *Cnocán*.

<sup>2</sup> *The battle*. The son of Feradach here mentioned (if indeed the reading be correct, for the words “of the son of Feradach” are omitted in B.) was, doubtless, Cathal, son of Feradach, chieftain of the Delvin, or Delbhna-mór, mentioned, ch. li. (see p. cxvii. n.), whose death is recorded, ch. lvi. But why the ceremony described should be called “the races (ἄρματα) of the son of Feradach” does not appear. The word ἄρματα is translated *races* on Dr. O’Donovan’s authority, who has inserted it in his *Supplement to O’Reilly*, but quotes as his only authority the passage before us. Two apparently cognate words, ἄρματα and ἄρματαξάδ, occur in the dictionaries of O’Brien and O’Reilly, interpreted, “a riding, also horsemanship, also an alarm.” O’Reilly has also the word ἄρματαξ, which he explains “grunting (as swine).” Mr. O’Curry translates ἄρματαξ “games,” as it occurs in a poem by Cinaed O’Hartigan on Aicill, or Acaill (daughter of Cairbre Niafer, son of Ros Ruadh, king of Leinster in the second century), who died of grief on hearing that her brother Ere had been slain by Conall Cearnach. The words of the poem are—“They performed bright, pure

games (ἄρματαξ ἦν ἔλαιν) for Acaill hard by Teamair (or Tara).” *O’Curry’s Lectures*, p. 514. Here it will be observed that these games were performed *for* Acaill after her death, as the “races” mentioned in the text were performed *for* the slain Norsemen. In the poem cited by Mr. O’Curry, however, there is no mention of *horses*. But the same word, in a plural form, ἄρματαξ, occurs in another poem, preserved in the Book of Leinster, (fol. 160, b. b.), pointed out to the editor by Mr. Hennessy, where it evidently signifies *horse games* or *horse races*. The words are

“The steeds of the Fiana (‘tis known),  
And the steeds of Munster, in the  
great conflict,  
Performed three bright *graiífne*  
[games or races]  
On the Green of the son of Mairé.”

<sup>3</sup> *Ui Enna*. The name is now Heney or O’Heney. They were of the Eoghanaacht Aine, or Eoghanaacht of Any, settled in the territory round Knock-any, barony of Small County, in the county of Limerick. See *O’Huidhrin, Topogr. Poem*, p. 119. Delbhna-mór is now Delvin, a barony in the north of the county of Westmeath. See note †, p. cxvii.

of Erinn," was slain. This was immediately after the taking of Limerick; but the other victories recorded in this chapter seem to have occurred at some time subsequent. To secure himself on his throne Mahoun took hostages from all the chieftains of Munster, especially from Maelmuadh<sup>1</sup> (or Molloy), lord of Desmond, son of Bran, whom he had moreover taken prisoner; he took hostages also from Donnabhann<sup>2</sup> (or Donovan), chief of the Hy Fidhgente. He killed or enslaved the billeted soldiers of the enemy in every territory. He gained seven victories over the foreigners. Only four are mentioned by name,<sup>3</sup> but the author may have intended to include the battle of Sulchoit, which he probably counted as two, and this, with a second burning of Limerick, incidentally mentioned, will make up the seven. It would seem that after the first burning of Limerick, Ivar, of Limerick, and Amlaff, son of Anlaff,<sup>4</sup> escaped to "the East," meaning Britain, i.e. Wales, where, in a fruitless attempt to get footing in the country, Amlaff was slain,<sup>5</sup> and Ivar, after an absence of a year, returned with a great fleet and entered the western harbour of Limerick, where he slew Beolan Littill<sup>6</sup> with his

<sup>1</sup> *Maelmuaidh*. The MS. D. says that this chieftain was himself captured first, which, if true, must have increased his enmity to Mathgamhain. See his Genealogy, App B., Tab. IV., p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> *Donnabhann*. See General Table V., No. 23, p. 249.

<sup>3</sup> *By name*. These are—1. The battle of Sengualainn ["the old shoulder," from the shape of the hill], now Shanagolden, in the barony of Lower Connello, co. of Limerick. 2. The battle of Laegh; this place is unknown to the editor. It is said by our author to be in Tratraighe, now Tradry. 3. The battle of Machaire mór, or the Great Plain, fought when the united forces of the Gaill of Limerick and Waterford attacked the king of Munster,

and encamped at Imlech (now Emly) for two days. See note <sup>15</sup>, p. 83. The Machaire mór here mentioned is probably the Machaire-na-Mumhan, or plain of Munster, which seems to have extended to Emly. See *Four M.*, 1088, p. 934.

<sup>4</sup> *Amlaff, son of Amlaff*. See p. 85. There is perhaps an error here, for amongst the Scandinavian nations the son seldom had the father's name; instances however occur. Perhaps we should read grandson, or more probably "Amlaff, son of Ivar."

<sup>5</sup> *Slain*. There seems no notice of this event elsewhere.

<sup>6</sup> *Beolan Littill*. The Scandinavian name may be *Biolan*. He was perhaps the ancestor of the O'Beolain, erenachs of Drumcliffe, county of

son, who seems from the epithet *Littill* to have been a Scandinavian. After this Ivar intrenched himself in the western harbour, taking possession of the larger islands of the Shannon, and fixing his head-quarters on Inis-Cathaigh, now Scatterry Island.

Mahoun had now firmly established himself on his throne. He had broken the power of the Danes of Limerick, and relieved his territory from their vexatious oppression. He had taken hostages from the rival chieftains of his own race, and his sovereignty in Munster had been acknowledged without dispute for about six years. Then, however, at the instigation of Ivar, of Limerick, and Ivar's son, Dubhcenn,<sup>1</sup> a conspiracy was formed against him. The two great Eoghanacht clans of Munster, who had so recently submitted, now withdrew their allegiance. They not only allied themselves with the Danish usurpers, but they consented to become principals in the base assassination of their own acknowledged sovereign and kinsman.<sup>2</sup> The motives which led these high chieftains thus to sully their fair fame and hand down their names with infamy to posterity, are clearly enough explained by our author (ch. lvii). Donovan and Molloy were both descended from Eoghan-mór, son of Oilioll Olum. Mahoun was descended from Cormac Cas, another son of Oilioll Olum. The Eoghanacht, or descendants of Eoghan-mór,

His establishment on the throne of Munster.

A conspiracy formed against him.

Motives of the conspirators.

Sligo, settled also at Applecross in Scotland. The second burning of Limerick by Mathgamhain is probably the same which the *Four M.* speak of as the expulsion of the foreigners from Inis Sibhtonn, A.D. 969 (=971). They had recorded the first burning under 965 (=968).

<sup>1</sup> *Dubhcenn*. See ch. lviii. p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> *Kinsman*. The relationship between the rival tribes will be understood from Tables III., IV., and V., Append. B. To modern ideas this relationship appears somewhat distant,

being no more than a descent from a common ancestor (Oilioll Olum) in some twenty-two or twenty-three generations, after a period of upwards of 700 years; and in the case of Molloy and Donovan, from a common ancestor, Oilioll Flanbeg (great grandson of Oilioll Olum) in nineteen or twenty generations; yet to Celtic ideas, and in a country where clan-ship was everything, this relationship was close enough to influence effectively, for good or for evil, the contending parties.

having in course of time divided into two powerful septs, appear to have succeeded in excluding the tribe of the Dal Cais from their fair share of the alternate succession to the throne of Munster, which both tribes claimed under the will of their common ancestor, Oilioll Olum. The two Eoghanacht families (which were confessedly the senior branch) were at this time represented by Donnabhann, or Donovan, and Molloy. Donovan<sup>1</sup> was the chieftain of the Hy Figeinte and Hy Cairbre, in the south of the county of Limerick. Maelmuaidh, or Molloy, was chieftain of the Clann Cuirc,<sup>2</sup> or descendants of Conall Corc, and lord of the Ui Eachach, or of Desmond. Alarmed at the progress of the Clann Lughdach,<sup>3</sup> or Dal Cais, and jealous of their supremacy,<sup>4</sup> these tribes and chieftains re-

<sup>1</sup> *Donovan*. See Table V., p. 249, No. 23. This chieftain was the ancestor of the great family of O'Donovan. His daughter had married Ivar, king of the Danes of Waterford, whose son, Donnabhann, was the ancestor of another branch of the same tribe. See O'Donovan, *Four M.*, vi., p. 2436.

<sup>2</sup> *Clann Cuirc*. See Geneal. Table IV., Nos. 6 and 24. Clann Cuirc signifies the Children of Corc, *Cuirc* being the genitive case of Corc. The Ui Eathach, or Ui nEachach, were the descendants of Eachaidh, grandson of Conall Corc, Table IV., No. 8. The family of O'Mahony (*Ua Mathgamhna*) is descended from Mathgamhain, grandson of the traitorous Maelmuaidh. Table IV., No. 26.

<sup>3</sup> *Clann Lughdach*. Descendants of Lugaidh Menn; see Table III., No. 6. This sometimes used as another name for the Dal Cais.

<sup>4</sup> *Supremacy*. In this place is inserted a prophecy attributed to St. Colman, son of Lenin, first bishop of Cloyne (ob. 604), in which is foretold the

supremacy of the Dalcassian race to the end of the world. This pretended prophecy, it is needless to say, is a wretched forgery, of which St. Colman was as guiltless as the author of the present work; for the passage is a manifest interpolation, interrupting the narrative, and of a date evidently much later than the reign of Brian. "To the Clann of Cormac Cais," it says, that is, to the Dal-Cais, "shall belong the sovereignty, *except three*, until Flann comes." Flann is explained to be Flann Cithach, from Durlus (i.e. Thurles), the fabled personage who is to be the king of Ireland in the times of Antichrist, and consequently, the last king of Ireland before the Day of Judgment. See a full account of this class of spurious prophecies, and especially those relating to Flann Cithach, in O'Curry's Lectures, pp. 398-426, and App., p. 632. The word *Citach* is of uncertain meaning. *Cith* is a shower, and *Cithach*, showery; but this gives no meaning. *Ciotach* is left-handed, awkward, unlucky. Some author-

solved upon the traitorous murder of the Dalcassian chief-tain, whom they were unable to meet fairly in open warfare. The Hy Cairbre especially, we are told, were further instigated to this unworthy deed by the consciousness that the territory they then inhabited really belonged to the Dal Cais, of whom Mahoun was the representative. They imagined that by putting him out of the way, their title to the land<sup>1</sup> would be secured; forgetting that they only thereby provided themselves with a still more formidable claimant in the person of his brother Brian.

A poem attributed to Maelmuaidh or Molloy on this occasion, is inserted in chap. lviii. It is an exhortation to the Danes to take the lead, and to assemble the men of

Molloy's  
poetical ex-  
hortation  
to the  
Danes.

ities call Flann gíonach or gionach, voracious, which Mr. O'Curry thinks more likely to be the true reading. The words "except three" in the pretended prophecy seem to indicate that it was written at a time when there had already been *three* exceptions to the predicted Dalcassian sovereignty over Munster. The Book of Munster gives the following list of the kings of Munster who succeeded Mahoun:—

1. *Maelmuaidh*, or Molloy, murderer of Mahoun.
2. Brian Borunha.
3. Donnchadh, or Donogh, son of Brian Borunha.
4. Torrdelbhach, or Turlogh, son of Tadhg, son of Brian.
5. Muirchertach, or Murtagh mór, son of Turlogh.
6. Diarmaid, son of Turlogh.
7. *Tady*, son of Muiredh MacCarthy.
8. Conchobhar, or Connor, son of Diarmaid (No. 6.)
9. *Cormac*, son of Muiredh MacCarthy.
10. Turlogh, son of Diarmaid. (No. 6.)
11. Murtagh, son of Connor (No. 8.)
12. Domhnall mór (son of Diarmaid, son of Turlogh, son of Tadhg, son of Brian), last king of Munster, 1168. Here it will be seen that all these princes are the direct

descendants of Brian, and therefore Dal Cassian, *except three*, whose names are printed in italics, and who were of the Eugenic race. So that this prophecy was forged most probably about 1150, or, at least, not later than the times of Turlogh, son of Diarmaid, who began his reign 1142. The editor is indebted to the research of his friend, Mr. W. M. Hennessy, for this reference to the Book of Munster.

<sup>1</sup> *Land*. This territory is described as Caille Cormaic, or Cormac's Wood, extending from Oclan, or Hoclan (in the S. of the co. of Limerick, now unknown), to the Luimneach or Lower Shannon, and from Cnam-coill, near the town of Tipperary, to the mountainous district of Luachair Deaghaidh, in the county of Kerry. *Caille Cormaic* is unknown to the editor, unless it be the *Ath-Caille* (Wood-ford) mentioned in the "Circuit of Muirchertach macNeill," line 131. For Cnamhcoill, see p. cxvii., n. 3; Luachair is Luachair Deaghaidh, a mountainous district near Castle-Island, county of Kerry. *Four M.*, A.M. 3727, A.D. 1579 (p. 1721). *B. of Rights*, p. 77, n.

Munster, together with their own people, both Gaill and Gaedhil, on the "very high hill" of Eoghabhail,<sup>1</sup> which was to be the place of muster. This poem is of no interest, and is doubtless an interpolation<sup>2</sup> in the MS. It has not the smallest pretence to authenticity.

Particulars of Mahonn's murder.

The particulars of Mahoun's murder are then given in detail. But it is quite evident that the narrative is not in the state in which its author left it. It bears internal evidence both of interpolation and mutilation. Sundry "poems" have been inserted which are clearly of a more recent date. To make way for these the context both before and after has been tampered with. Hence the story is somewhat confusedly, and irregularly told. Two different accounts, not altogether consistent with each other, are given. According to the first of these, Mahoun was in the house of Donovan. How he came there we are not informed;<sup>3</sup> but that he did not thus place himself in the hands of his enemy without some precaution, is evident from the fact that he had secured

<sup>1</sup> *Eoghabhail*. This place was probably in the neighbourhood of Knockany, in the county of Limerick. It may have been the "high hill" now called Knockadoon, "Hill of the Fortress," near Lough Gur. It is curious that the Dal Cais are called in the poem *Dal Cais of the Churches*, showing that it was composed after Brian was regarded as champion of the Church, in opposition to the Paganism of the invaders.

<sup>2</sup> *Interpolation*. Chaps. lvii. and lviii., owing to the loss of a leaf, are absent from the MS. D.

<sup>3</sup> *Not informed*. Dr. O'Donovan, in his abstract of this story from the present work, says that Donovan "invited Mahoun to a banquet in his own house;" this, however, is without authority from the text; but Brian's poetical lament (p. 89) says that

Mahoun "had trusted, *in friendship*, to the treacherous word of Donovan." The Dublin Ann. of Innisfallen say, at 976, that the object of the bishop in the part he took in these transactions, was to make peace between the contending parties, and this is, no doubt, a natural conjecture (see how Bishop O'Brien expands this hint, *Vallancey's Collect.* I., p. 483-484); but it is not so stated in the original authority, and does not explain Mahoun's motives in trusting those who he must have known were his deadly enemies. The "House of Donovan" was at Brugh-righ [*Burgum regis*; see O'Donovan, *Supplem. to O'Reilly*, in voc.], now Bruree, on the banks of the river Maigue, where are still to be seen several forts, earthworks, and other traces of the ancient "regal" residence.

the safe conduct or protection of the bishop and clergy,<sup>1</sup> to the effect "that he was not to be killed or blinded." However, in violation of all the rights of hospitality, and in contempt of the clergy, Donovan delivered up his victim to Molloy and his Danish associates.<sup>2</sup>

Molloy, we are told, had sent forward his men to meet Mahoun at Cnoc-an-Rebhraidh, on Sliabh Caein,<sup>3</sup> and to lull suspicion induced the bishop to send also some of his own people in company with them, whilst Molloy himself, with the bishop, remained at Raithin-mór, in Fermoy. Molloy had given his followers private instructions to put Mahoun to death as soon as they had got him into their power. The ecclesiastics who accompanied them as representatives of the bishop, of course knew nothing of these instructions, and were powerless to prevent the murder.

This account of the transaction is at least intelligible. It contains nothing of the marvellous, nothing that may not have really occurred in those ferocious times. But the second account of the same murder, given in a subsequent chapter (lx., p. 91), bears evident marks of having been tampered with. From the abruptness with which it

Treachery  
of Molloy.

A second  
account.

<sup>1</sup> *The clergy.* See p. 89. Columb, son of Ciaragán, is mentioned as the Comharb, i.e., successor, of St. Barri (Bairre), or Finnbar, founder of the see of Cork. The Ann. Ult. and Four M. call him *Airchinnech*, or erenach of Cork, and date his death 987 (=990).

<sup>2</sup> *Associates.* This fact is twice stated in the beginning of chap. lix., as if two different narratives of the event had been mixed together; perhaps the first sentence of this chapter and the whole of chap. lviii. should be omitted; the story would then run on after ch. lvii.:—"This was the consell that was acted upon, &c.," p. 89, line 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Sliabh Caein.* This is a mountain, now called Sliabh Riach, on the bor-

ders of the counties of Limerick and Cork. The editor has not been able to discover the exact position or modern name of Cnoc-an-Rebhraidh. According to this story Mahoun was sent from Brnree (the residence of Donovan) to Sliabh Caein, a considerable distance, whilst Molloy and the bishop remained at Raithin mór, which is expressly said to have been in Fermoy. There is a parish, now Rahan, 2½ miles east of Mallow, on the road to Fermoy. Molloy and Donovan seem to have been both at considerable distances from the scene of the murder, which, according to this account, was committed at Cnoc-an-Rebhraidh, on Sliabh Caein.

begins, it seems to want some introductory sentences. "The naked sword," and "the Gospel of Barri," the cleric, who was with Molloy, the hills too on which the crime was committed, are spoken of in a manner which leads a reader to think that they had been, or ought to have been, mentioned before. The executioners of Mahoun, and the ecclesiastics sent by the bishop of Cork, are assumed to have been sitting on opposite hills,<sup>1</sup> "the full flight of an arrow asunder," a fact which is given on the authority of those "who were acquainted with the place" (which, however, is not named), implying that the writer did not profess to be acquainted with the place himself.

Discrepancy of the two accounts.

In the former narrative it was only said that Mahoun had the protection of Columb, son of Ciaragàn, comharb of Barri, or Bairre, that is bishop of Cork. In the second account we are told that he wore on his breast the Gospel of Barri<sup>2</sup> "to protect him." When he perceived, however, that veneration for this sacred copy of the Gospels was not likely to have weight with his murderers, he threw it from him, lest it should be stained with his blood, and

<sup>1</sup> *Opposite hills.* This seems to describe the pass of Bearna Dhearg ["red or bloody gap"], in the mountain of Sliabh Caein, which is traditionally believed to be the place where Mahoun was murdered. It is a gap, through which the road from Kilmallock to Cork passes, one mile south of the parish church of Kilfin. Dr. O'Donovan states that this gap lies between the hills of Kileruaig and Redchair, the former on its east, the latter on its west. (*Suppl. to O'Reilly*, in voc. *Bearna dhearg*). The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen (at 976) mention also another tradition, viz., that Mahoun was murdered at Muisire-na-monadh-móire, supposed to have been the Musherá Mountain, near Mallow, co. of Cork, where it is stated that there is a heap of stones called *Leacht Math-*

*gamhna*, "tomb of Mahoun." See *Four M.* (A.D. 974), p. 701, note, and *Vallancey, Collect. I.*, p. 485.

<sup>2</sup> *Gospel of Barri.* Almost every ancient Irish see preserved the Gospel or Psalter of its founder or some early ecclesiastic, generally kept in a silver or highly ornamented box or shrine. Some of these MSS. are still extant, as the Book of Armagh; the Book of Durrow (formerly belonging to the see of Meath); the Book of St. Moling, of Ferns; the Book of Dimma, the gospels of Roscrea or Killaloe; the Domhnach Airgid, of Clogher; the Cathach (a Psalter), of Tirconnell. All these are in the Library of Trin. College, Dublin, except the last two, which are in the Royal Irish Academy. The Gospel of Barri mentioned in the text is not now known to exist.

it fell into the breast of a priest of the bishop's people, who was distant, we are told, "the full flight of an arrow."<sup>1</sup>

Molloy was at a still greater distance from the scene of the murder; he was distant "as far as the eye could see;" nevertheless he saw the flashing of the sword,<sup>2</sup> and knew that the fatal blow had been given. He immediately mounted the horse that had been kept ready for him, and fled. "The cleric" asked what he was to do; and Molloy answered in irony, "Cure yonder man" (meaning, of course, Mahoun) "if he should come to thee." Here it is evident that there has been some omission; for there is nothing to tell us who this cleric was. The only cleric mentioned before was the cleric into whose breast the Gospel of St. Barri had been thrown. But he was distant with Mahoun "as far as the eye could see," and could not therefore have been the same clerk who was within speech of Molloy, and witnessed his flight.

The scribes have interpolated<sup>3</sup> between these two accounts of the bloody deed, an elegy on the death of Elegy by  
Brian on  
Mahoun's  
death.

<sup>1</sup> *An arrow.* Making all due allowance for additional strength, generated by the excitement of such a moment, it was wholly impossible that a book, presenting considerable resistance to the air, although probably in a silver or ornamented case, could have been cast, without a miracle, "the full flight of an arrow."

<sup>2</sup> *Sword.* The Irish swords of this period were short, and of bronze. The Danish swords were long, and of steel. We may therefore infer (if, indeed, we can infer anything from such a narrative) that the actual executioners of the unfortunate chieftain were Molloy's foreign accomplices, who were bound by no obligations, and had no reverence for the sacred Gospels of St. Finnbar, or for the pledge given to their victim by the clergy.

<sup>3</sup> *Interpolated.* Immediately follow-

ing the poem is a paragraph (ch. lx., p. 91) in which the date of the murder is fixed by several chronological criteria. It was nine years after the battle of Sulchoit; the thirteenth year after the death of Dunchadh, king of Cashel; sixty-eight years after the death of Cormac, son of Cuillenan; twenty after the death of Congalach, king of Ireland; and four before the battle of Tara. All these dates coincide sufficiently with the year A.D. 976. The battle of Sulchoit is dated 968; the death of Dunchadh, 962; Cormac's death, 908; the death of Congalach, 956; and the battle of Tara, 980. If the poem be an interpolation, as seems pretty clear, this chronological paragraph must have followed immediately the former narrative of Mahoun's murder.

Mahoun, attributed to his brother Brian. It is not without some spirit, although to the English reader it has, doubtless, lost much of its poetical merit by the baldness of a literal translation. It begins with a lament that Mahoun had been slain by the hand of an ignoble assassin, and not by the sword of some high king. It would have been some alleviation of the misfortune, if he had fallen on the battle-field under cover of his shield, and not by a base act of treachery. His exploits<sup>1</sup> are then briefly enumerated, and the poem concludes by Brian's strong expression of his determination to take ample vengeance upon his brother's murderer :—

“ My heart will burst, I feel,  
If I avenge not the high king.”

Inconsistency of the second narrative.

It is obvious to remark upon the second narrative, that its description of the position of the parties concerned is quite different from that of the former account. There Donovan, having received Mahoun in his own house, sent him on to meet Molloy's people at Slieve Riach, several miles distant;<sup>2</sup> whilst Molloy and the bishop were still further distant at Rathin-mór, in Fermoy. If this were so, and the murder was committed on Slieve Riach, Molloy could not possibly have seen the flashing of the sword, or distinguished the precise moment when his victim fell. Neither does this second narrative say anything of the presence of the bishop. It mentions two clerics only as witnesses of the transaction; one, the priest to whom Mahoun threw St. Barri's Gospels at the moment of his being murdered; the other, the cleric who was with Molloy when he fled, and of whom we have just spoken. This clerk, we are told (p. 93), “*recognized*

<sup>1</sup> *Exploits*. These are the seven battles mentioned before, chap. lvi.; see p. cxxiv. and note <sup>3</sup>. Machaire Buidhe (yellow plain) is the name of many places in Ireland. Here it pro-

bably denotes Sulchoit. “The army of the two brave men” seems to signify the army of Ivar of Limerick and his son, Dubhcenn.

<sup>2</sup> *Distant*. See p. cxxxix., n. <sup>3</sup>, *supra*.

Molloy at the moment of his departure." The word must mean<sup>1</sup> that the clerk perceived from Molloy's ironical speech and sudden flight the real nature of the bloody deed, and Molloy's participation in the crime. Fired with indignation, in the spirit of prophecy, he cursed the treacherous chieftain. The anathema was uttered in verse, in which form it was believed to be more efficacious. It predicted by name the man who was to avenge the murder. Molloy was to be slain by Aedh, or Aedhan, "a man from the border of Aifi."<sup>2</sup> He was to be slain "on the north of the sun, with the harshness of the wind." That is, as our author explains it, his grave was to lie on the north side of the hill, where the sun could never shine on his tomb. He should derive no advantage from his crime, for his posterity<sup>3</sup> should pass away, his history be forgotten, his tribe be in bondage.

After the departure of Molloy the two priests, having joined each other, went at once to the bishop, told him the sad story, and placed the Gospel, which was sprinkled with the blood of the murdered man, in the holy prelate's breast. Then the priest who had brought the Gospel back, wept bitterly, and "uttered a poem,"<sup>4</sup> the object of

The priests report the murder to their bishop.

<sup>1</sup> *Must mean.* The words are literally, "the clerk took knowledge on him." The clerk can scarcely be supposed not to have known Molloy's person.

<sup>2</sup> *Aifi.* The "border of Aifi" was probably some place near Knockany, co. of Limerick. Aedh, called also Aedhan, or Little Aedh, a term of endearment (introduced, most probably for the sake of the metre) is said (ch. lxi.) to have been son of Gebennach, of the Desi Beg; he is not mentioned in the Annals. The Desi Beg occupied a territory comprised in the present barony of Small County, in the co. of Limerick.

<sup>3</sup> *Posterity.* This part of the prediction was not fulfilled; for the pos-

terity of Maelmuaidh is numerous to this day in the families of O'Mahony, O'Molloy, &c. May we not infer that the poetical anathema was composed before these families had been founded, and therefore probably within two or three generations after the murder of Mahoun? "Thy history shall be forgotten," is also a prediction that has not been accomplished.

<sup>4</sup> *Uttered a poem.* "He composed there a prophetic prediction, and uttered this poem," p. 93. As the poem, the text of which seems very corrupt, does not profess to be a prophecy, we must conclude that the "prophetic prediction" has not been preserved.

which was to lay claim to the legal fines or pecuniary penalties for the murder. Then follows a stanza, attributed to Mac Liag, on the four battles gained by Mahoun over the foreigners of Glenn Datha,<sup>1</sup> in the hills on the north of Thomond. Then a long elegy "by Mathgamhain's blind bard." These poems are, no doubt, interpolations of the scribes. The elegy (ch. lxii. p. 97) occurs only in the O'Clery or Brussels MS.; but it is doubtless ancient; it notices some circumstances<sup>2</sup> of which no other record remains to us; and an allusion to Brian's taking "the sovereignty of the five provinces" (p. 99) proves that it was composed after Brian had been recognized as supreme king of Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> *Glenn Datha*. This name is now obsolete. For Mac Liag, see above, p. xx., *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Circumstances*. It may be well to explain some names of persons and places in this elegy. "The land of the Ui Torrdhelbhaigh" or descendants of Turlogh, was nearly co-extensive with the present diocese of Killaloe. The Ui Torrdhelbhaigh were named from Torrdealbhadh, or Turlogh, an ancestor of Mahoun, who, although chieftain of his race, renounced the world, and became a monk in the monastery of Lismore. (See *Geneal. Table III.*, No. 15, p. 247). *Magh Fail* (plain of destiny), p. 97, is a poetical name of Ireland. We know nothing of "the black steed," or of its owner, Tadhg, son of Maelchellaigh, except that the Four M., at 955, record the death of Maelchellaigh, son of Aedh, abbot or bishop of Emly, who was probably father of this Tadhg. St. Ailbe, of Imleach (now Emly), is said to have been in Ireland before St. Patrick, and was patron of Emly; *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 203, *sq.* Neasan or Nessian, the deacon, was patron saint of Mungret, county of Limerick, and a disciple of St. Patrick. *Mart. of Donegal* (25 July), p.

203. Dun-Gaifi was probably the name of one of the forts at Donovan's house at Bruree. It appears from these lines that some little jealousy had sprung up between Mahoun and Brian. Mahoun had gone to Donovan's house without consulting Brian, if not contrary to his advice, and some "injustice" had been done "by the senior brother to the junior," p. 99. There is a curious allusion to the bard's friendship (the original uses a stronger word, *dile*, "love") for Dubhcenn, son of Ivar of Limerick, in consideration of which he says, "I will not revile the foreigners" (p. 99). *Magh Morgain* is now unknown, but was certainly near Seangualainn, or Shanagolden (p. 99). Possibly it is the parish called Morgans, on the Shannon, N.E. of Shanagolden. The other places mentioned are either unknown to the editor, or have already been explained. See note, p. 98. The concluding stanza (p. 101) contains an allusion to a curious custom which the editor does not remember to have seen elsewhere noticed, viz., that calves, and probably other cattle, were made to *fast* when the tribe was in grief for the loss of their chieftain. See *Jonah*, iii., 7.

The next chapter (lxiii.) is a short introduction to the history which follows of Brian's reign. The murderers gained nothing by their assassination of Mahoun; for Brian, who succeeded him, was not "a stone in place of an egg, nor a wisp of hay in place of a club," but a hero, whose valour surpassed that of his brother. He amply avenged that brother's cruel murder. The early part of his reign was spent in wars and conflicts of every sort; but before its close he had time to cultivate the arts of civilization and peace.

There is reason to think that the beginning of the next chapter has been corrupted by errors of transcription.<sup>1</sup> But the means of probable correction are at hand. The true reading, a reading, at least, which gives a good sense, seems to be that of the Brussels MS. "Ivar, and Dubhcenn, and Cuallaid were killed by Ua Domhnaill,<sup>2</sup> of Corcabhaiscinn, in Inis Cathaigh [Scattery Island], a year after the slaying of Mathgamhain. Find-inis,<sup>3</sup> and Inis-mor, and Inis-da-Dromand, were plundered by them, and the islands of the whole harbour likewise, namely, all those in which were the wives, and children, and seraglios of the foreigners."<sup>4</sup> From this it appears that the Danes

Brian,  
king of  
Munster.

The  
O'Donnells  
of Corca-  
bhaiscinn  
plunder  
the Danes  
of the  
Shannon.

<sup>1</sup> *Transcription.* The errors occur in the Dublin MS. D., which has been followed in the text, p. 103. But the O'Clery MS. B. supplies readings which give a consistent sense. See note, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Ua Domhnaill.* This was the tribe of O'Donnell, of the co. of Clare, seated in the west of Corcabhaiscinn, on the banks of the Shannon, now the barony of Clonderalaw.

<sup>3</sup> *Find-inis.* This name seems to have become obsolete. It is not mentioned in D. Perhaps it may be what is now called Feenish Island. Inis-mór is now Canon Island, the largest of the group of small islands in that expansion of the Shannon which receives the river Fergus, where is also

Inis-da-Dromand (island of two backs, or round hills), now Inishdadroum.

<sup>4</sup> *Foreigners.* The Four M. (975) and Tigernach (957) attribute to Brian the "violation" of Inis Cathaigh on this occasion, and the slaying of Ivar and his sons, Amlaff and Dubhcenn, without any mention of the O'Donnell. Here it seems that Cu-alaidh or Cuallaid (as already remarked, see p. ciii., n.) is called Amlaff. Inis Cathaigh, or Scattery Island, was the seat of a celebrated religious house founded by St. Senan; and hence the annalist speaks of the holy place being "violated" by the slaughter of the Danes there, however justifiable and necessary that slaughter may have been.

of Limerick, after their great defeat by Mahoun, had entrenched themselves in Scatterry Island as their headquarters, concealing their women and children in the smaller and more remote islands,<sup>1</sup> until they could get reinforcements from their countrymen. There the O'Donnells, who were probably acting under Brian, attacked them and slew their leaders. A great spoil of gold, silver, and wealth of various kinds, was found in these islands.

Donovan  
attacked  
and slain.

Harold, the only surviving son of Ivar, was now recognized as king of the foreigners of Munster (p. 103); and Donovan, knowing what he had to fear from the vengeance of Brian, sought the alliance of the Danes, and invited Harold to his house. But Brian invaded Donovan's territory of Hy Fidhgente, drove off his cattle, took the fortress of Cathair Cuan, and slew Donovan and his Danish ally, Harold, after prodigious slaughter of the foreigners. This was the second year<sup>2</sup> after the assassination of Mahoun.

Mission to  
Molloy,  
Poetical  
instructions  
by Brian  
to his  
messenger.

The punishment of Molloy was Brian's next object; and here we have a long interpolation (which does not occur in the older MS.), in the shape of a bardic poem, attributed to Brian himself. This poem, a state paper in verse, contains the instructions given to Cogarán, "the confidential officer of Brian," to claim reparation for the murder of Mahoun, and to declare war in form, against Molloy. Cogarán is directed to demand of the sons of Bran (Molloy's father) and of the whole tribe of the Ui Eachach, of which Molloy was chieftain, why they killed Mahoun. He was instructed to denounce woe upon them for killing an unarmed man, and for preferring to be on Ivar's side, rather than on the side of their own countrymen and kinsmen. Brian added that even though he himself were willing to forgive this murder of his brother, the brave Dal Cais would not forgive—the heads of fami-

<sup>1</sup> *Islands.* See p. cv., *n.*

<sup>2</sup> *Second year.* See Four M., 976 = 978. Cathair Cuan may have been

one of the forts at Bruree. This battle was mentioned before, p. 45. See above, p. xcix., *n.*

lies amongst them (whom he names)<sup>1</sup> would not forgive —therefore the Dal Cais, or Clan Cormaic, would submit to be dispersed abroad in all quarters, even to the country of the O'Neill,<sup>2</sup> the most remote part of Ireland, rather than yield up to Molloy, that which he was contending for, and which was the object of his crime, namely, the sovereignty of Munster, or of the south of Ireland. Accordingly Cogarán was commanded to announce to the tribe of the Ui Eachach, that no *cumhal* or fine would be received, in the shape of hostages, or horses, gold or silver, cattle or land, and that Molloy must himself be given up.

A full fortnight was allowed after the delivery of this message, at which time Molloy was challenged to battle at Belach-Lechta, or else, it was threatened, the Dal Cais, led by their chieftain Brian, would attack him in his own house (p. 107). Together with this general declaration of war, the messenger was charged to deliver to Molloy a particular challenge to single combat from Murchadh<sup>3</sup> (or Murrogh) the great, the son of Brian, who was afterwards slain with his father at Clontarf.

Then, we are briefly told, Brian fought the battle of Belach-Lechta,<sup>4</sup> or Belach-Leghtha, in which Molloy,

Challenge  
to Molloy.

Battle of  
Belach-  
Lechta.

<sup>1</sup> *Whom he names.* See p. 105. These were all of Mahoun's immediate family. Conaing, slain at Clontarf, 1014; Ceinneide, ancestor of O'Kennedy; and Longergán (whose grandson is mentioned, Four M., 1045), were nephews of Mahoun, the sons of his brother, Donnucan, lord of Ormond (sl. 948). At the time of Mahoun's murder, therefore, these his nephews were all of age, and able to take vengeance on his murderer. Ogan (ancestor of O'Hogan) was the son of Echtighern, who was the son of Cosgrach, son of Lorcan, and brother of Ceinneide, the father of Mahoun and Brian. There was another Echtighern, lord of Tho-

mond, Mahoun's elder brother. But he was slain in 948 (=949) Four M.

<sup>2</sup> *O'Neill.* This seems to be the meaning of the obscure stanza, "The Clann Cormaic from afar," &c., p. 105. The text is evidently corrupt.

<sup>3</sup> *Murchadh.* See p. 105. In this stanza Murchadh is called "heir of the chief king of Erin," which leads to the suspicion that this poem must not have been written until after the year 1002, when Brian became "chief king of Ireland."

<sup>4</sup> *Belach-Lechta.* This is a chasm in the mountain called Cenn-Abrath or Cenn-Febrath. According to a legend told in the Tripartite Life of St. Pat-

“king of Munster,”<sup>1</sup> fell, with 1,200 of his troops, both foreigners and Irish, and the victor took hostages of South Munster, or Desmond.

Manner of  
Molloy's  
death.

In this short account of the battle no mention is made of the person by whom Molloy was slain.<sup>2</sup> The narrative

rick, this mountain lies between Loch Longa (N.W. of Glenworth, in Fermoy, co. of Cork), and Ardpatrick, in the barony of Coshlea, co. of Limerick. St. Patrick wishing to erect a church in this latter place, the chieftain of the country opposed him, but said that if Patrick could remove the great mountain, Cenn-Febrath, so as to give him from the place where he stood a view of Loch Longa, he would become a Christian. Patrick having prayed in faith of the Lord's promise, (Matt. xvii. 20), the mountain began to bend from its top until a great piece of it lay level with the plain, forming the chasm or pass called *Belach-Leghtha*, “Road of Melting,” or dissolving. “Est autem in prædicto monte, in loco ubi montis diminutio visa est incipere, via patens, quæ nomine inde recepto perpetuam facit miraculi memoriam. Vocatur enim vulgo *Belach-Leghtha*, .i. via liquefactionis vel resolutionis, quia ibi mons videbatur prius resolutionem et diminutionem pati.” *Vit. Trip.*, iii., c. 48. (Colgan, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 158). See O'Donovan, *Suppl. to O'Reilly*, in voc. *Ceann-abhrath*. *Belach-Lechta*, as the name is written in the present work, and by the Four M., signifies “the road of the Tomb or Monument,” and is so translated by Dr. O'Conor. Cenn-Febrath is now *Belach-Febrath*, vulgo *Ballahevera*.

<sup>1</sup>*King of Munster*. Here Molloy is expressly called “King of Munster,” and his right to succeed Mathgamhain admitted, although in the list of Munster kings (chap. ii.) his name is

omitted. But we have shown that this list is the interpolation of a transcriber, and did not proceed from the original author. See p. xvii.

<sup>2</sup>*Was slain*. The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen say that Molloy was slain in the battle by Murchadh, son of Brian. For this the only authority seems to be the poetical challenge to a single combat, sent on the part of Murchadh to Molloy by the messenger Cogarán. See p. 105. The account of the battle given in these Annals under A.D. 978 (which is the true year) is as follows:—“The battle of *Belach-Leachta* [was gained] by Brian, son of Ceinneide, and by Murchadh, Brian's son, and by the Dal Cais, over Maolmuaidh, son of Bran, with the race of Eoghan mór and the Lochlanns of Munster, in which Maolmuaidh was slain by the hand of Murchadh, son of Brian, and twelve hundred of the Gaill, with a great multitude of the Gaedhil. Some historians, and our author” [i.e. the author of the original Annals of Inisfallen] “in particular, say that it was at Berna Derg, on Sliabh Caoin, this battle was fought, or at Sliabh Fera-muighe-Feine [Fermoy mountain]. I find in other old writers that it was on Cnoc Rambra, on the south side of Malla [Mallow], on the road to Corcach [Cork], that this victory was gained [*lit.*, this defeat *was given*] by Brian; and I find in other writers that the battle of *Belach-Leachta* was fought beside Macromtha [Macroon], close to Muisire-na-mona-mór.” Ann. Innisf. (Dubl.), A.D. 978. It seems evident that there is some confusion in this

evidently implies that he was slain in the battle in fair fight, and not under any peculiar circumstances; but the former account of his death (chap. lxi.) tells us that Aedh Gebennach, of the Deisi-beg, "found him in an alder hut," at the *ford* of Belach-Lechta, and slew him there after he had been "deprived of his eyes through the curse of the clerk." This represents him as having been slain, not in the battle itself, but immediately after the battle. It may have been that he lost his eyes in the battle, which misfortune was believed to be the consequence of the clerk's curse (see p. 93); and that having concealed himself in the alder hut near the ford, Aedh Gebennach discovered his retreat, and slew him without mercy. This supposition seems the only mode of reconciling the two accounts, if indeed it does reconcile them.

Brian having thus subdued his enemies and taken hostages, became, by the death of Molloy, undisputed king of Munster; and the remainder of the present work is devoted to his history and achievements. He commenced by the reduction of the Deisi, or Decies of Waterford, who were in close alliance<sup>1</sup> with the Danes of Waterford and Limerick. After a victory at Fan-Conrach,<sup>2</sup> or, as it is also called, Dún Fain-Conrach, he "ravaged and plundered" the whole country to Port Lairge, the harbour of

Brian king  
of Munster.

account between the place where Mahoun was murdered and the place where Molloy was slain.

<sup>1</sup> *Alliance.* Donovan, the murderer of Mahoun, is said to have married a daughter of the Danish king of Waterford, and his daughter was married to Imhar or Ivar of Waterford. See *General Table V.*, p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> *Fan-Conrach.* The Dublin Ann. of Inisfallen, and Mulconry's MS. copy of Keating, call this place Fan mic Courach. *Fan* may mean *church* (*Fan-um*); and there is a Cruimther [or Presbyter] *Conrach* in the Irish Calendar, at Feb. 23. See *Mart. of Donegal*. But *Fan* is also a *declivity*,

*a sloping ground*, which is, doubtless, the meaning here; and we may infer from the name *Dún Fain-Conrach* (fort of Fan-Conrach) that there was an antient fortress at the place. It was probably in the neighbourhood of the town of Waterford. A friend has suggested that *Conrach* may have been corrupted into *Comeragh*, and have given name to the Comeragh mountains, co. of Waterford. He states also that there are considerable remains of earthworks on the side of the mountain facing the city of Waterford, and that traditions exist among the people of a battle fought there by Brian.

Waterford. He banished Domhnall,<sup>1</sup> son of Faelan, king of the Deisi of Waterford, who, we are told, had "forced the war upon him," although no mention is made of this chieftain in the former part of our author's narrative.

Having gained these advantages, Brian took hostages from Mumhain or Munster, the only mode at that time of securing the loyalty of any tribe; in other words, he was recognized as king of Munster; and it is mentioned that he also took hostages of *the churches*, "lest they should receive rebels or thieves to sanctuary."<sup>2</sup>

His conquest of Ossory and Leinster.

Ossory was next subdued. Gillapatrick,<sup>3</sup> son of Donnchadh, its "king" or chieftain, was taken prisoner, and forced to give hostages. Brian then marched to Leinster, to the great plain of Magh Ailbhe,<sup>4</sup> where he received the

<sup>1</sup> *Domhnall*. The Ann. Inisf. say that Domhnall was slain on this occasion; but this is contrary to our author's testimony, and to the Four M., who tell us that he *died* in 995 = A.D. 997. He was the son of that Faelan, son of Cormac, king of the Deisi, who was murdered by Ivar of Limerick, in consequence of his adherence to the cause of the Dal-Cais. (See ch. I., p. 73, and p. cxvii. *supra*, n. 1). And yet we now find the son on the opposite side, in alliance with the Danish enemy. A similar instance of the facility with which the clans changed sides in those turbulent times, is found in the fact that Cian, son of Molloy, immediately after the death of his father, made peace with Brian, married Sadhbh, or Sabia, Brian's daughter, fought with him on the occasion mentioned in the text against the Deisi, and afterwards at Clontarf.

<sup>2</sup> *Sanctuary*. See ch. lxvi., p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> *Gillapatrick*. This chieftain was son of Donnchadh, son of Cellach, son of the celebrated Cearbhall, or Carroll, king of Dublin, whose

alliance with the Norsemen of Iceland and Dublin is so remarkable a fact in Irish history. Gillapatrick in 997 (Four M., 995) was slain by Donovan, son of Ivar of Waterford (see Geneal. Table IV., No. 25), and by Domhnall, son of Faelan, of whom we have just spoken. Gillapatrick was the ancestor of the family of Mac Gillaphadruig, of Ossory, who have now taken the name of Fitzpatrick.

<sup>4</sup> *Magh Ailbhe*. There is a townland and village now called *Moymalby*, in the parish of Kilmore, barony of Upper Deece, county of Meath; but this was not in Leinster. Dinn-Riegh (now Ballyknockan Moat), one of the residences or palaces of the kings of Leinster, was in a plain, also called Magh Ailbhe, on the banks of the Barrow, a little to the south of Leighlin bridge, in the townland of Ballyknockan, county of Carlow; (*Book of Rights*, pp. 14, n. o, 16, n. u.) In the Magh Ailbhe of Meath was a stone, called Lia Ailbhe [Stone of Ailbhe], which fell A.D. 1000, and was made into four millstones by King Malachy II.; *Four M.* (998=1000). The

homage<sup>1</sup> of the two kings of Leinster, Domhnall Claen, king of the eastern, and Tuathal, king of the western plain of Liphé, or Liffey. This was eight years after the murder of Mahoun, or A.D. 984; and thus Brian in that year became the acknowledged king, not of Munster only, but of all Leth-Mogha, the southern half of Ireland.

And now he began to aim at becoming supreme king of all Ireland. He assembled "a great marine fleet" on Loch Deirg-Dheirc. He went himself in command of 300 boats<sup>2</sup> up the Shannon to Loch Ree. From this position he plundered Meath as far as Uisnech,<sup>3</sup> and Brefné (a district comprising the counties of Leitrim and Cavan), "beyond Ath-liag and upwards."<sup>4</sup> He sent also 520, whether boats or men is not said, into Connaught, where "great evils" were perpetrated, and Muirghius (or Morris), son of Conchobhair, the chieftain next in succession as eligible to the throne of Connaught, was slain.<sup>5</sup> It appears

His naval  
prepara-  
tions.

*Ann. Ult.* (998-9) call this stone *prim dindgnai maighi Bregh*, "the principal monument of *Magh Bregh*."

<sup>1</sup> *Homage*. "They came into his house" (p. 107): i.e., they submitted to him, and paid him homage. See also p. 118, and p. lxxxix., *supra*, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Boats*. The word used is *lestar* or *lestar*, which signifies a bowl, a drinking cup, any kind of vessel, a small boat. See O'Donovan, *Suppl. to O'Reilly*. The MS. B uses the word *atar*, which is probably a small river boat. Cormac's glossary derives it from *ethur* (inter): .i. *ethaid o ur co* or; "because it goes from shore to shore." *Stokes' ed.*, p. 18, *voc. Ethur*.

<sup>3</sup> *Uisnech*. Now Ushgnah hill, or Knock-Ushnagh, midway between Mullingar and Ballymore, co. of Westmeath.

<sup>4</sup> *Upwards*. i.e., north of Ath-liag, a ford of the Shannon, on the borders of Roscommon and Longford, where

the town of Lanesborough now stands. This town is called in Irish Bel-Athaliag, mouth of Ath-liag, or of the stone-ford. In 934 (4 M.) Olaf Cuaran and his Gaill came from Loch Erne across *Brefne* to Loch Ree, passing through the county of Longford, which was the ancient Tebbtha, or Tefia.

<sup>5</sup> *Slain*. Two others are mentioned as having been slain by Brian, but they are not said to have been slain on this occasion. These are—1. Ruaidhri (or Rory), son of Cosgrach, "King of the Ui Briniin," or descendants of Brian, brother of Niall of the Nine Hostages. (See O'Flaherty, *West Connaught*, p. 126, *sq.*) The Four M. tell us that this chieftain was slain in 992 (=994), not by Brian or his troops, but by Conchobhair, son of Maelseachlainn, and by Giolla-Cheallaigh (or Kilkelly), son of Comhaltan O'Clery, lord of Hy Fiachrach Aidhne. (O'Donovan, *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 392). 2. Muirghius,

from the Four Masters (A.D. 987 = 989), that the foreigners of Waterford were amongst Brian's forces on this occasion.

Malachy  
alarmed.

These exploits seem to have alarmed Maelseachlainn, or Malachy II., king of Ireland, who had been eighteen years on his throne, and had strengthened himself by many victories over the Danes and native chieftains.<sup>1</sup> He now took steps to come to an understanding with Brian.<sup>2</sup> The two chieftains met at Plein-Pattoigi<sup>3</sup> (p. 109), where Brian had brought his fleet, and "a mutual peace" was concluded. It was agreed that all hostages in the custody of Malachy were to be surrendered to Brian; whether they were of the Munster foreigners, or of the Leinster tribes, of the Hy Fiachrach-Aidhne (in the county of Galway), or of the Hy Many (West Connaught). On

A peace  
concluded.

son of Ruaidhri or Rory, who, our author says, "was slain afterwards." The Four M. record his death at 995 (=997), thus: "a battle was gained over the Munster-men by Cathal and Muirghius, the two sons of Ruaidhri, son of Cosgrach, and by Ui Cellaigh [O'Kelly], wherein many fell, and Muirghius, son of Ruaidhri, fell in the heat of the conflict."

<sup>1</sup> *Chieftains.* In 983, Malachy, then in alliance with his half brother, Gluniarain, son of his mother Donnfaith by Olaf Cuaran, defeated, in a bloody battle, Domhnall Claen, k. of Leinster, and Ivar, of Waterford, after which he plundered Leinster. In 985 he plundered Connaught, and slew its chieftains. In 989 he defeated the Danes, and besieged them in the Dun of Dublin for twenty nights, until they capitulated for want of water, and promised a tribute to be paid every Christmas for ever. In 990 Malachy gained a victory in Thomond, Brian's own country. In 992 he invaded Connaught and repulsed Brian, who had advanced into Meath as far as

Loch Annin, now Lough Ennell. In 996, two years before the peace of Blean-Phuttoge, Malachy had plundered Nenagh, in Tipperary, and *defeated Brian*; he then again attacked Dublin, and carried off the King of Tomar and the sword of Carlus, relics which were held in honour by the Dublin Danes. *Four M.*, 994 (=996.) But our author does not mention these triumphs of Malachy. They explain, however, how he came to have in his custody the *hostages* alluded to in the treaty; and also why Brian so readily came to terms.

<sup>2</sup> *Brian.* This *treaty* is passed over without notice by all our annalists, except the *Dubl. Inisfall.*, where it is mentioned at 997.

<sup>3</sup> *Plein Pattoigi.* This place is now *Blean-Phuttoge*, a townland in the barony of Kilkenny West, county of Westmeath, on the shore of Lough Ree. *Ord. Map*, Sheet 15. The word *Blein* or *Blean*, signifies a harbour. For this identification the editor is indebted to the research of Mr. W. M. Hennessy.

these conditions Malachy was to be recognized as sole sovereign of Leth Cuinn (the northern half of Ireland), "without war or trespass of Brian." This was A.D. 998, two years before the battle of Glen-mama.

"After the death of Domhnall Claen," the province of Leinster revolted,<sup>1</sup> and made an alliance with the Danes of Dublin (ch. lxvii.), menacing Brian with war. He therefore mustered his forces, and marched towards Dublin, intending to blockade the city. He appears to have halted on his way in a place called Glen-mama, or Glen of the Gap, near Dunlavin, the antient fortress of the kings of Leinster, in the county of Wicklow. Here Malachy seems to have joined him, and here he was opposed by the allied Danish and Leinster armies, who had previously sent away their families and cattle for safety into an *angle*<sup>2</sup> near Glen-mama.

Alarmed at finding that Brian was moving there, they went forward "beyond their families" to meet him. There ensued a bloody battle, in which, after great

<sup>1</sup> *Revolted*. There is some difficulty here in the chronology. Domhnall Claen's death is dated 985. The treaty with Malachy is dated 998. Therefore, if we understand our author to say that Leinster revolted immediately after the death of Domhnall Claen, that revolt must have taken place 12 or 13 years before the treaty of peace. It is more probable, however, that the words "after the death of Domhnall Claen" were not intended to imply *immediately* after his death; or else that the revolt had continued for some time before Brian felt himself strong enough to march upon Dublin.

<sup>2</sup> *An angle*. Called by our author *Ascaill Gall*, the "angle of the foreigners." *Azilla Gallorum*. See note p. 110. There is still near Dunlavin a curious angular piece of land, which, although surrounded by the counties of Wicklow

and Kildare, was formerly a part of the county of Dublin. It is now in the barony of South Naas, co. of Kildare. This was possibly the angle to which the Leinstermen sent their cattle and families. But they are said to have used for the same purpose the districts of Ui Briuin Chualann, Ui Gabhra [*read* Ui Gabhla], and Ui Donnchadha (page 111.) The Ui Briuin Chualainn were the descendants of Brian, brother of Niall of the Nine Hostages, who settled in the district round Sliabh Cualann, now *Sugar-loaf* mountain, in the territory of Cualann, south of the co. of Dublin, and north of Wicklow. The Ui Gabhla were seated in the S. of the co. of Kildare. See *Four M.*, A.D. 497 (p. 160, n. 1.) The territory of the Ui Donnchadha (or O'Donoghue) is described as that through which the river Dodder flows, in the co. of Dublin.

slaughter on both sides, Brian<sup>1</sup> was victorious. Aralt, or Harold, son of Olaf Cuaran, the heir apparent of the foreigners of Ireland, Cuilean, son of Echtighern,<sup>2</sup> and 4,000 of the Danes of Dublin, were slain.<sup>3</sup> The victorious

<sup>1</sup> *Brian*. Our author makes no mention of Maelseachlainn or Malachy in this engagement, although from the account given of the battle by Tighernach and the Four M. there is good reason to think that Malachy was present. The Annals of Ulster, however, make no mention of him.

<sup>2</sup> *Son of Echtighern*. The Four M., Tighernach, and the Ann. Ul. call this chieftain "Cuilen, son of Eitigen," and speak of him as one of the "chiefs of Atheliath" (Dublin); his name seems Celtic, but from this we can draw no inference. Cuilen was the name of a son of Cearbhall, son of Dungal, lord of Ossory, and king of Dublin. *Four M.*, 884.

<sup>3</sup> *Slain*. The following interesting account of the site of this famous battle has been communicated to the editor by the Rev. John Francis Shearman, formerly R.C. Curate in that neighbourhood, now of Howth. "Glenmama is said by all our historians to have been in the neighbourhood of Dunlavin (Dun-Liamhna); the name is ancient, and is mentioned in the *Circuit of Ireland by Muircheartach MacNeill*, edited by Dr. O'Donovan, line 61. The name, however, is now unknown in the neighbourhood, and utterly forgotten, unless it be supposed to exist still in a corrupted form in the name of the townland of *Mainear*, popularly *Man of war*, in the parish of Tubber. A wide-spread tradition of a great battle against the Danes exists among the people, and men of the last generation could point out the place where the bodies of the

slain lay heaped together in promiscuous sepulture. The road by which Brian pursued the retreating Danes is still well known. An elevated tableland rises about 2 miles below Ballymore Eustace, and runs north and south for nearly 8 miles to Rathsalagh, forming a sub-range to the Wicklow mountains. About midway a valley divides this ridge east and west, on the southern slope of which, facing the west, the modern town of Dunlavin stands. The ancient fortress of Dunlavin lay more to the south, and higher up on the hill side. The moat of Tournant marks the place, where is also an old cemetery, with remains of a still earlier time, pagan tumuli, and fragments of stone circles, known in this part of the country as the 'Piper's stones.' This valley, I believe, is the ancient Glenmama; and although there is now no road or pathway through it, a road is said to have run through this glen from the earliest period, leading to Liamhain, Maistin, and the other primitive fortresses of mid-Leinster, and thence eastwards to the port of Wicklow by Glendalough and Holywood, whence an old road ran across the mountains, which still retains in some places its ancient pavement, not unlike the old Roman roads. It is locally called St. Kevin's road, this saint having made his first retreat at Holywood, where his cave is still to be seen, with many other reminiscences of his retirement. The precise spot in this valley where tradition says the 'fight began,' is situated between the

army seems to have met with no opposition on their way to Dublin, where they immediately made themselves

townlands of Friar-hill, in the parish of Tubber, and Black-hill and Brewer's-hill, in the parish of Dunlavin (Ord. Map, Sheet 15), at a point somewhat to the west of the place in which the parishes of Dunlavin, Tubber, and Cryhelpe, or Crehelp, meet in the slate quarries. At this spot the valley narrows, with steep banks on the south or Black-hill side. Towards the east it again widens, and on the S. side is an angle called Gaulcenlana (i.e., Γαυλα-αν-γλenna, the fork of the glen), opposite to which a glen runs northward up to the townland of *Manwar*. This is now called Tubber glen, but its older name was '*Glenviageha*' (Γλεν-βιεσθα, Glen of fighting). From Gaulcenlana the glen opens to the south, under Brewer's-hill, and is here called *Plezzica* (perhaps Bleisce, the stony place); a pool here is called *Tubber-villar*, a well on the hill side *Thienweg*, and a small morass in the debris of the slate quarries is called *Poulmona*, while the mearing between this and *Merganstown* is known as the Lorg-ditch. The modern road from Dunlavin to Cryhelpe crosses the valley at the slate quarries. About 60 years ago it was a mere bridle path, while the land on either side was unbroken by drain or fence, and covered with gorse and heather. Glen-mama may be said to terminate at the slate quarries, between which place and *Glenviageha*, or Tubber glen, a gentle slope rises to Cryhelpe, from the summit of which the land again slopes to the east. The old pass crossed about here, and this may be the place called *Claen Conghair* (A, Four M., A.D. 999 and 740, n. <sup>a</sup>), i.e., the slope of the path. A portion of this road may be traced across the lower part of Cryhelpe. It

passes near a little disused cemetery called the *Religeen*, which is now nearly obliterated by the annual encroachments of the plough. Nothing remains but a few granite boulders, with round cavities in them, used perhaps for bruising corn. Many such are to be seen in the old cemeteries of this neighbourhood. Near this are also the remains of an old town, said to be the ancient village of Cryhelpe. This road crosses the bog of Cryhelpe, and passes by a very curious and well-preserved stone circle, which is, as here usual, called the '*Piper's stones*,' adjoining the *Bealach Dunbolg* at the ford of *Athgreany*, under *Dunboyke*.

"It would appear that the Danes expected to reach Dunlavin, and perhaps to encamp there to meet the forces of Meath and Munster; but Brian seems to have anticipated their movements, and to have met them in the narrow defile of Glen-mama, thus cutting off their retreat. Here there was no room for a regular encounter, and the flight must have been immediate. The main body of the Danish army flew across the sloping land through *Kinsellastown*, to the ford of *Lemmonstown*, where a rally seems to have been made by them, and where it is said thousands fell in the conflict. To this day their bones are turned up in the fields about the ford, and some mounds on the banks of the stream are so filled up with bones that the people leave them untilled as being sacred repositories of the dead. The remnant of the defeated army fled to *Holywood*, about a mile to the east of the ford, and thence to the ford of the *Horsepass*, on the *Lifey*, above *Poul-a-phouca*, where they were utterly routed. Towards the

Dublin  
taken.

masters of the fortress.<sup>1</sup> Here spoils of great value were found ; great quantities of gold, silver, bronze, and precious stones ; carbuncle gems, buffalo horns, and beautiful gob-

close of the last century the wild lands of Upper Cryhelpe were reclaimed, and many relics of this retreat were brought to light, chiefly in a line from Tubbergen to Lemmonstown ford, the workmen, coming upon the pits where the bodies of the slain were buried, left them intact, closing them up again. In the deile of Glen-mama, during the first week of May, 1864, one of these pits was accidentally opened: bones were turned up, and also the fragments of a Danish sword (now in the possession of Dean Graves, Pres. R.I.A.); the clay was found black and unctuous, as if thoroughly saturated with human remains. Tradition states that in this retreat 'the son of the King of the Danes' fell among the slain, and that his body was interred in the old cemetery of Cryhelpe, which is now obliterated, and almost unknown. Within its circuit nothing remains but a rude granite shaft, 5 feet 3 inches above the soil, with an oblong aperture cut through it to admit the insertion of a wooden or stone arm to form a cross. It is called '*Cruisloe*,' and now serves as a scratching post for cattle. Under this rude memorial, as the same tradition avers, sleeps in his gory grave Harold, the son of Amlaff, 'the crown prince of the foreigners of Erim.'

"Another but smaller body of cavalry fled through Glanvigeha to reach (perhaps) the ford of the Liffey at Ballymore Eustace; and, while crossing a quagmire called '*Moinavatri*,' at '*Moinavodh*,' in Tubber, some of them were engulfed in the morass, and there perished. In the year 1849 this morass was drained, and while being filled up with stones and rubbish, a quantity of bones, apparently those of

the horse and the cow, together with the antlers of an elk, 'boiled up' to the surface.

"A third party fled from the valley eastward by the '*Religeen*' to the Bealach Dunbolg to gain the shelter of the wild recesses of Hollywood and Slieve Gadoo (Slievegad or Church Mountain), passing near where Aedh Mac Ainmire was slain in 598. Tradition says that Brian Borumha pursued them along the Bealach to Hollywood, where are to this day ancient and majestic yew trees around the church of St. Kevin, in whose spreading branches the king of Leinster may have lurked until his place of concealment was discovered by Murchadh, son of Brian. The flight continued to the Horsepass on the Liffey, where the Danes made another fruitless rally. Their defeat left the road to Dublin free and unimpeded for the victorious legions of Brian and Maelsechlainn."

<sup>1</sup> *The Fortress*. Two bardic poems, one of them imperfect, are here inserted in the MS. B, in celebration of this victory. They contain no information of any consequence; but in the second of them (p. 115), the number of the Danes slain at Glen-mama, is said to have been 1,200, instead of 4,000, as in the prose narrative (p. 111). It is also said that neither the famous battle of Magh Rath (see p. 111.) nor the great battle of Magh Ealta [or Clontarf], was to be compared "in prosperous results" to the battle of Glenmama (p. 115). This poem was evidently written after, but probably not long after the battle of Clontarf; before that battle had come to be represented as decisive. It is doubtless, an interpolation.

lets, as also "vestures of all colours."<sup>1</sup> Brian and his army, we are told, made slaves and captives of "many women, boys, and girls," and this is defended as being a just retaliation upon the foreigners, who were the first aggressors, having come from their home to contest with the Irish the possession of their own country and lawful inheritance<sup>2</sup> (p. 117).

Brian is said in one place (p. 113) to have remained in Dublin from great Christmas to little Christmas, *i.e.*, from Christmas to the Circumcision;<sup>3</sup> but in another place (p. 117) he is said to have remained from Christmas to the Feast of St. Brigit (Feb. 1st). Be this as it may, he seems to have made Dublin his head-quarters until he had reduced the greater part of Leinster to subjection, and taken hostages; he also burned and destroyed the wood called Coill Comair,<sup>4</sup> making clearances, and dismantling fortresses, doubtless with a view to his intended military operations.

Brian's  
occupation  
of Dublin.

<sup>1</sup> *Colours*. Here follows a paragraph, which is most probably an interpolation, in which is explained how the Danes came by their great wealth: namely, by the plunder of fortresses, churches, and subterraneous caves. Their magical powers enabled them to discover everything that had been concealed under ground, or hidden in the solitudes of the Fians and fairies. This is an instance of the lingering belief (among Christians) in the magical powers of the pagan idolatrous rites. The Fians were the ancient Irish Militia, whose leader was the celebrated Finn Mac Cumhaill, slain A.D. 284. Legends of the prowess and exploits of the Fians were favourite subjects with the Irish bards. This class of poetry still exists in the Highlands of Scotland, but elsewhere is principally known by Macpherson's imitation of the Ossianic tales. In Ireland this literature is abundant. See the "Boyish Exploits of Finn Mac Cumhaill,"

edited by Dr. O'Donovan, 1859, and other publications of the Dublin Ossianic Society. Comp. Keating's curious account of the qualifications necessary for admission to the Order of the Fianna, or Fenians; *O'Mahony's Transl.*, p. 343, sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Inheritance*. A paragraph is here inserted laudatory of Brian, setting forth his services against the Danes, and the 25 battles gained by him over them; this has also the air of an interpolation, although it occurs in both MSS.

<sup>3</sup> *Circumcision*. The Four M. rightly understood by "Little Christmas" the Octave of Christmas. Tigernach (A.D. 999), says that Brian remained "a full month" at Dublin; *co raibhe an mi nlan*: which Dr. O'Connor erroneously reads *an min lan*, and translates "remanet ad libitum ibi."

<sup>4</sup> *Coill Comair*. "Wood of the confluence" [of two or more rivers], a place now unknown to the editor. It was, however, in Leinster.

Submission  
of Sitric,  
son of Olaf  
Cuaran.

Meantime "the king of the foreigners" (called Amlaibh in the text (p. 119); but we should evidently read "son of Amlaibh,") namely, Sitric, son of Amlaibh, or Olaf Cuaran, fled after the battle of Glen-mama to seek protection from the northern chieftains, Aedh,<sup>1</sup> king of Ailech, or North Uladh, and Eochaidh,<sup>2</sup> king of East Uladh. But they both refused to protect him, and appear to have delivered him up to the officers sent by Brian to pursue him. Accordingly three months after his defeat at Glen-mama, "he came into Brian's house," in other words, "submitted to Brian's own terms," and was restored to his former command in the Dún, or Castle of Dublin.

The truth is that Sitric was now necessary for the accomplishment of Brian's ambitious plans. An alliance was accordingly made with him. It was probably on this occasion that Brian gave his daughter to Sitric in marriage, and possibly formed his own connexion with Sitric's mother, Gormflaith,<sup>3</sup> of whom we shall hear more in the sequel.

<sup>1</sup> *Aedh*. He was son of Dombnall O'Neill, king of Ireland (A.D. 956), grandson of the celebrated Muirchertach of the leather cloaks. He was slain in the battle of Craebh Tulcha, 1003. (*Four M.*) See Table I. p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> *Eochaidh*. He was son of the Ardul, Ardgál, or Ardgair, who was slain at the battle of Cill-mona. (See p. 45, and p. xcvi., *supra*.) Madugan (father of Ardgál) sl. 948, was son of the Aedh, son of Eochagan, who was slain in the battle of Kilmashogue in 919. (See p. xci., *n*.) The royal palace of eastern Uladh at this time was at Dundalethglas, now Downpatrick; as the palace of Northern Uladh was at Ailech. Uladh, with the Danish addition of *stir* (province), has now become *Uladh-stir*=Ulster.

<sup>3</sup> *Gormflaith*. She was the sister of Maelmordha, king of Leinster, daughter of Murchadh, and grand-daughter

of Finn, Lord of Offaly, who was slain 928. She was married first to Olaf Cuaran, by whom she had the Sitric mentioned above; then to Malachy II., by whom she was divorced or repudiated (after she had borne to him a son, Conchobhair or Connor); and thirdly to Brian, by whom she was also put away. The *Njal Saga* calls her *Kormlada*, and describes her as "the fairest of all women, and best gifted in every thing that was not in her own power," i.e., in all physical and natural endowments; but "she did all things ill over which she had any power," i.e., in her moral conduct. (*Burnt Njal*, ii., 323.) It is remarkable, as showing the close alliances by marriage between the Irish chieftains and the Danes at this period, that Donnflaith, daughter, or grand-daughter (see p. clii., n. <sup>3</sup>) of Muirchertach of the Leather cloaks, and

Maelmordha, King of Leinster, brother of this Gorm-faith, was also now taken into Brian's favour. This prince had allied himself with the Daues of Dublin in the hope of securing<sup>1</sup> for himself the crown of Leinster, and had fought with them against Brian at Glen-mama. After the victory he concealed himself in the foliage of a yew tree, where he was discovered and taken prisoner by Murchadh, or Murrough, Brian's son. But when Brian made alliance with Sitric of Dublin, the same policy induced him to take Maelmordha also into his friendship; and Donnchadh, son of Domhnall Claen, the actual king of Leinster, was deposed, that Maelmordha might be put into his place.<sup>2</sup>

Having formed this confederacy with those who were so lately his bitterest enemies, Brian now returned home, that is to say, to Cenn-coradh,<sup>3</sup> or Kinncora, his usual residence, near Killaloe, after having enriched his followers with the spoils of Dublin and of Leinster. Here, in defiance of his recent treaty,<sup>4</sup> and in violation of good

And of  
Mael-  
mordha,  
king of  
Leinster.

Brian  
returns to  
Kinncora.

(after the death of her first husband, Domhnall, son of Donnchadh, King of Ireland), "married" Olaf Cuaran, and had by him Gluniarain, King of Dublin. Malachy II. afterwards married Gormfaith, Olaf Cuaran's widow, and finally married Maelmaire, a sister of Sitric, who was the same Gormfaith's son by Olaf Cuaran. From her name Maelmaire ("servant of Mary") this daughter of King Olaf Cuaran seems to have been a Christian.

<sup>1</sup> *Securing*. In 999, about a year before the battle of Glen-mama, in alliance with Sitric, he had captured Donnchadh, son of Domhnall Claen, king of Leinster, and declared himself king in his place. See *Ann. Ult.* 998 or 9. *Four M.*, 998 (=1000).

<sup>2</sup> *Place*. See chap. lxxi, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> *Cenn-coradh*. "Head of the weir." This word has greatly puzzled the Scandinavian editors of the Njals Saga, who

have written it *Kantaraborg*, confounding it with *Canterbury*, or supposing a place in Ireland with that name; others write *Kunniattaborg*, and render it quasi *Kunnaktir-borg*, "the capital of Connaught." (See the Latin version of *Njal Saga*, p. 591, and *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 323). But the change of *t* into *c* or *k* gives *Kankaraborg* a sufficiently close representation of Kinncora. *Burnt Njal, Introd.*, p. exciii., note.

<sup>4</sup> *Treaty*. Dr. O'Brien, in his *Law of Tanistry* (Vallancy, *Collect.* i., p. 520), endeavours to throw the blame of violating the treaty upon Malachy, who had made "a great plundering" in Leinster, which Dr. O'B. says, was "Brian's kingdom." The *Ann. Ult.* record this plunder in their year 998-9, the year of the battle of Glen-mama, but before they mention that battle. It is true the annalist Tighernach re-

His invasion of Meath.

faith and honour, he organized a formidable conspiracy for the purpose of deposing Malachy, and placing himself on the throne. Our author's account of this transaction (chap. lxxii.) is, that Brian having mustered all the forces of Legh Mogha, the southern half of Ireland, both foreigners and Irish, invaded Meath, and marched as far as Tara, from whence he sent ambassadors to Malachy demanding hostages or battle. Malachy requested a truce for a month to enable him to consult his tribe; and this was conceded. Brian pledged<sup>1</sup> himself that no plunder, ravage, trespass, or burning (p. 119) should be attempted

cords it *after* the battle (at 999), but does not say that this was any violation of the treaty; and at the very next year speaks of Brian's invasion of Meath as *his first treacherous rebellion* against Malachy, *cet impod tre mebail*; which plainly implies that Brian was the first to break faith. The fact seems to be, that, whilst Brian was at Dublin, Malachy plundered Leinster so as to complete the subjection of that district, whilst Brian was dealing with the Dublin Danes. The statement of Dr. O'Brien, that "In the year 1000 Brian was earnestly solicited by the princes and states of Connaught to dethrone Malachy," &c., is wholly without authority from any ancient source, although it is found in Keating. Even our author, with all his Dalcassian zeal, makes no mention of it.

<sup>1</sup> *Pledged himself.* This story of a truce for a month seems in itself highly improbable, and was probably invented by the Dalcassian authors to give some colour of generosity to Brian's conduct. No mention of it occurs in the Annals. The story, as told in the Annals, is this:—Brian, with an army consisting of his own troops, and his recently conquered vassals of South Connaught, Ossory, and

the Munster foreigners, marched to Tara. His Danish cavalry of Dublin, however, had set out before him, and were completely defeated by Malachy in person. Brian then advanced to *Fertanímhe* (now unknown) in Magh Breggh, but returned "without battle, without plunder, without burning." (*Four M.* and *Tighernach*, 999=1001). The *Ann. Ult.* say nothing of Brian's march to Tara, and represent Malachy's victory over the Danish and Leinster cavalry as having taken place after Brian's expedition to *Fertanímhe*; adding that his cavalry having been completely routed (*pæne omnes occisi*), Brian retired, "*cogente Domino*," without battle or plunder. *Ann. Ult.* 999 (=1000). Tara, it should be remembered, had been deserted by the kings of Ireland since the middle of the sixth century, although Mr. Moore speaks of "a palace," "a stately structure" there, burnt by Brian on this occasion. *Hist. Irel.*, ii., p. 95. Malachy at this time resided at Dun-na-sgiath [fort of the shields], on the banks of Lough Ennell, co. of Westmeath, probably in the parish of Moylisker, where there are still many ancient raths. There was another Dun-na-sgiath in Tipperary, which has been already noticed. See p. cxvi., n. <sup>1</sup>.

during that time, but he himself in person remained at Tara, pending Malachy's answer.

Malachy employed this interval of truce in endeavouring to obtain assistance from his relatives<sup>1</sup> in the north of Ireland, and from Cathal, son of Conchobhair, king of Connaught; resolved, if these chieftains should fail him, to submit to Brian's demands, and give him hostages. Our author adds that this resolution to give up "the freedom of Tara" (*i.e.*, his rights as supreme king of Ireland) was not more disgraceful to Malachy than it was to his northern kinsmen of the Clanna Neill, and the other clans of Leth-Cuinn, the northern half of Ireland (p. 121).

The messenger sent to Aedh O'Neill by Malachy on this occasion was Giolla-Comgaill O'Slebhin, the chief bard of Ulster, whose poetical account of his mission is inserted<sup>2</sup> into our author's narrative. This poem is an earnest exhortation to the three chieftains, Aedh O'Neill, Eochaidh, of East Ulster, and Cathal, of Connaught, to rescue Tara (meaning the monarchy of Ireland) from the grasp of Brian. Aedh is exhorted by the glories of his race, by the dishonour that would attach to him if he allowed the throne of Ireland to pass from the Hy Neill, and by the hint that Maelseachlainn was ready to abdicate<sup>3</sup> in his favour, if by his aid the present danger should

Malachy seeks aid from the northern Hy Neill.

Poetical account of the mission to Aedh O'Neill.

<sup>1</sup> *Relatives.* These were Aedh O'Neill, King of Ailech, and Eochaidh, son of Ardgall, king of Uladh, p. 121. Of these we have already spoken. See p. cxlviii., n. 1, 2. Cathal, son of Conchobhair, king of Connaught, was the father of Tadhg, leader of the forces of Connaught at the battle of Clontarf, where he was slain in 1014. See *O'Flaherty's West Connaught*, p. 133, No. 48. This Cathal was ancestor of all the O'Conors of Connaught.

<sup>2</sup> *Inserted.* Chap. lxxiii., p. 121. This poem occurs in the older MS. D, and not in O'Clery's MS. As O'Slebhin lived to 1031, he may have acted as Malachy's messenger in 1002 or 3,

and there is no reason, except its having been excluded by O'Clery, for supposing the poem to be an interpolation. It was quite consistent with the manners of the times that the message should be delivered in poetry, especially when the ambassador was a professional bard. The family of O'Slebhin, now Slevin, was of the clann Fergusa, descended from Fergus, king of Ireland in the sixth century, and, therefore, of the Cinel Eoghain, the same tribe of which Aodh was the head. See General Table I., p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> *Abdicate.* See the first stanza of the poem at the beginning of p. 125.

be averted. Eochaidh is exhorted to bring the Ulaidh, or men of eastern Ulster, of whom he was chieftain, and Cathal to bring "the illustrious men of Olnegmacht,"<sup>1</sup> or Connaught; thus the whole of the race of Herimon would be assembled (Aedh leading the northern Hy Neill, and Malachy the southern Hy Neill)<sup>2</sup> against the usurpation of the house of Heber, of which Brian was the representative. The reader, it is hoped, with the explanations already given, will have no difficulty in understanding the historical allusions of this poem.<sup>3</sup>

Refusal of  
Aedh.

Aedh O'Neill however (ch. lxxiv.) refused to comply with the poet's request, on the ground that when the

<sup>1</sup> *Olnegmacht*. This was the name of a tribe of the Damnonii, the aboriginal settlers in Connaught, from whom the name of Olnegmacht was poetically given to the whole province. It is probably from this tribe that Ptolemy gave the name of *Nagnatae* to a district in Connaught.

<sup>2</sup> *Hy Neill*. See the last three stanzas of the poem on p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> *This poem*. It may be well, however, to remind the reader that *Lis Luigheach*, in stanza 1, is Fort of Lughaidh Menn, ancestor of the Dal Cais. See Geneal. Table III., p. 247. "The House of Tal," or of Cas Mac Tail, is also another name for the Dal Cais; and Temhair of Fal, or Fail, is Tara of Fal, so called from the ancient stone called Lia Fail; comp. stanzas 15 and 19. See *Petrie on Tara* (Transact. R.I.A., xviii., p. 159, sq.) Magh-Bregh or Bregia (st. 3) has already been explained; and Tara is called Tara of Bregh (st. 5), because it is situated in the plain of Bregia. In st. 5 (p. 123) the poet supposes Donn-faith (mother of King Malachy II.) to have been Aedh's sister, and, therefore, daughter to King Donn-mall O'Neill, son of Muirchertach of the leather

cloaks; but the received opinion (following Keating, *Reign of Maelsechlainn II.*) makes her not sister, but aunt to Aedh, daughter of Muirchertach Leather cloaks, and sister to Aedh's father. If this be so, Aedh and Malachy were first cousins; on the former supposition Aedh was Malachy's uncle. For *Core's Brugh* (st. 14, p. 125) see note <sup>2</sup>, p. 124. The Core intended was Conall Core, king of Munster; (see Gen. Table IV., No. 6, p. 248). In the same stanza "Lugaidh's land" is the territory of the Dal Cais, so called from Lugaidh Menn. Table III., No. 6. In st. 16, *Lurc* or *Lorc* signifies Leinster, from Laeghaire Lore, alluded to again st. 24, who was the common ancestor of the Hy Neill, and of the kings of Leinster; hence the poet's argument, that his descendants ought to make common cause against Cashel. In st. 17 "Muirchertach of the red prowess" is Muirchertach of the leather cloaks. In st. 20, "Cormac, grandson of just Conn," is Cormac, grandson of Conn of the Hundred Battles, and son of Art Aenfir, ancestor of the Hy Neill, north and south, and therefore "to his race belongs this western hill;" i.e., Tara, or the throne of Ireland. Hence, Tara

chieftains of the Cinel Eoghain<sup>1</sup> were kings of Tara, they were able to defend their own rights without applying for any external aid, and that he would not risk his life, or the blood of his clan, for the sake of securing the sovereignty of Ireland for any other man. Malachy, on receiving this cold refusal, resolved to go in person to Aedb, to offer him hostages, and to abdicate the throne in his favour. Aedh was himself anxious to give to this proposal a favourable answer (p. 129); but it was necessary to obtain the consent of the clan to the aid in war, which was the condition of it. He therefore assembled the Cinel Eoghain, and laid the question before them. They all voted against engaging in warfare with the powerful sept of the Dal Cais. Aedh then advised a more solemn consideration of the subject; and the tribe, having "retired to secret council," decided that as neither side could expect to vanquish the other, they would refuse Malachy's request, unless he would consent to cede to them "one-half of the men of Meath and of the territory of Tara,"—(in other words, half of the hereditary jurisdiction and possessions of his tribe, the Clan Colmain)—to become from thenceforth the property of the Cinel Eoghain.

On receiving this unfavourable, and indeed insulting answer, Malachy retired in great wrath, and having summoned his tribe, the Clan Colmain, reported to them the state of the case. They agreed, as a matter of necessity, to submit to Brian. Accordingly Malachy set out, with a guard of honour of twelve score horsemen only, and, "without guarantee or protection, beyond the honour of Brian himself and that of the Dal Cais," made submission, and offered to give hostages. Brian answered that as Malachy

The Clan Colmain agree to submit to Brian.

is called Cormac's Hill, *st.* 16. In *st.* 22 (p. 127) Cathal, King of Connaught, is called "descendant of the three Cathals," [*na cath* "of the battle" a play upon his name], because he had three predecessors Kings of Connaught called Cathal, viz., Nos. 43, 36, and 22,

in Mr. Hardiman's list of the Kings of Connaught. Hardiman's ed. of *O'Flaherty's West Connaught*, p. 132, *sq.*

<sup>1</sup> *Cinel Eoghain*, or Northern Hy Neill. The Tribe of which Aedh was himself the chieftain. See Genealogical Table I., p. 245.

had trusted to his honour, he would take no hostages, but would grant him a truce for a year,<sup>1</sup> without pledge or hostage, adding, that he was ready to declare war against Aedh and Eochaidh, provided Malachy would promise not to join them against him. Malachy readily made this promise, but strongly advised Brian to return home satisfied with the result of his expedition, "as having received submission from himself" (p. 133), and so, having attained the great object of his ambition. Brian's followers, being now "at the last of their provisions," readily consented to adopt this advice; and Brian, before he set out for his home, gave twelve score steeds to be divided among Malachy's twelve score mounted followers. But not one of Malachy's men "would deign to carry a led horse with him," showing their reluctance to accept any gift which implied vassalage to Brian. Accordingly, Malachy bestowed the twelve score steeds upon Murchadh, Brian's son, who had that very day given "his hand into Malachy's hand," in token of alliance and friendship (p. 133), and who, by taking back his father's horses, did not in any way compromise himself.

The crown passes to Brian without any formal act of cession.

Nevertheless, this transaction, notwithstanding its palpable hollowness, seems to have been deemed sufficient to transfer the throne to Brian, and to reduce Malachy to the condition of a vassal,<sup>2</sup> under the title of King of Meath. He appears to have submitted, however reluctantly, without a struggle; nor is the exact date of the change expressly marked by our annalists, with the exception of Tighernach, who adds, in Latin, at the end of his year 1001 (=1000 of the Four Masters), "*Brian Boruma*

<sup>1</sup> *A year.* No mention of this truce for a year occurs in the Annals.

<sup>2</sup> *Vassal.* It is remarkable that henceforth in the Annals, whenever Malachy and Brian are mentioned as acting together, Brian's name is put first, although before this time it was the reverse. The Four M., at A.D. 997,

have "an army was led by Maelsechlainn and Brian," &c. "Maelsechlainn with the men of Meath, and Brian with the men of Munster," &c.; see also A.D. 998, p. 739, 741. But at A.D. 1001, p. 747, and A.D. 1003, p. 749, we have "Brian and Maelsechlainn."

*regnat.*" The Four Masters, on the other hand, describe their year 1001 as the twenty-third year of Malachy, and A.D. 1002 as the first year of Brian. But Malachy began his reign in 980, so that the year 1001 of the Four Masters, which they say is the twenty-third of Malachy, is really A.D. 1003-4. If so it follows that Malachy continued king during the year 1002-3, although the commencement of Brian's reign<sup>1</sup> was counted from 1002.

The new sovereign began his rule by "a great naval expedition" to Athluain, now Athlone, and by an invasion of Connaught by land. Hostages were brought him without demur to his head-quarters at Athlone, by the Connaught chieftains, as well as by Malachy.<sup>2</sup> In the same year<sup>3</sup> an expedition was made "by Brian<sup>4</sup> to Dun Dealgan (now Dundalk), to demand hostages from Aedh and Eochaidh, the two chieftains of Ulster," who have been already so often mentioned. But Brian's policy seems to have been at this time peace. Aedh and Eochaidh met him at Dundalk, and a truce for a year was agreed to, on the condition that the northern chieftains "were not to attack Malachy or Brian's Connaught allies, during that year, but to continue as friends."<sup>5</sup>

Brian seeks hostages from Connaught and Ulster.

When the year was out, Brian mustered his forces (ch. lxxvii.), and invaded the Ultonian chieftains. He appears at this time to have received the submission of all Ireland as far northwards as the county of Armagh. Our author says that he was followed by "all the men of Erin, both

Invasion of Ulster.

<sup>1</sup> *Brian's reign.* See Dr. O'Connor's note on *Tighernach*, A.D. 1001 (*Rev. Hib. Scriptt.*, ii., p. 270), and O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 435.

<sup>2</sup> *Malachy.* Chap. lxxvi., p. 133. Four M. 1001.

<sup>3</sup> *Same year.* Our author says (p. 133) that the expedition to Athlone was "at the end of a year after this," and also that the expedition to Dundalk was "at the end of a year." The meaning apparently is, at the end of

the year of truce granted to Malachy, so that the same year is intended. This may account for the first year of Brian being also considered the last year of Malachy; and thus the story of the truce for a year is incidentally confirmed.

<sup>4</sup> *By Brian.* Our author mentions Brian only. The Four Masters, Ann. of Ulster, and *Tighernach*, say, by Brian and Malachy.

<sup>5</sup> *Friends.* See p. 135.

Gaill and Gaedhil, of all who were from Sliabh Fuaid<sup>1</sup> southwards," that is to say, south of the district which owned Eochaidh as its lord. This was by far the greater part of Ireland; and resistance to such an army by the provincial troops of the North was hopeless.

Weakness of the northern chieftains.

Aedh O'Neill having failed to give him battle, Brian seized hostages from all Ulster. This seems to show some weakness in the condition of the northern chieftains, which two years<sup>2</sup> afterwards manifested itself in open warfare between the Cinel Eoghain, under their youthful chieftain, Aedh O'Neill, and the eastern Ulstermen, under Eochaidh; it ended in the battle of Craebh-Tulcha, in which Aedh and Eochaidh were both slain, Aedh being at the time only twenty-nine years of age.

Brian invades the North.

Brian lost no time in taking advantage of this discord. He proceeded immediately to invade the Cinel Eoghain and Uladh. Marching his troops through Meath, and remaining a night at Tailltin,<sup>3</sup> he advanced to Armagh, where he laid an offering of twenty ounces of gold upon the altar<sup>4</sup> of the cathedral. He carried off hostages from Uladh, Dalaradia, and all the North, except the country of the Cinel Conaill, the present county of Donegal (ch. lxxvii.).

Leaves an offering of gold at Armagh, and takes hostages.

Brian now (ch. lxxviii.) felt himself strong enough to

<sup>1</sup> *Sliabh Fuaid*. "Mountains of Fuaid" (a man's name); in the south of the county of Armagh, now called the Fews mountains, from the barony of *Fiadha*, or *Fiodh*, in which they are situated.

<sup>2</sup> *Two Years*. The Ann. Ult. say that the battle of Craebh Tulcha took place on Thursday, the 18 kal. Oct., which would indicate the year 1004. The Four M. date this battle 1003, but in that year the 18 kal. Oct., (which is always Holy Cross day) fell on Tuesday. Dr. O'Donovan supposes Craebh Tulcha ["spreading tree of the hill"] to be the place now called Crew, near Glenavy, barony of Upper Masse-reene, county of Antrim. But see Reeves's *Eccles. Antiq.*, p. 342, n. .

<sup>3</sup> *Tailltin*, now Teltown, a parish in the barony of Upper Kells, co. of Meath.

<sup>4</sup> *Altar*. It was probably on this occasion that the curious entry was made in the Book of Armagh, in presence of Brian, by his confessor or chaplain, in which Brian, as chief King of the Irish "Imperator Scotorum," recognised the supremacy of the see of Armagh, and put on record an authoritative declaration on the subject—"finituit" (read *finivit*) "pro omnibus regibus Maceriae;" i.e. of Cashel—viz. for himself and his successors. See O'Curry's Lectures, p. 653. By this politic measure, Brian evidently hoped to secure the favour and support of the northern clergy.

execute a project which, as we learn from the Four Masters, he had twice before<sup>1</sup> attempted, but which the power of the Northern Hy Neill had prevented him from carrying out. This was to make a circuit<sup>2</sup> of all Ireland, for the purpose of carrying off hostages, to secure the submission of the tribes who had not as yet tendered their allegiance.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Twice before.* The first attempt was immediately after he had received the submission of Malachy, A.D. 1001; when "Brian and Maelsechlainn, accompanied by the men of Ireland, Meathmen, Connaughtmen, Munstermen, Leinstermen, and foreigners," went to Dundalk, where the northern chieftains met them, but "did not permit them to advance further." Again, in 1003, the Four M. tell us "Brian and Maelsechlainn" led an army into North Connaught as far as Traigh Eochaille (near Ballysadare, co. of Sligo), to proceed around Ireland, "but they were prevented by the Ui Neill of the North."

<sup>2</sup> *Circuit.* In imitation, probably, of the circuit of Muirchertach of the leather cloaks. See "The Circuit of Ireland, by Muirchertach Mac Neill," edited by Dr. O'Donovan for the Irish Arch. Society, 1841.

<sup>3</sup> *Allegiance.* His route is minutely described by our author (ch. lxxviii.) Having started apparently from Killaloe, he travelled northwards through the midst of Connaught, into Maghn-Ai, otherwise called *Machaire Connacht* [the plain of Connaught], a great plain in the co. of Roscommon, extending from the town of Roscommon to Elphin, and from Castlereagh to Strokestown; over Coir-Sliabh (now the Curlew mountains, near Boyle), into Tir-Ailella (now the barony of Tir-errill, co. of Sligo), into the district of Cairpre (now the barony of Carbury, same co.), over the Sligeach, or river Sligo, "keeping his left hand

to the sea, and his right hand to the land," by Benn-Gulban (now Binbulbin, a remarkable mountain near Sligo), over the Dubh or Black river (now the Duff, on the borders of Sligo and Leitrim), and over the Drobbais. (now the Drowis, which rises in Loch Melvin, and falls into the sea at Bun-drowes, near the town of Donegal); into Magh nEine (now Moy, a plain in Donegal); then over Ath Senaigh (or Bel-atha-Seanaigh [mouth of the ford of Seanach], now Ballyshannon; at Easruadh or Eas Aedha ruadh (Assaroe) [cataract of Aedh Ruadh], now the salmon-leap, on the river Erne, Ballyshannon); into Tir-aedha (now the barony of Tirhugh, co. of Donegal), and across Bearnas Mór (now Barnesmore Gap, on the road from Donegal to Stranorlar); over Fearsad into Tir Eoghain (Tyrone), thence to Dal-riada and Dal-araidhe, to Uladh. and thence to Belach-Dúin, where he arrived about Lammas. Dal-riada is now *the Route* in the northern half of the co. of Antrim. It is not to be confounded with Dal-araidhe or Dal-aradia, in the southern part of the co. of Antrim, and north of co. of Down. *Uladh* was originally the name of the whole province of Ulster, but after the conquest of the ancient Ultu by the Oriels under the Collas, the name became restricted to the district which included the southern half of Antrim and all the co. of Down, but afterwards was confined to the southern portion of Down. In this last sense it is here used. See O'Flaberty, *Ogyg.*, p. 372. Dr. O'Donovan suggests that

His circuit  
of Ireland.

Having effected this purpose<sup>1</sup> as far as was possible, Brian dismissed his troops,<sup>2</sup> being probably short of provisions. The men of Leinster crossed Bregia, marching southwards to their homes; the foreigners went off by sea to Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick; and the Connaughtmen passed through Meath westwards to their province (p. 137). No mention is made of the Munstermen, who remained, we may fairly conclude, with their chieftain. Having stopped at Craebh Tulcha,<sup>3</sup> or returned thither, the Ulaid or Ulstermen supplied him with provisions, for which Brian paid liberally in horses, clothing, gold, and silver (p. 137).

Naval  
expedition  
to plunder  
Great  
Britain.

Then follows a paragraph, which is most probably an interpolation.<sup>4</sup> It pretends that Brian, after his circuit of Ireland, organized a naval expedition, consisting of the foreigners of Dublin and Waterford, the Ui Ceinnselaigh, from the county of Wexford, and the Ui Eathach of Munster.<sup>5</sup> These were all maritime tribes, and were sent to "levy royal tribute;" in other words, to plunder, from the Saxons and Britons, from the Lemhnaigh<sup>6</sup> in Scotland, and from the Airer Gaedhel, or inhabi-

Belach-Dúin may have been Belach-Dúna-Dealgan, "the pass of Dundalk." *Four M.*, p. 756, n. <sup>b</sup>. But Dr. Reeves (*Adamnan*, p. xlv.), identifies Belach-Dúin with Castlekeeran, barony of Upper Kells, co. of Meath, on the Blackwater, three miles N.W. of Kells. *Fersad* is mentioned as if it was a place between Bearnas Mór and the entrance into Tyrone. The *Four M.* call it *Feartas Camsa*. The *Ann. Ult.* call it *Feartais Camsa in Ultu in aenach Conaill* ["Feartais Camsa in Uladh, in Conall's fairgreen"], if so, it ought to have been mentioned after Tir Eoghain; but it is perhaps more probable, that the words *ocus ú Tir Eoghain* are an interpolation. *Feartas Camsa*, "passage, or ford, of Camus," was on the river Bann, which separates the counties of Derry and Antrim, near the old church of Macosquin or Camus-justa-

Bann. *Four M.*, p. 745; Reeves, *Eccl. Ant.*, p. 342; and *Adamnan*, p. 96-7.

<sup>1</sup> *Purpose*. The *Four M.* say "that he did not get hostages of the Cinel Conaill or Cinel Eoghain," p. 757.

<sup>2</sup> *His troops*. They are called in the text "the men of *Erinn*," because they had followed Brian in his capacity of Ard-righ, or High King, of Erinn, and not as chieftain of any particular clan or province.

<sup>3</sup> *Craebh Tulcha*. See p. clvi., n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Interpolation*. See notes, pp. 136-7.

<sup>5</sup> *Ui Eathach of Munster*. Seated on the S.W. shore of the co. of Cork, round Bandon and Kinsale. See p. cxxvi., n. 2; and B. of Rights, p. 256, n.

<sup>6</sup> *Lemhnaigh*. The *Leamhnacha*, or men of Lennox, are so called from the Leamhain, a river flowing from Loch Lomond. Lennox is perhaps *Leamhain-uisce*, Leamhain, or Levinwater.

tants of Argyle. This expedition is not mentioned in the Irish Annals, nor, so far as the editor knows, in any other authority.<sup>1</sup> The plunder thus obtained was divided into three parts: one-third was given to the Dublin Danes; one to the warriors of Leinster and of the Ui Eathach; and one "to the professors of sciences and arts, and to those who were most in need," this latter portion having been probably devoted to useful and charitable purposes, as a set off against the questionable morality of the means by which it was acquired.

Then follows (chap. lxxix.) an account of the peace and prosperity<sup>2</sup> which flourished in Ireland during Brian's administration. He banished and enslaved the foreigners, and rescued the country from their oppression. "A lone woman might have walked in safety from Torach," now Tory Island, off the north coast of the county of Donegal, to Cliodhna, or Carraic Cliodhna, a rock in the harbour of Glandore<sup>3</sup> (*i.e.*, through the whole length of Ireland), "carrying a ring of gold on a horse-rod" (chap. lxxx.) He erected or restored churches, among which are particularly mentioned the church of Cell-Dalua, or Killaloe; the church of Inis-Cealtra, an island in Loch Derg; and the Cloichtech (belfry), or Round Tower, of Tuaim-Greine.<sup>4</sup> He encouraged literature and learning. He made bridges,<sup>5</sup> causeways, and roads. He strengthened the principal

Peace and prosperity of Brian's reign.

<sup>1</sup> *Authority.* The story, however, although probably exaggerated, may have had some foundation in fact. Policy may have led Brian to turn into a foreign channel that restless spirit of his pirate subjects which might otherwise have found vent nearer home.

<sup>2</sup> *Prosperity.* The Annals do not confirm this glowing picture of a peaceful reign.

<sup>3</sup> *Glandore*, anciently *Cuandor* [Golden harbour], a beautiful bay between the baronies of E. and W. Carbury, S. of the co. of Cork. In this bay is the rock called Cliodhna's rock, upon which beats a wave called Tonn-Chliodhna, *Tun-cleena*, (Cliodhna's

wave), said to utter a plaintive sound when a monarch of the south of Ireland dies. Cliodhna was the name of a fairy princess in an ancient Irish legend. See the *Féis Tighe Chonain* (Ossianic Soc.), pp. 97, 162.

<sup>4</sup> *Tuaim-Greine.* Now Tomgraney, a parish in the N. E. of the co. of Clare.

<sup>5</sup> *Bridges.* Maelsechlainn is said by the Four M. to have made causeways or bridges at Athlone and at Athliag (now Lanesborough), with the assistance of Cathal Ua Conchobhair, King of Connaught, "each carrying his portion of the work to the middle of the Shannon." A. D. 1000, and O'Donovan's note †, p. 744.

royal forts<sup>1</sup> and fortified islands of Munster. He dispensed a royal hospitality; administered a rigid and impartial justice; and so continued, in unbroken prosperity, for the remainder of his reign, having been at his death thirty-eight years king of Munster, and fifteen years sovereign of all Ireland.<sup>2</sup>

Mael-  
mordha  
arrives at  
Kincora.

Our author proceeds (ch. lxxxi.) to mention some curious circumstances which disturbed this prosperity, and led, indirectly at least, to the celebrated battle of Clontarf. We have already spoken of Maelmordha, King

<sup>1</sup> *Royal forts.* It will be remarked that *islands* are included in the enumeration of the different kinds of fortresses: "duns, fastnesses, *islands*, &c.," p. 141. These were the artificial islands or *crannogs* (so called because they were made of *crann*, trees);—the *Pfahlbauten* of the Swiss antiquaries. A list of the fortifications built or strengthened by Brian is given:—They are—1. *Caisil*, or Cashel, a word which signifies *a wall*, and is translated *maceria* in the Book of Armagh; see p. clvi., n. 2. *Cenn-abrat*, or Cenn Febrath, near Kilfinan (as Dr. O'Donovan conjectured), S.E. of the co. of Limerick (see p. cxxxviii., n.), where there are still some fine earthen mounds. 3. The island of *Loch Cend*, a lake near Knock-any, co. of Limerick, now dry. 4. The island of *Loch Gair*, now Lough Gur, near Bruff, co. of Limerick. Considerable remains of this crannog exist, which are now the more visible, as modern drainage has very much reduced the depth of the lake. The island is of unusual size, and contains the ruins of a stone fortification. The neighbourhood is full of megalithic circles and cromlechs. In the lake have been found the finest extant specimens of the *Cervus Hibernicus*, or gigantic deer of Ireland. 5. *Dun-Eochair Maige* (or "fort of the bank of the [river] Maigue," co. of Limerick), probably now Bruree. 6.

*Dún-Cliath*, or *Dún Cliach*, a fort on the hill of Knock-any, territory of Cliach, co. of Limerick. 7. *Dún-Crot*, or *Dun-gCrot*, a ford at the foot of *Sliabh gCrot*, now Sliabh Grud, one of the Galtees. in the glen of Aherlagh, co. of Tipperary. 8. The island of *Loch Saiglend*, unknown. 9. The island called *Inis an Goill-dubh* (island of the black foreigner), unknown; see p. xx., *supr.* Four M., 1013, p. 770, n. 10. *Rosach*, called *Rosach-nariogh* in the MS. B, now perhaps *Rossagh*, near Doneraile, co. of Cork, *B. of Lismore*, fol. 148, a. 11. *Cenn-coradh*, or Kincora, Brian's own residence near Killaloe. 12. *Borumha*, or Bel-Borumha, a remarkable fort, about a mile north of Killaloe. It is said that Brian there protected the cattle spoil which he levied from Leinster, under the name of Borumh, or Boro-mean tribute.

<sup>2</sup> *Ireland.* See p. 141. The more correct date assigns but 12 years to Brian's reign as King of Ireland, assuming A.D. 1002 to have been his first year. Our author quotes the bard Giolla-Moduda O'Cassidy as his authority for the *fifteen* years, but Keating, quoting the very same stanza, although without naming the poet, reads twelve years. Giolla-Moduda died about 1143. O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. [2]. The metre is not altered by either reading.

of Leinster, and of his sister Gormflaith, who was at this time with Brian at Kincora. She is called by our author "Brian's wife," and "the mother<sup>1</sup> of Donnchadh, son of Brian."

Maelmordha arrived at Brian's residence, bringing with him three large pine trees to make masts for shipping. These were probably the offering or tribute paid by Maelmordha as Brian's vassal. The trees had been cut in the great forest of Leinster, called Fidh-Gaibhli, now

He brings with him three pine masts for ships.

<sup>1</sup> *Mother.* The three "marriages" of Gormflaith are described in some verses quoted by the Four M. (1030), as three "leaps" or "jumps, which a woman should never jump." This seems to hint that the three leaps were not legitimate marriages. They were "a leap at Ath Cliath, or Dublin," when she married Olaf Cuaran; "a leap at Tara" when she married Malachy II.; and "a leap at Cashel" when she married Brian. The Four M., at 1009, record the death of Dubhcoibhlaigh, a wife of Brian [daughter of Cathal O'Conchobhair or O'Connor, King of Connaught]. This creates some difficulty; for if Brian's marriage with Gormflaith took place in or after that year, her son Donnchadh could not have been old enough to have taken a command at the battle of Clontarf. If, on the other hand, that marriage took place as a part of Brian's policy to conciliate the Dublin Danes, after Glenmama, A.D. 1000 (see p. cxlviii), Donnchadh could not have been more than 13 years of age at Clontarf. This, it may be said, was probably not too young, according to the customs of the period; the clan would follow the son of their chieftain as a Righdomhna or possible heir; but why did they follow a boy when they might have chosen one of their late chieftain's elder sons? That there was something wrong is evident from the fact, that a prophecy, as we shall see,

was put in Brian's mouth, designating Donnchadh as his heir. See p. 201. A greater difficulty is that we find Gormflaith at Kincora, and she is called by our author "Brian's wife," at the time of her brother's unfortunate visit there with his pine masts. This must have been after 1009, and, therefore, after Gormflaith had been repudiated, and after the death of the wife Brian had married in her place. Possibly after this lady's death Gormflaith may have visited Kincora in the hope of recovering her position; but finding herself coldly received, she became "grim" against Brian, as the Saga says, and resolved upon a deadly revenge.

The only other explanation of the difficulty is probably the true one, that Donnchadh was illegitimate, and so may have been as old, or nearly as old, as Murchadh. We know that very lax notions prevailed in that age amongst the Irish about concubinage and bigamy. The Njal-Saga says that Gormflaith was not the mother of Brian's sons (meaning, perhaps, that she was not the mother of the sons whom it names), and also, according to Dr. Dasent's version (*Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 323), that "Brian was the name of the king that *first* had her to wife." But for the word *first* there does not seem to be any authority either in the original Icelandic, or in the Latin translation, of the Saga.

Figili.<sup>1</sup> This forest extended into the territories of three tribes<sup>2</sup> (the Ui Failghe, the Ui Faelain, and the Ui Muiredhaigh), at the point where the present county of Kildare unites with the King's and Queen's counties. Each tribe<sup>3</sup> furnished one of the three masts, and each tribe sent a party of its men to carry their respective trees. When ascending a boggy mountain a dispute occurred among the men, probably upon the precedence of their tribes, which Maelmordha decided by assisting in person to carry the tree of the Ui Faelain. He had on a tunic of silk, which Brian<sup>4</sup> had given him, with "a border of gold around it, and silver buttons." By the exertion he made in lifting the tree, one of the buttons came off; and on his arrival at Kincora, he applied to his sister Gormflaith to replace it. She took the tunic and cast it into the fire, reproaching him, in bitter and insulting language, for his meanness in submitting to be a servant or vassal to any man, and adding that neither

<sup>1</sup> *Figili*. Or Feegile. The name remains in the parish of Clonsast, King's co., a few miles N. of Portarlington.

<sup>2</sup> *Three tribes*. The district inhabited by the Ui Faelain occupies about the northern half of the county of Kildare, including the baronies of Clane and Salt, Ickeathy and Oughterany. *B. of Rights*, p. 206, n. The Ui Muiredhaigh (called by the English, *Omurethi*, O'Toole's original country) were seated in the southern portion of the co. of Kildare, viz., in the baronies of Kilkea and Moone, E. and W. Narragh, with Reban, and parts of Connell. *Ibid.*, p. 210. The territory of Ui Failghe consisted of the baronies of E. and W. Offaly, county of Kildare, those of Portnahinch and Tinnahinch, in the Queen's county, and that portion of King's county which is in the dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin. *Ibid.*, p. 216, n.

<sup>3</sup> *Each tribe*. The MS. D, adds to

the three tribes the Laighis or Leix, and the three Commains. O Clery seems to have rejected this reading, and it is probably an interpolation. If it were true there ought to have been more than three masts. The district of Leix, in the Queen's co., adjoins the site of the ancient wood of Fidh Gaibhli. The three Commains were septs in the N. of the present co. of Kilkenny, and S. of the Queen's co., on the borders of the ancient Osraige or Ossory. They were, therefore, at a considerable distance from the wood of Fidh-Gaibhli. For an account of Leix see *B. of Rights*, p. 214, n. p.

<sup>4</sup> *Brian*. It is worthy of note that one of the *rights* to which the King of Naas (i.e., of Leinster), was entitled from the King of Ireland was "fine textured clothes at Tara," and, therefore, after Tara was abandoned, wherever the King held his court. *B. of Rights*, p. 251.

his father or grandfather<sup>1</sup> would ever have yielded to such indignity.

Her words naturally irritated Maelmordha, and prepared him to resent every insult. An occasion soon presented itself. Brian's eldest son,<sup>2</sup> Murchadh, or Murchogh, was playing a game of chess with his cousin Conaing,<sup>3</sup> when Maelmordha, looking on, suggested a move, by which Murchadh lost the game. Angered at this he said to Maelmordha, "That was like the advice you gave to the Danes, which lost them Glenmama." The other answered, "I will give them advice now, and they shall not be again defeated." Murchadh replied, "Then you had better remind them to prepare a yew tree<sup>4</sup> for your reception."

This insult set fire to the fuel, and early the next morning Maelmordha quitted the house in wrath, "without permission, and without taking leave" (p. 145).

Brian hearing this sent a messenger to entreat of him to return and listen to an explanation. Cogarán, the messenger (see p. cxxxvi.), overtook him at the bridge of Killaloe as he was mounting his horse. But the King

He takes offence.

Quits Brian's house in anger.

<sup>1</sup> *Grandfather.* Her grandfather was Finn, chieftain of the Uí Failghe (or Offaly), sl. 928, who was the son of Maelmordha, son of Conchobhar, ch. of Offaly (ob. 921). Finn had a son, Murchadh (sl. 970), who was the father of Maelmordha, King of Leinster (sl. at Clontarf, 1014), and of Gormflaith. Finn had also a son, Conchobhair (ob. 977), who was the father of Congalach (ob. 1017), father of Conchobhar (ancestor of O'Concobhair Failghe, or O'Connor Faly), father of Brogarbhan (sl. at Clontarf, 1014). Gormflaith died 1020. Maelmordha, King of Leinster, Gormflaith's brother, had a son, Bran, who was the ancestor of the Uí Brain, or O'Byrne, of Leinster. He was blinded by his cousin, Sitric, King of Dublin (his father's great ally), in 1018 (1017 Four M.).

He died at Cologne, 1052. See *Ann. Ult.*

<sup>2</sup> *Eldest son.* Brian's first wife was Mór, daughter of Eidhin, ancestor of the O'Heyne (now O'Heyne), of the race of Guaire Aidhne, King of Connaught. See O'Donovan's *Hy Fiachrach* (p. 398). By her Brian had three sons—1. Murchadh; 2. Conchobhar; 3. Flann; all slain at Clontarf. The *Njal-Saga* erroneously states that Brian's son, Donnchadh, was the eldest, misled probably because, owing to Murchadh's death, he succeeded his father as King of Munster. *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> *Conaing.* Son of Brian's brother, Donnchuan. Conaing was afterwards slain at Clontarf. Others suppose that Conaing O'Carroll, erenach of Glendalough, was intended. See note <sup>1</sup>, p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> *Yew tree.* See above, p. cxlix.

Excites the  
Leinster  
tribes to  
revolt.

of Leinster's irritation had not yet subsided; he struck the ill-fated Cogarán a violent blow on the skull with a stick, and "broke all the bones of his head." Maelmordha then returned<sup>1</sup> in haste to his own territory, and lost no time in making known to his tribe the great insult he had received, using all his influence to excite them to avenge his wrongs. They resolved upon a revolt, and messengers were sent to Flaithbhertach (or Flaherty), son of Muirchertach<sup>2</sup> O'Neill, to Fergal<sup>3</sup> O'Rourke, King of Brefné, and to Ualgarg O'Ciardha,<sup>4</sup> King of Cairbre O'Ciardha (now the barony of Carbury, in the N.W. of

<sup>1</sup> *Returned.* A minute account of the route Maelmordha took on his way to Leinster is given. Leaving Killaloe he spent the first night at Sen Leas Abáinn [old fort of St. Abban], in the district of the *Ui mBuidhi*, which was in the Queen's county (baronies of Ballyadams and Slievemargy), on the river now called Douglas, a tributary of the Barrow. Here he remained for the night at the house of Mac Berdai (now *Berry*), chieftain of the *Ui mBuidhi*. The distance from Killaloe to this place cannot have been less than sixty statute miles, a good day's journey. The next morning he stopped at Garbh-thamnach [rough field], otherwise Garbh - thonnach [rough mound or rampart], an ancient seat of the kings of Leinster, in the territory of the *Ui Muiredhaigh* (see p. clxii., n<sup>o</sup>), between Naas and Maynooth. The exact site has not been ascertained. The house seems to have been then occupied by Dunlaing, son of Tuathal, King of Western Lifé, ancestor of the *Ui Tuathail*, or O'Toole's of Leinster. See *Four M.*, 1013, and O'Donovan's note  $\gamma$ . At this place Maelmordha summoned the tribes to meet him, and organized the revolt. These particulars of Maelmordha's journey are so accurately consistent with the

geography of the country that they should be regarded as undesigned evidences of the authenticity of the narrative.

<sup>2</sup> *Muirchertach.* This Muirchertach was son of Domhnall, King of Ireland, and brother of Aedh O'Neill, late chieftain of Ailech, of whom we have already spoken. See *Gen. Table I.*, p. 245. His son Flaithbhertach, who succeeded Aedh, was called *an trostain*, "Flaherty of the pilgrim's staff," because he went on a pilgrimage to Rome in 1030. See *Circuit of Ireland*, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> *Fergal.* This ought to be Aedh, son of Fergal Ua Ruairc, or O'Rourke, if indeed it be not entirely without foundation. Fergal himself was slain in 964 (Four M.) = 965 (*Ann. Ult.*) Aedh, son of Fergal, is here called King of Brefné, a district comprising the present counties of Leitrim and Cavan, but formerly a part of Connaught. His father, Fergal, was King of Connaught. *Four M.*, 964. *Topogr. Poems*, xxxvi. (262).

<sup>4</sup> *O'Ciardha.* This family is now reduced to poverty, and the name, anglicized Keary and Carey, is to be found principally among the peasantry of Kildare and Meath. See O'Donovan, *Hy Fiachrach*, p. 266, note.

the county of Kildare), and these all promised their aid against Brian (p. 147).

They kept their word. Flaherty O'Neill ravaged Meath, and slew Osli [or Flosi] son of Dubhcenn,<sup>1</sup> son of Ivar of Limerick, one of Brian's confidential stewards, whom he seems to have appointed to uphold his interests in Meath. Ualgarg O'Ciardha and Ferghal [or Aedh] O'Rourke attacked Malachy; they plundered the Gailenga,<sup>2</sup> in Meath, and slew Malachy's grandson, Domhnall, son of Donnchadh, who would have been heir of Tara if the ordinary rule of the succession had been observed. Many other chieftains<sup>3</sup> also were slain on this occasion. But Malachy overtook the assailants, and defeated them in a bloody battle, in which Ualgarg O'Ciardha, King of Cairbré, and Tadhg O'Cearnachan, sub-King of Brefné, with many others, fell. This event the Four Masters have assigned to the year 1013.

Encouraged by this success, Malachy pursued his victory, and dividing his forces into "three plundering parties" (p. 149), ravaged the country as far as Ben Edair, now Howth, attacking principally the foreigners.

<sup>1</sup> *Dubhcenn*. See above, pp. cii., ciii.

<sup>2</sup> *Gailenga*, now the barony of Morgallion, co. of Meath, which is the anglicized pronunciation of Mór-Gailenga, the great Gailenga. Of this district O'Leochain was the chieftain. Another district called Gailenga-beaga, or little Gailenga, nearer Dublin, included the monastery of Glas-Noweidhin, now Glasnevin. The chieftain of this district was O hAenghusa (now Hennessy). There was another settlement of the Gailenga, in the co. of Mayo, in Connaught. The tribe were descended from Cormac Gailenga, son of Tadhg, son of Cian, son of Oilioll Olum, King of Munster. This Cormac was surnamed Gailenga, because he had displaced an ancient tribe of the

Firbolg called *Clanna Gaileoin*, or Gailenga. *Irish Nennius*, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> *Other chieftains*. Cernach, son of Flann, King of Lini (Luighne, *Four M.*), and Senan Ua Leuchan (Ua Leochain, *Four M.*), King of Gailenga, are mentioned. The Lini or Luighne derived their name from Luigh, son of Cormac Gailenga (see last note), and were, in fact, a branch of the Gailenga. Their territory in Connaught was identical with the diocese of Achadh Conaire (now Achonry), but they were also settled in East Meath, and there their name is preserved in that of the barony of *Lune*, which, however, represents only a small part of their original possessions. Cernach, son of Flann, was King of the Meath Luighne. *B. of Rights*, p. 186, n.

The invasion of Meath.

Defeated by Malachy,

Who plunders Leinster as far as Howth.

But Maelmordha, with his nephew Sitric, son of Olaf Cuaran, gathered the Danish and Leinster forces, encountered Malachy, and cut off the whole of one of his three plundering parties. In this action were slain Flann, surnamed Albanach,<sup>1</sup> son of Malachy, Lorcan, son of Echtighern, King of the Cinel Mechair,<sup>2</sup> and "two hundred others along with them."

The Danes and Leinstermen plunder Meath.

The foreigners, with their Leinster allies, then organized an expedition to Meath (ch. lxxxv.), into the very heart of Malachy's kingdom,<sup>3</sup> which they plundered as far as Fobhar of Fechin,<sup>4</sup> and carried off captives and cattle innumerable, not respecting even the very Termon or sanctuary of St. Fechin.

After having endured these outrages, Malachy sent messengers to Brian to demand the protection<sup>5</sup> to which as a vassal he was entitled.

Brian enters Leinster.

The war had now commenced. Brian, with his own Munster troops and his allies from Connaught, entered Leinster, and ravaged Ossory (ch. lxxxvi.) His son Murchadh, in command of another army, devastated Leinster as far as the monastery of St. Caemhgen, or St. Kevin, at Glendaloch, in the county of Wicklow. He

<sup>1</sup> *Albanach*, i.e., the Scotch. See note <sup>10</sup>, p. 149. According to the Four M. this battle was fought in 1012, at Draighnen, now Drinan, near Kinsaley, county of Dublin. Flann Albanach, son of Malachy, was the ancestor of Diarmaid, commonly called MacMurrough, at whose invitation the Norman knights of Henry II. invaded Leinster.

<sup>2</sup> *Cinel Mechair*. This family is now *Meagher*, or *Maher*. Their tribe name was *Ui Cairin*, whence the barony of Ikerrin, county of Tipperary.

<sup>3</sup> *Kingdom*. This chapter (lxxxv.) does not occur in the O'Clery or Brussel's MS. The Four M. take no notice of this plundering of Meath as far as Fobhar; but it is mentioned in the

Dublin *Ann. Inisfall.* at 1013, doubtless on the authority of the present work.

<sup>4</sup> *Fobhar of Fechin*. Now *Fore*, a famous monastery in the N.E. of Westmeath, founded by St. Fechin in the 7th century.

<sup>5</sup> *Protection*. The words are, "praying him not to permit the Brefné [co. of Cavan], or the Cairbre [co. of Kildare], or the Cinel Eoghain [the O'Neills of Tyrone], to come all together against him," p. 149. Is it likely that Malachy, smarting under the great losses here described, would so soon afterwards treacherously join the party of his bitterest enemies against his own true interests, as the Dalcassian authors would persuade us he did?

burnt and ravaged the whole country, carrying off captives and cattle, until he arrived at Cill Maighnenn,<sup>1</sup> and the Green of Dublin, which was probably the plain between Kilmainham and the city.

Here Brian joined him; and they blockaded Dublin, remaining encamped before it from the festival of St. Ciaran<sup>2</sup> in Harvest to Christmas Day. But the Danish garrison of Dublin kept closely within their walls, and at Christmas, for want of provisions, Brian was forced to raise the siege and return home.

Things remained quiet during the following winter. But in spring, about the festival of St. Patrick (17th of March), Brian began to organize another expedition against Dublin and the King of Leinster (ch. lxxxvii., p. 151), and he had now no time to lose. Sitric, of Dublin, and his mother, Gormflaith, with King Maelmordha, were actively engaged in collecting forces for the final struggle. Our author says, "They sent ambassadors everywhere around them to gather troops unto them, to meet Brian in battle." Brodar, the earl, and Amlaibh, son of the King of Lochlann, "the two earls of Cair<sup>3</sup> and of all the north of Saxon land," are particularly mentioned. They are described as pagans, "having no veneration, respect, or mercy for God or man, for church or sanctuary (p. 153). They came at the head of 2,000 men, who are represented as hard-hearted, ferocious mercenaries; "and there was not one villain of that 2,000 who had not polished, strong, triple-plated armour of refined iron or of cool uncorroding brass, encasing their sides and bodies from head to foot."

Dublin  
blockaded.

Sitric and  
Gormflaith  
collect  
Scandinavian  
allies.

<sup>1</sup> *Cill Maighnenn*, now Kilmainham, near Dublin.

<sup>2</sup> *St. Ciaran*. The festival of St. Ciaran, in harvest, i.e., of St. Ciaran of Clonmacnois, was Sept. 9th. The festival of the older Ciaran of Saighir, or Seir-kieran, was March 5th.

<sup>3</sup> *Cair*. This is evidently corrupted. See p. 151, note <sup>14</sup>. *Cair* is probably

meant for *Cair-Ebroc*, or York (see p. 165); but in B. Brodar is called Earl of Cair Ascadal, and instead of Amlaibh, we find "Ascadal of Cair Ascadal" associated with Brodar. The Danes of Dublin were always in close connexion with their countrymen in York and Northumberland; but the *Njal-Saga* makes no mention of York.

Additional  
particulars  
supplied by  
the Njal-  
Saga.

Then our author gives a list<sup>1</sup> of the Scandinavian and other auxiliaries, who, he expressly says, were "*invited*" by the Dublin Danes to join them in resisting Brian. The Njal-Saga supplies some particulars of this invitation, which throw considerable light on the secret springs of the conspiracy. Gormflaith had sent her son Sitric to Sigurd, earl of the Orkneys, who consented to join the confederacy on the conditions that, in the event of its success, he was to be King of Ireland, and to have the hand of Gormflaith. Sitric did not hesitate to promise him this. On his return he informed his mother of the arrangement he had made, and she expressed herself well pleased, but sent him forth again to collect greater forces. She directed him to the Isle of Man, where there lay on the west coast two Vikings, with thirty ships, and she commanded him to engage their services "whatever price they might ask."

Ospak and  
Brodir.

Sitric soon found them. They were brothers; one was named Ospak; the other was Brodir, who refused to give his aid except on the conditions, which Earl Sigurd had also required, namely, the kingdom and Gormflaith's

<sup>1</sup> *List.* See p. 153. These are:—  
1. Siugrad, son of Lotar (*Hlödver*, or Ludovicus), called Sigurd in the Njal-Saga, Earl of Insi Ore, or the Orkney Islands. See his genealogy, *Burnt Njal* ii., p. 11, ch. 84. 2. He was followed by the foreigners from the Orkneys, and from Insi Cat, possibly the Shetland islands. 3. There came also the foreigners of Manann (Isle of Man); of Sci, now Skye; of Leodhus, now Lewis; of Cind-Tiri (Cantire); and of Airer-Gaeidhil, now Argyle. 4. There were also two Barons of Corn Bretan or Cornwall; and Corn-dabliteoc, of the Britons of Cill Muni (now St. David's, in Pembrokeshire). In another reading of this last clause, which shows that it was obscure to the ancient transcribers, Cornbliteoc

is spoken of as the name of a country. See note <sup>11</sup>, p. 153. Corn-da-bliteoc, or Cornabliteoc, is mentioned here and in a subsequent part of the narrative as the name of a chieftain. See pp. 173, 183. 5. Carlus and Elbric, or Elbric, "two sons of the King of France." The King of France was at that time Robert II., son of Hugh Capet; but these may have been the sons of some inferior dynast of France. In another place (see p. 165), Elbric is described as "son of the King of Lochlann." 6. Plat or Plait, "a strong knight of Lochlann," called "son of the King of Lochlann, brave champion of the foreigners." 7. The hero Conmael, or as B. reads, "Maol." He is called Brodar's mother's son, p. 165.

hand. Sitric made no scruple to comply, stipulating only that the agreement was to be kept secret, and that Earl Sigurd especially was to know nothing about it. Accordingly, Brodir gave his word to be at Dublin on Palm Sunday, the day that had been previously fixed with Sigurd<sup>1</sup> and the other conspirators.

“Brodir,” according to the Saga, “had been a Christian man, and a mass-deacon by consecration, but he had been thrown off his faith and become God’s dastard, and now worshipped heathen fiends, and he was of all men most skilled in sorcery. He had that coat of mail on which no steel would bite. He was both tall and strong, and had such long locks that he tucked them under his belt. His hair was black.” Such is the Scandinavian description<sup>2</sup> of the man who was destined, after the battle that followed, to slaughter in cold blood the great King Brian, and to be himself slain at the same moment.

Ospak, however, refused to fight against “the good King Brian;” and certain prodigies, which the Saga describes, determined him to separate himself from his brother. He “vowed to take the true faith, and to go to King Brian, and follow him till his death day.” So he escaped with ten ships, leaving Brodir twenty, and sailing westwards to Ireland, “he came to Connaught,” to Brian’s house, that is to say, to Cenn-coradh, or Kincora, on the Shannon. “Then Ospak told King Brian all that he had learnt, and took baptism, and gave himself over into the king’s hand.”<sup>3</sup>

In consequence of Sitric’s exertions “a very great

Description  
of Brodir.

Ospak  
joins  
Brian.

The  
Muster at  
Dublin.

<sup>1</sup> *Sigurd*. Burnt Njal, ii., pp. 327, 328.

<sup>2</sup> *Description*. Ibid, p. 329. It has been suggested that Brodir’s real name is lost. He was Ospak’s brother, and Brodir was mistaken for a proper name. If so, the mistake was made by the Scandinavian authorities as well as by the Irish. Maurer (quoted by Dasent, *Burnt Njal*, i., p. clxxxix..

*note*), conjectures that he may have been the Danish sea-king, Gutring, who was an apostate deacon.

<sup>3</sup> *The king’s hand*. Burnt Njal, ii., p. 332. The Irish accounts of the battle make no mention of Ospak, or of his conversion to Christianity; in other respects they are not inconsistent with the story as told in the Saga.

fleet”<sup>1</sup> assembled from various quarters at Dublin. Within the city itself Maelmordha had mustered a considerable force, which he divided into three great battalions, consisting of the “muster of Laighin,” or men of Leinster, who were under his own immediate command, with the Ui Cennselaigh, or Hy-Kinshela, whose country was the county of Wexford.

Brian  
begins  
hostilities.

Brian meanwhile had advanced towards Dublin (ch. lxxxviii.) with “all that obeyed him of the men of Ireland,” namely, the provincial troops of Munster and Connaught, with the men of Meath. But these last, although they came to his standard, were suspected of disaffection,

<sup>1</sup> *Fleet*. See p. 153. The unpublished Annals of Loch Cé give the following account of Sitric's auxiliaries:—“There had arrived there [viz., at Dublin] the chosen braves and chieftains of the island of Britain from Caer Eabhrog, and from Caer Eighist, and from Caer Goniath. There had arrived there also most of the kings and chieftains, knights and warriors, and heroes of valour, and brave men of the north of the world: both Black Lochlanns, and White Lochlanns, in companionship and in alliance with the Gaill; so that they were in Athcliath with the son of Amlaff, to offer warfare and battle to the Gaedhil. There arrived there Siograd Finn [*the white*] and Siograd Donn [*the brown*], two sons of Lothair, earl of the Orkney islands, with the armies of the Orkney islands along with them. There arrived there moreover an immense army from the Insi Gall [the Hebrides], and from Man, and from the Renna or Srenna [a district of Galloway?], and from the British [*i.e.*, Welsh], and from the Plemenna [Flemings?]. There arrived there also Brodar, earl of Caer Eabhrog, with numerous hosts; and Uithir, the black, *i.e.*, the soldier of Eighist; and Grisiam, the Flemish pugilist; and Greisiam, of

the Normans. There arrived there a thousand heroes of the black Danars, bold, brave, valiant, with shields, and with targets, and with many corslets, from Thafian [?], who were with them. There were there also immense armies, and the warlike victorious bands of Fine Gall [*Fingall*], and the merchants who came from the lands of France, and from the Saxons, and from the Britons and Romans. There had arrived there, too, Maalmordha, son of Murchadh, son of Finn, chief king of the province of Leinster, with the kings, and chieftains, and stout heroes of Leinster, and with the youths and champions along with him, in the same Following. Great indeed was the Following and the Muster that came there. Warlike and haughty was the uprising that they made there, namely, the warriors and champions of the Gaill and the Gaedhil of Leinster, against the battalions of the Munster-men, and to ward off from them the oppression of Brian Borumba; and six great battalions was the full force of the Danes, *i.e.*, a battalion to guard the fortress [of Dublin] within, and five battalions to contend against the Gaedhil.” *Annals of Loch Cé* (MS. Trin. Coll., Dublin), A.D. 1014.

for Brian knew, adds our author, "that they would desert him<sup>1</sup> at the approach of the battle,"—a piece of treachery of which they were not guilty. On his way to Dublin Brian plundered the districts of Ui Gabhla, or Ui Gabhra, and Ui Dunchadha.<sup>2</sup> He advanced into Fine-gall or Fingall,<sup>3</sup> and burned Cill-Maighnenn, now Kilmainham.<sup>4</sup> Brian then sent his son Donnchadh, or Donogh, with "the new levies"<sup>5</sup> of the Dal Cais, and the third battalion of Munster, to plunder Leinster, whose people and soldiery, its natural protectors, were now engaged in the garrison of Dublin. He himself remained to watch Dublin, and to plunder the Danish country around it.

The blaze of the burning in Fingall, which included the neighbouring district of Edar, now Howth, soon attracted the attention of the enemy's troops within the city, and they at once sallied forth in battle array to attack Brian in the plain of Magh-nEalta,<sup>6</sup> "raising on high their standards of battle."

The enemy  
make a  
sally from  
Dublin.

<sup>1</sup> *Desert him.* This accusation was, no doubt, the result of the party spirit, which sought to blacken as much as possible the character of Malachy and his Meath-men, in order to justify Brian's usurpation of the kingdom. See a paper by the editor of the present work, in which reasons are given to clear Malachy of this charge; *Proceedings, Royal Irish Acad.*, vol. vii., p. 498, sq. It may be added that the accusation was evidently disbelieved by the Four M., who make no mention of it. See also Moore's *Hist. of Ireland*, ii., 108.

<sup>2</sup> *Ui Gabhra, and Ui Dunchadha.* See above, p. cxliii, note <sup>8</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *Fingall.* So called from *Fine-gall*, "district or territory of the foreigners," who had settled there. See *Four M.*, 1052; Reeves' *Adarnan*, p. 108, n. Comp. *St. Patrick, Apost. of Ireland*, 295, n. <sup>2</sup>. This was a district in the county of Dubuinn, extending along the coast from the city to the river Ailbhine

(now the Delvin), the northern limit of the county. Ui Dunchadha was probably that part of the county of Dublin which lies south of the Liffey.

<sup>4</sup> *Kilmainham.* The MS. B adds "and Clondalkin." These famous monasteries were now in the hands of the pagan enemy, and therefore their sanctity was no longer respected even by Brian.

<sup>5</sup> *New levies.* Lit. "Gray Levies." See note <sup>10</sup>, p. 154.

<sup>6</sup> *Magh-nEalta.* "Plain of the Flocks." This was the ancient name of the great plain lying between the Hill of Howth and the Hill of Tamhlacht (now Tallaght), co. of Dublin. That part of it which afterwards got the name of Clontarf, was anciently called *Sen Magh-nEalta Edair*, "Old plain of the flocks of Edair." *Four M.*, A.M. 2550. Edar was a chieftain, who is said to have flourished a few years before the Christian era. *O'Flaherty, Ogyg.*, p. 271.

Brian holds  
a council  
of war.

Brian was then encamped on the Plain, or Green, of Dublin (p. 155). There he held a council of war with the principal chieftains<sup>1</sup> of his army. We are not told the subject of their deliberations; but the result seems to have been a determination to risk a general engagement on the following morning.

Proposal of  
the pirates  
to Brian.

The pirates, according to some accounts, had on that night spent their pay (chap. xc., p. 157), and had resolved to return to their homes. They had gone as far as Benn-Edair, or Howth, where they had left their ships. Dreading the valour of the Dal Cais, and of Murchadh especially, they had promised Brian that if he would delay "the burning," that is to say, the burning and plunder of Fingall, until the morrow's sunrise, they would set sail and never come to Ireland again; but now, when they saw that the devastation of the country had begun, they resolved to have their share of the plunder, and prepared to commence the fight in the morning.<sup>2</sup>

Probable  
origin of  
the story.

This story seems in itself very improbable; but it may

<sup>1</sup> *Chieftains.* The members present at this council are enumerated thus: 1. The nobles of Dal-Cais. 2. Maelseachlainn, late King of Ireland, now King of Meath. 3. Murchadh, Brian's eldest son. 4. Conaing, son of Brian's brother Donnucan, lord of Ormond. 5. Tadhg an eich-gill [Teige of the white horse], son of Cathal, son of Conchobhair, king of Connaught; with the nobles of Connaught. 6. The men of Munster, meaning, of course, the chieftains. 7. The men of Meath. "But it happened," adds our author, "that Maelsechlainn and the men of Meath were not of one mind with the rest." What the difference of opinion was is not said; but this clause is doubtless connected with the Munster calamity against Malachy and his clansmen.

<sup>2</sup> *Morning.* The next chap. (lxxxix. p. 155-7) is a manifest interpolation, and does not occur in the O'Clery or

Brussel's MS. B. It tells how Brian, looking behind him, beheld the "battle phalanx" of Fergal Ua Ruairc (O'Rourke), with three score and ten banners of various colours, and especially the victorious "gold-spangled" banner of O'Rourke himself, King of the territory of West Breifné [Leitrim] and of Conmaicne, *i.e.*, of Conmaicne Muighe-Rein, a district nearly co-extensive with the diocese of Ardagh. Besides Fergal himself, these troops had for their leader Domhnall, son of Ragallach [Reilly], ancestor of the family of O'Reilly of East Breifné (county of Cavan), and Gilla-na-naemh, son of Domhnall, and grandson of Fergal, ancestor of the family of O'Fergail, now O'Farrell. Neither of these chieftains is mentioned in the annals, and indeed the whole story bears internal evidence of fabrication, for Fergal O'Ruairc was slain A.D. 966 [964, *Four M.*], and our author

have been founded on the fact, vaguely reported, and not very clearly understood, that the pagan leaders were anxious to delay the commencement of the battle until Good Friday; for the Viking Brodir, as we read in the *Njal-Saga*, had found by his sorcery "that if the fight were on Good Friday, King Brian would fall, but win the day; but if they fought before, they would all fall who were against him."<sup>1</sup> The pretended flight of a body of the Norsemen, and their promise to Brian to quit Ireland for ever if he delayed the combat, was a not unlikely stratagem to induce him to postpone the battle to the fated Friday morning.

Our author next proceeds (ch. xciv., p. 163) to give an account of the manner in which the "battalions" of the enemy were disposed. The foreign Danes, and auxiliaries, were placed in the front of the army, under the command of Brodir<sup>2</sup> or (Brodar, as the Irish authorities spell the

Disposition  
of the  
Danish  
forces.

had already set him down amongst Brian's enemies. See p. 147, and p. clxiv, n. 3. The story, however (p. 257), goes on to say that Fergal (who was also King of Connaught), with his attendant nobles, was received with great respect and state by Brian as well as by his son, Murchadh, "who rose up to him, and seated him in his own place" in the tent. Fergal then, in reply to Brian's question, "What news?" informed him that Aedh, son of Ualgarg Ua Ciardha, King of Cairbré (now the barony of Carbury, county of Kildare), had refused to come to the battle. His father, it will be remembered, had been slain by Malachy the year before. See p. 149. Brian thereupon cursed the *Ui Ciardha* and the *Ui Cairbré*, and blessed Fergal and the men of *Brefnéc*. All this is evidently the clumsy attempt of a clansman to obtain for his chieftain the glory of having been on the victorious side in "the battle of Brian."

The bombastic narrative that fol-

lows (ch. xci. and xcii.) is also a palpable forgery, and does not occur in the MS. B. It contains an account of the arms and armour, first of the Danes, and then of the *Dal-Cais*; but the description is evidently unauthentic. It makes no mention of the national battle-axe in speaking of the offensive armour of the Danes, but attributes to the *Dal-Cais* the possession of "glaring, bright, broad, well-set *Lochlann axes*."

<sup>1</sup> *Against him*. *Burnt Njall*, vol. ii., p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> *Brodir*. He is here called Earl of Cair Ebroc, or York, and "chieftain of the Danars." His mother's son, Conmael, cannot have been the same as Ospak, mentioned in the *Saga* as Brodir's brother, because Ospak had gone over to Brian's side from the beginning. Conmael, when mentioned before (see p. 153), was simply called "the hero." The name is Celtic; but no notice of him occurs in the Irish Annals.

name), with Conmael, "his mother's son," Sigurd, earl of the Orkneys, and other chieftains of inferior note.<sup>1</sup> A second battalion was formed as a kind of rear-guard in support of the foreign Danes. This was composed of the Danes of Dublin, under the command of Dubhgall, son of Amlaf;<sup>2</sup> Gilla-Ciarain, son of Glun-iaraim, son of Amlaf, or Olaf Cuaran; Donchadh, grandson of Erulbh;<sup>3</sup> and Amlaf or Olaf Lagmund, son of Goffraith. There were also in command of subdivisions of this second battalion Ottir Dubh (or the black), Grisin (or Griffin), Lummin, and Snadgair, four petty kings of the foreigners, and chieftains of ships; with "the nobles of the foreigners of Ireland." The third battalion, formed of the Leinster men and Ui Cennselaigh, was stationed behind the Dublin Danes. They were commanded by Maelmordha, King of Leinster, and other chieftains of that province.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Inferior note.* P. 165. These are—  
1. Plait, "the bravest knight of all the foreigners." See p. 153. 2. Anrath, or Anrad, son of Elbric. Elbric is here called "son of the King of Lochlann;" although when he was mentioned before, p. 153, he is said to have been one of the sons of the King of France. 3. Carlus was also (p. 153) said to have been a son of the King of France. Here his name only occurs. These discrepancies show that we can put no great confidence in these lists of chieftains. 4. Torbenn, the black. 5. Sumin. 6. Suanin. 7. "The nobles of the foreigners of western Europe, from Lochlann westwards."

<sup>2</sup> *Amlaf.* This Amlaf or Olaf was the son of Sitric, King of Dublin. He was slain in an incursion of the foreigners into Munster, in which Cork was burned (*Four M.*, A.D. 1012). Dubhgall was, therefore, Sitric's grandson.

<sup>3</sup> *Donchadh, grandson of Erulbh.*

These chieftains are called in the text (p. 165) the four "*crown princes* of the foreigners." The word *righdomhna*, translated "crown prince," signifies not necessarily the next heir to a throne or chieftaincy, but one who was *eligible*, and might legally be elected. The family of O'h-Erulbh (Heriolf) was of Danish origin, and was seated in the neighbourhood of Kildare. Amlaf, or Olaf, Lagmund was the son of Goffraith (King of the Hebrides and Isle of Man, son of Harold, son of Sitric of Limerick). This Goffraith was slain in Dalaradia, A.D. 989. *Tighernach; Ann. Ult.; Brut y Tywys.*, 970, 981; *Ann. Camb.*, 982, 987.

<sup>4</sup> *Province.* The chieftains named are—1. Boetan, son of Dunlang, King of Western Leinster. 2. Dunlang, son of Tuathal, King of Liffey. His father, Tuathal, was the son of the Ugaire who was slain by the Danes at the battle of Cenn Fuait, in 916, (see p. 35, and p. lxxxix., note <sup>2</sup>), and who was the son of Ailill (slain 869), son of

Then follows (chap. xciv.) a description of the disposition of Brian's army.<sup>1</sup> In the van, and immediately opposed to the foreign auxiliaries of the enemy, were the brave Dal-Cais and the Clann Luighdech,<sup>2</sup> under the command of Murchadh, Brian's eldest son, on whom a bombastic

Disposition  
of Brian's  
army.

Dunlang (slain 867). Tuathal was the ancestor of the families of O'Tuathail or O'Toole; of Ui Muireadhaigh; Ui Mail; and Feara Cualainn. 3. Brogarbhan, King of Ui Failghe or Offaley. See p. clxiii, n. 1. 4. Domhnall, son of Fergal. He was chieftain of the Fortuatha Laighen, and descended from Finnachadh, son of Garchu, chieftain of the Hi Garraon, who resisted St. Patrick. For the situation of the Fortuatha Laighen ("foreign tribes of Leinster") in the county of Wicklow, see *B. of Rights*, p. 207, note.

<sup>1</sup> *Army*. There is considerable discrepancy between this account and that of the Njal Saga, which makes no mention of Murchadh. We are there told that Brodir, and Sityrgg of Dublin, commanded the wings, and Earl Sigurd the centre of the Danish army. In the Irish army Ulf Hroda, translated in *Burnt Njal*, "Wolf the quarrelsome," commanded the wing opposed to Brodir, Ospak the other wing opposed to Sityrgg, and Kerthialfad the centre. Brodir felled all before him, but although "no steel would bite on his mail," Ulf Hroda thrust at him so hard that Brodir fell before him, and having recovered his feet with great difficulty, fled into the neighbouring wood, where he watched his opportunity, and issued forth to slay Brian. Kerthialfad fought his way to Earl Sigurd in the enemy's centre, and slew the man who bore the Earl's charmed banner; another standard-bearer took his place, and he too was slain; Sigurd called to others to take the banner, but all refused,

fearing the prophecy, that whoever bore it should fall. Then Earl Sigurd tore the magic banner from the staff, and put it under his cloak. This broke the spell, and "the Earl was pierced through with a spear." Ospak, on the other wing of Brian's army, met with a stern resistance, and lost his two sons; but at length Sityrgg fled before him. *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 334, sq.

According to the Irish account, Sityrgg took no part in the battle, but remained to keep the fortress of Dublin. No mention is made of Ospak, and it is not easy to indentify either Ulf Hroda, or Kerthialfad, with any of the chieftains on Brian's side, known in Irish history. The Njal Saga says that Ulf Hroda was Brian's brother, and that Kerthialfad was Brian's foster child:—"He was the son of King Kylfi, who had many wars with King Brian, and fled away out of the land before him, and became a hermit; but when King Brian went south on a pilgrimage, then he met King Kylfi, and then they were atoned, and King Brian took his son Kerthialfad to him, and loved him more than his own son. He was then full grown when these things happened, and was the boldest of all men." *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 323. It has been suggested that King Kylfi may have been the O'Kelly who led the forces of Hy Many in Brian's army; but the Irish records contain nothing to support this conjecture.

<sup>2</sup> *Clann Luighdech*. Race of Lughaidh Menn, King of Thomond; a branch of the Dal Cais. See *Geneal. Table III.*, No. 6, p. 247.

panegyric is pronounced (p. 167). In the inferior commands of this battalion, were Torrdelbhach, son of Murchadh (who was at this time but fifteen years of age), and several other chieftains;<sup>1</sup> with "the men of bravery and valour of the Dal-Cais."

A second battalion, formed of the troops of Munster, was stationed in the rear of the Dal-Cais, under the command of Mothla, son of Domhnall, son of Faelan,<sup>2</sup> King of the Deise, or Decies, of the county of Waterford, with Magnus, son of Amuchadh, King of Ui Liathain.<sup>3</sup>

A third battalion was composed of the men of Connaught (ch. xcvi, p. 169), under the command of Maelruanaidh<sup>4</sup> Ua-h-Eidhin, and other inferior chieftains,<sup>5</sup> "with the nobles of all Connaught."

<sup>1</sup> *Chieftains*. Those named are—1. Conaing, son of Brian's brother, Donnucan, lord of Ormond (slain 948, *Four M.*) Conaing is styled "one of the three men most valued by Brian that were then in Ireland," the other two being apparently Murchadh and Torrdelbach. 2. Niall Ui Cuinn or O'Quin. Aongus Cennatiun (son of Cas Mac Tail), was ancestor of the Ui Cuinn or O'Quin of the Muinntir Iffernain, originally seated at Inchiquin and Corofin (Coradh-Fine), in Thomond, the present county of Clare.—See *Topogr. Poems*, p. lxxix. (711); *Four M.*, p. 774, n. 2. 3. Eochaidh, son of Dunnadach, chief of the Clann-Scannlain (*Four M.*) in Ui Fidhgente (county of Limerick). 4. Cuduiligh, son of Cennetigh, (probably Cennetigh son of Brian's brother Donnucan). These three are said to have been "the three life guards" or "rear guards," of Brian. 5. Domhnall, son of Diarmaid, King of Corcaibhaiscinn, in the county of Clare, ancestor of the Muinntir Domhnall or O'Donnells of Clare. (*O'Huighrin, Topogr. Poems*, p. 111.)

<sup>2</sup> *Faelan*. This Faelan was son of Cormac, and died 964. The family of O'Faelain, descended from him, are now Phelan, and some of them Whelan.

<sup>3</sup> *Ui Liathain*. Now the barony of Barrymore, county of Cork.

<sup>4</sup> *Maelruanaidh*, pronounced Mulrooney. This chieftain was the first who could have borne the patronymic of Ua h-Eidhin (now O'Heyne), as he was the son of Flaun, and grandson of Eidhin, from whom came the tribe name. His father's sister, Mór, was Brian's first wife. He is called by the *Four M.*, *Maelruanaidh na Paidre*, "Mulrooney of the Pater noster," from which we may infer that he had a character for piety. See his genealogy in Dr. O'Donovan's *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 398. He was at this time chieftain of the Hy-Fiachrach Aidhne, in the S. of the county of Galway.

<sup>5</sup> *Chieftains*. These were—1. Tadhg Ua Cellaigh or O'Kelly, "King" of Hy Many. (See O'Donovan, *Tribes, &c., of Hy Many*, p. 99, *Four M.*, 1013, n., p. 774.) 2. Maelruanaidh, son of Muirghius, "King" of the Muinnter

The two paragraphs which follow in chap. xcvi. are not found in the O'Clery MS. The first contains a statement that Brian's ten stewards (Mor-maer) were drawn up with the foreign auxiliaries (probably the Danes of Munster) on one side of the army, and that Fergal O'Ruairc, with the Ui Briuin,<sup>1</sup> and the Conmaicne<sup>2</sup> were ordered to the left wing of the army. The other informs us that Malachy, King of Tara, with the men of Meath, refused to take the station assigned him in consequence of his traitorous understanding with the enemy. We have already seen that there is good reason to suspect the truth of these statements about the treachery of Malachy and the presence of Fergal O'Ruairc in the battle.

Interpolations of the Dublin MS.

The Dal-Cais, it will be remembered, were placed in Position of Murchadh.

Maelruanaidh. The title of king is not given to him in the MS. B, and he is not mentioned at all by the Four M. 3. Domhnall O'Concennainn (now O'Concannon), chief of the Ui Diarmada or Corea-Mogha, whose territory is now the parish of Kilkerrin, barony of Tiaquin, co. of Galway. He is omitted in B, and by the Four M. 4. Ualgarg Mac Cerin (which name would be now Ulrick Mac Kerrin), chieftain of the Ciarraidhe Loch-na-nairnedh, barony of Costello, county of Mayo. In the Annals of Loch Cé we read: "Brian, however, had not assembled any army or multitude against this immense host of the western world and Gaill, except the men of Muuster only, and Malachy with the men of Meath, for there came not to him the province of Uladh, nor the Airgialla, nor the Cinel-Eoghain, nor the Cinel Conaill, nor the Conachta (except the Hy Maine, and the Hy Fiachrach, and the Cinel Aedha). For there was not a good understanding then between Brian and Tadhg-an-eich-gill, son of Cathal, son of Conchobhar, King of Connaught; so that on this account

Tadhg refused to go with Brian to this battle of Cluain-Tarbh." Nevertheless, according to our author (see chap. lxxxviii., p. 155) Tadhg-an-eich-gill, King of Connaught, is mentioned as one of those who sat in council with Brian on the night before the battle. (See p. 155.) We do not, however, find any place assigned to King Tadhg among the chieftains in command of the battalion of Connaught enumerated, chap. xcvi., p. 169. Possibly the misunderstanding may have arisen at this very council, and Tadhg of the White Steed, with his followers, may have returned to his home in disgust, the night before the battle.

<sup>1</sup> *Hy Briuin*. These were the descendants of Brian, son of Nial of the Nine Hostages; they were called Hy Briuin Breifni, or Hy Briuin of Breifné, to distinguish them from other tribes of the same name and descent. They were settled at this time in the counties of Leitrim and Cavan.

<sup>2</sup> *Conmaicne*. These were the Conmaicne of Moy Rein, seated in the present county of Longford, and south of Leitrim.

the van of the army, under the command of Murchadh, Brian's eldest son. Another account of Murchadh's position is given (ch. xvii.) on the authority<sup>1</sup> of "some of the historians of Munster," who said that his troops were "mixed with the battalion of Desmumha," or Desmond, together with his company or body-guard, composed of "seven score sons of kings,<sup>2</sup> that were in attendance on him." The obscure story that follows is hardly worth notice; it speaks of a rash attempt on the part of Murchadh, to attack the foreigners opposed to him, with the help of the troops of Desmond only. The story runs, that Brian, observing this movement, sent Domhnall, son of Emhin,<sup>3</sup> to remonstrate against it, and a somewhat angry conversation took place, which possibly may indicate the existence of jealousy<sup>4</sup> or disunion among the leaders of Brian's army. The result, however, was that "the nobles of all Desmond<sup>5</sup> were killed there, because they endea-

<sup>1</sup> *Authority.* The MS. B has merely — "Others say that Murchadh was placed before the battalion of Desmond," without mentioning historians, or *Senchaidhe*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sons of Kings.* These are called ἀρχαί, a word which has been translated "volunteers" (p. 169). They are represented as having placed themselves under Murchadh, as heir apparent of the throne, after [*i.e.*, after the death of] Aedh O'Neill. The word signifies *soldiery*, from ἀρχαί, a *soldier*, which, as Dr. O'Brien in his Irish Dict. suggests, was probably cognate with *ambactus*; (See Du Cange, in *voc.*)

<sup>3</sup> *Domhnall, son of Emhin.* He was *Mor-maor*, Thane, Steward, or Chieftain of the Eoghanachts of Magh-Gerrinn, or Marr, in Scotland. He was descended from Maine Leamhna, son of Conall Core, of the race of Oilíoll Olum (see *Geneal. Tables*, IV., p. 248), who was also Brian's ancestor. See a curious account of this family from

which the English royal family of Stewart or Stuart was descended, in O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 382, *sq.* Maine Leamhna had that name from the river Leamhain, and his family were thence called Leamhnacha or Lennox. See note 6, p. clviii, *supra*.

<sup>4</sup> *Jealousy.* See p. 171, note 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Oj' all Desmond.* This must be taken with some qualification, for we shall see (chap. cxx., p. 213) that after the battle the surviving chieftains of Desmond were strong enough to revolt against the Dal-Cais, and threaten a battle, from which their own dissensions alone withheld them. Here they are represented as zealous followers of Murchadh. Chap. xcviii. has been omitted by O'Cleary, and is an evident interpolation. It describes the arrival of Dunlang O'Hartigan, who accounts for his late coming by telling Murchadh of his having been enticed by fairies, with promises of life without death, &c. (see p. 173), and that al-

voured to follow Murchadh to surround the foreigners and Danes."

On the eve of the battle a challenge to single combat had passed between Plait, "son of the King of Lochlainn, brave champion of the foreigners," and Domhnall, son of Emhin, Mor-maer Mair (high steward of Mar.) On the following morning, when the combat began (chap. c., p. 175), Plait, who was one of the chosen men in armour, came forth between the hosts, calling aloud for Domhnall. Domhnall soon appeared; a terrible fight ensued; both fell dead at the same moment; "the sword of each through the heart of the other, and the hair of each in the clenched hand of the other." "And the combat of these two" (says our author) "was the first combat of the battle" (p. 177).

The next chapter (ci.) is a palpable interpolation,<sup>1</sup> and has been omitted in O'Clery's MS. It was intended to celebrate the prowess of Fergal O'Ruairc, and the chieftains of Breifné, in defence of Brian; but we have seen that Fergal could not have been in this battle, and that

Single  
combat  
between  
Plait and  
Domhnall.

The praise  
of Fergal  
O'Ruairc  
an interpo-  
lation.

though he had learned from the fairies that it was fated for him to die on the same day with Murchadh, and that both he and his father Brian, and his son Turlogh, were destined that day to fall, nevertheless he (O'Hartigan) was resolved to keep his word, and came to the battle and to certain death; it was then arranged that O'Hartigan should undertake to combat Brodar the Viking, and Cornabliteoc, and Maelmordha, and the Leinstermen. For further information on the Legend of Dunlang O'Hartigan, see Mr. O'Kearney's *Intro. to the Feis Tighe Chonain* (Ossianic Soc.), p. 98, sq. The curious account of the battle of Clontarf, there quoted by Mr. O'Kearney, speaks of Dunlang O'Hartigan as being himself a fairy (*sioguidhe*). *Ibid.*, p. 101. See O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 200.

<sup>1</sup> *Interpolation.* This chapter gives an account of the supposed combat between Dunnall or Dunlang, son of Tuathal, King of Liphé, or Lifé, with 1,000 followers, and Fergal O'Ruairc, or O'Rourke, Domhnall Mac Raghallach (or Reilly), and Gilla-na-naomh, son of Domhnall O'Fergail, with the nobles of the Ui Briuin and Conmaicne. The King of Liphé and his troops were on the side of the Danes, the other three heroes were on the side of Brian. Both parties suffered severely, only one hundred of the Ui Briuin and Conmaicne, with their chieftain, survived the battle, and Dunlang Mac Tuathail was beheaded by Mac an Trin, captain of Fergal O'Ruairc's household, who is not elsewhere mentioned. But this is all fiction, and evidently a comparatively modern addition to the original narrative.

if he was, he would have been, most probably, on the other side.<sup>1</sup>

Conflict of  
the Dal-  
Cais.

Then we have an extravagant and bombastic description of the conflict between the Dal-Cais and the Danes (chap. cii., p. 179), which contains no fact of interest, except that the battle was visible from the fortifications of Dublin, and was watched with interest from the battlements by the garrison and their women (p. 181).

King  
Malachy's  
description  
of the  
battle.

There follows a description of the same battle attributed to King Malachy (ch. ciii.), as it was seen by him from a distance. He is represented as having been requested by his tribe, the Clan Colmain, to give them an account of what he had seen. The narrative is of course highly favourable to the valour and prowess of the Dal-Cais, but is full of intolerable bombast, and was evidently intended to insinuate that both Malachy and his followers had kept themselves aloof from the battle,<sup>2</sup> in consequence of their supposed treacherous understanding with the enemy.

Combat of  
Dunlang  
and Corna-  
bliteoc.

The combat of Dunlang O'Hartigan with Cornabliteoc is the next remarkable event recorded (chap. civ.) The foreign chieftain is represented as having led one hundred and fifty of his followers to attack Dunlang, who by his single arm vanquished them all, at least, all of them, to use the language of the text (p. 185), "who waited to be wounded and beaten;" in other words, all who did not run away. Cornabliteoc is said to have been transfixed by Dunlang's spear, the rough point of which "passed through him, both body and body armour," but it is not said that he was slain. All this, however, has been omitted in O'Clery's manuscript; and bears internal evidence of fiction, especially if it should turn out that

<sup>1</sup> *Other side.* See chap. lxxxiv., p. 147, and p. clxiv., *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Battle.* This pretended narrative of the ex-king of Ireland, taken avowedly from the present work, has been

adopted by Keating in his history. The copy of it given in MS. D, exhibits some various readings, and will be found in Appendix C, with a translation.

Cornabliteoc is not the name of a chieftain, but of a *district* of Cornwall.

But both MSS. record the single combat of Conaing, Brian's nephew, who is here called King of Desmumha, or Desmond, with Maelmordha, King of Leinster (chap. cv., p. 185). After a great number of chieftains of inferior rank had fallen before they themselves met, they both (as our text says) "fell by each other."<sup>1</sup>

Then the foreigners of Ath-cliaith, or Dublin, and the men of Connaught attacked each other, with considerable loss on both sides. Of the Connaughtmen, one hundred only escaped; of the Danes of Dublin, but twenty. The Danes were pursued to Dubhgall's bridge,<sup>2</sup> in Dublin, and were there cut to pieces. The last on the side of the Danes who was there slain was "Arnaill Scot,"<sup>3</sup> he was

Combat of  
Conaing  
and Mael-  
mordha.

Conflict of  
the Dublin  
Danes and  
men of  
Con-  
naught.

<sup>1</sup> *Fell by each other.* The annals of Loch Cé tell us that Conaing was in the tent with Brian when the furious Brodar, flying from the battle, entered, and beheaded first Brian and then Conaing.

<sup>2</sup> *Dubhgall's bridge.* It is called "the bridge of Ath-cliaith, *i.e.*, Dubhgall's bridge," in the MS. B (see p. 251). It was, therefore, at that time the only bridge across the river at Dublin, and was probably called *Drocheat Dubhgail*, or Dubhgall's bridge, either (as some think) because it connected the Danish quarter, now Oxmantown, with their fortress and possessions south of the river, or more probably because it was built by some Dubhgall or Dane, whose name has not been preserved. The exact site of this bridge is uncertain. It may have crossed the river at the old ford, called *Ath Cro*, or bloody ford, or perhaps it occupied the site of what was long called the *Old Bridge*, at the end of the present Bridgefoot-street. This much, however, is certain, that the Irish name here given it favours the opinion that

it was the bridge of some individual Dane, or person called Dubhgall, not "Bridge of the Danes," which would be *Droicheat na nDubhgall*, as Mr. Gilbert has well observed.—*History of Dublin*, i., p. 320. In later times, however, this bridge was certainly called *pons Ostmannorum*, which was, no doubt, intended as a translation of Dubhgall's bridge. See the valuable paper by Chas. Haliday, esq., "On the ancient name of Dublin," p. 446. *Transact. Royal Irish Acad.*, vol. xxii., part ii. Dubhgall is the source of the family names still common—Dowell, MacDowell, MacDougall, Doyle, Dugald, &c. There was a Dubhgall, grandson of Sitric, King of Dublin; see pp. 165, 207, and p. clxxxv., note <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *Arnaill Scot.* This curious particular is here mentioned in the Dublin MS. only, but his death is recorded in B, under the name of Ernal Scot, ch. cxvii., p. 207. Nothing is known of him, unless he was the same as Arnljot, Earl Sigurd's Scottish steward. *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 13.

killed by "the household troops" of Tadhg Ua Cellaigh, or O'Kelly, King of Hy Many.

Panegyric  
on Mur-  
chadh.

There follows (chap. cvi., p. 187) a very inflated panegyric upon Murchadh, Brian's eldest son, who is described as wielding at the same time two swords, one in his right, and the other in his left hand. He is compared to Hector, son of Priam, to Samson in Jewish history, and to Hercules, as well as to Lugh or Lughaidh Lamhfada,<sup>1</sup> [*i.e.*, Lugh of the Long hand], King of the Tuatha de Danann, a famous hero in Irish legends. Nevertheless the great degeneracy of the human race since Hector's time is fully admitted,<sup>2</sup> and accounted for by the consideration that the world was in its infancy, unfit for action, before Hector, and was "a palsied drivelling dotard" after Murchadh; therefore there could be no illustrious championship before Hector, nor ever shall be after Murchadh.

<sup>1</sup> *Lugh or Lughaidh Lamhfada.* He flourished, according to O'Flaherty's chronology, A.M. 2764, *Ogyg.*, iii., c. 13, p. 177. His valour and exploits are a favourite subject with the Irish bards.

<sup>2</sup> *Admitted.* A curious scale or measure of this degeneracy is given on the authority of the "Senchaidhi," or *Historians, of the Gaedhil*, p. 187. Hector was a match for seven like Lugh Lamhfada, who was equal to seven like Conall Cernach, who was equal to seven like Lugh Lagha, who was equal to seven like Mac Samhain, who was equal to seven like Murchadh; so that Hector was a match for 16,807 such heroes as Murchadh with all his valour. Conall Cernach was chieftain of the heroes of the Red Branch, and is fabled to have been present in Jerusalem at our Lord's crucifixion. See his pedigree, *Battle of Magh Rath*, note c, p. 328; O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, iii., c. 48, p. 283. Lugh or Lughaidh Lagha, brother of Oilíoll Olum, King of Munster in the

third century, is much celebrated in Irish romantic history for his valour. Mac Samhain was a famous Fenian champion, in the service of Finn Mac Cumhaill, the Fingal of Macpherson. It may be here mentioned that the ancient order of Fenians were a body of militia, whose object was the support of the monarchy and the maintenance of law and order. See a full account of them in Keating (*Reign of Cormac Ulfada*), *O'Mahony's Transl.*, p. 343. Their history is largely interpolated with fiction and the marvellous. There is a copious literature in the Irish language, consisting principally of romantic tales, recording the deeds of Fenian heroes, some of which have been published by the Ossianic Society of Dublin. See *Trans. of that Society for 1855*, containing "the Pursuit of Diarmaid and Graine," with Mr. Standish H. O'Grady's introduction, where a valuable account of the extant Fenian literature is given.

The narrative now describes the exploits of this great chieftain (chap. cvii.) Murchadh perceived that the mail-clad phalanx of the foreigners was gaining upon the Dal-Cais. He was seized with a terrible fury; "a bird of valour<sup>1</sup> and championship arose within him, and fluttered over his head, and on his breath." He rushed upon the Danish battalion, and forced his way through them (p. 189). It was admitted by his enemies<sup>2</sup> that he cut down fifty men with each hand, and never repeated a blow; a single cut from one of his swords sufficed to slay his adversary,—neither shield nor coat of mail was able to resist these blows, or protect the body, skull, or bones of the foe who received them. Thrice he passed thus through the thick of the Danes, followed by the Clann Luighdech, or sons of Lughaidh<sup>3</sup> (*i.e.*, the troops of Desmond), and the seven score sons of kings<sup>4</sup> that were in his household.

The battle, as seen from the walls of Dublin, was compared<sup>5</sup> to a party of reapers cutting a field of oats. It was observed by Sitric, son of Olaf Cuaran, from the battlements, but he attributed the slaughter to the prowess of his allies. "Well do the foreigners reap the field," said he to his wife, who, it will be remembered, was Brian's daughter.

His exploits in the battle.

The battle seen from the walls of Dublin.

<sup>1</sup> *A bird of valour.* This seems like a description of the Scandinavian *Bersecker*. A parallel passage occurs in the *Battle of Magh Rath*, edited for the Irish Archæol. Society by Dr. O'Donovan, Dublin, 1842, p. 33. Congal Claen, the hero of the tale, "stood up, assumed his bravery, his heroic fury rose, and his *bird of valour* fluttered over him, and he distinguished not friend from foe at that time, &c." See the account of the raven banner of Inguar and Ubba, quoted above, p. lvi., n. <sup>5</sup>. Earl Sigurd had also a raven banner in the battle of Clontarf, woven for him by his mother with magical skill. *Burnt Njal*, vol. i., *Introd.*, p. cxc., note.

<sup>2</sup> *Enemies.* Namely, "the historians

of the foreigners and of the Laughin," or men of Leinster, as our author says (p. 189). He had a little before (p. 187) spoken of "the historians of the Gaedhil." There were therefore already historians of the battle on both sides. But we have seen that we cannot infer from this the lapse of any very great length of time since the battle. See above, p. cx., note <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *Lughaidh.* See General Table IV., No. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Sons of kings.* See chap. xcvi., p. 169.

<sup>5</sup> *Compared.* This comparison is attributed to "the old men of Ath-cliath," in O'Clery's MS. See Appendix C, p. 255.

ter; "many a sheaf do they cast from them." "The result will be seen," said she, "at the end of the day."

Total rout  
of the  
Danes.

And so it proved. At the end of the day the Danes and their allies of Leinster were routed with a terrible slaughter (chap. cviii.) They were unable to take shelter in Dublin, for their retreat was cut off<sup>1</sup> between the field of battle and Dubhgall's bridge, and they were forced into the sea. There they found that the receding tide<sup>2</sup> had carried their ships out of their reach, and many perished by drowning.

Death of  
Turlough.

But the loss was great on both sides. Torrdelbhach (or Turlough), Murchadh's young son, followed the enemy into the sea (chap. cix.); there a "rushing tide wave" struck him, and he fell with great force against the weir<sup>3</sup> of Clontarf, where he perished along with two, or according to another reading, three, of the foreigners, whom he held in his grasp until they were drowned.

Dialogue  
between  
Sitric and  
his wife.

The flight of the Danes to their ships was seen by Sitric and his wife from the battlements of Dublin, and another conversation between them is recorded. "It seems to me," said Brian's daughter, in bitter irony, "that the foreigners have gained their patrimony." "What meanest thou, woman?" said her husband. "Are they not rushing into the sea," she replied, "which is their natural inheritance? I wonder are they in heat like cattle; if so, they tarry not to be milked?" Sitric, losing temper at this coarse insult, gave her a blow, which, says the O'Clery MS., knocked out one of her teeth (p. 193). Such (according to our author) was the refinement of Danish court manners at that time in Dublin.

<sup>1</sup> *Cut off.* Our author does not say how their retreat was cut off: it is probable that Malachy and his Meath men were posted here, for it was here he met the remnant of the army of Leinster after the battle, and opposed their retreat, with great slaughter, from the river Tolka to Dublin. See *Four M.*

<sup>2</sup> *Tide.* See above, pp. xxvi., xxvii.

<sup>3</sup> *The weir.* Hence this battle is commonly called *Cath Coradh Cluamatarbh*, "The battle of the Weir of Clontarf." This ancient salmon weir is supposed to have been at the present Ballybough bridge, on the road from Dublin to Clontarf.

Meanwhile Murchadh having passed through and broken the ranks of the enemy, perceived Sigurd,<sup>1</sup> son of Hlodver, Earl of Orkney, in the midst of the Dal-Cais, dealing out wounds and slaughter on all sides; "no edged weapon harmed him;<sup>2</sup> there was no strength that yielded not, no thickness that became not thin" before him (p. 195). Murchadh rushed upon him, and with a blow of his right hand sword, cut the fastenings of the earl's helmet, which fell back, and thus exposing his neck, Murchadh with his left hand sword dealt him a second well-aimed blow, and Sigurd fell dead upon the field.

Murchadh slays Earl Sigurd.

Next follows the account of a single combat (chap. cxii.) between Murchadh and the son of Ebric, or Elbric,<sup>3</sup> here called "son of the King of Lochlann," who had rushed into the centre of the Dal-Cais, making a breach, which was "opened for him wherever he went." Murchadh seeing this, turned upon the mail-clad battalion, and killing fifteen on his right and fifteen on his left, cut his way to the son of Elbric. A bombastic description of the fight then follows, in which we are told that Murchadh's sword having become red hot, the hilt or handle<sup>4</sup> inlaid with silver melted, and so wounded his hand that he

Single combat between Murchadh and Ebric's son.

<sup>1</sup> *Sigurd*. His mother was *Edna*, daughter of Cearbhall, or Carroll, son of Dungal, lord of Ossory, and king of Dublin. *Script. Hist. Island*, iii. Tab. 1. He had been a Christian, for Olaf Tryggveson "allowed him to ransom his life by letting himself be baptized, adopting the true faith, becoming his man, and introducing Christianity into the Orkney islands." After Olaf's death, however, Sigurd abandoned his fealty, and, probably, also his Christianity. *Laing, Kings of Norway*, ii., p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> *Harmed him*. The text attributes this invulnerability to Murchadh; but it ought rather be understood as belonging to Sigurd, as in O'Clery's MS. See App. C, p. 258. It is a manifest allusion to the effect of

Sigurd's charmed banner, as described in the *Njal-Saga*.

<sup>3</sup> *Elbric*. See note 2, p. 195, where it is suggested that this hero's name may have been *Anroid*. It is so understood by the compilers of the *Dublin Annals of Inisfallen*. Ebric or Elbric is probably intended for the Scandinavian name *Eric*. In B, it is written *Elbric* and *Ebric*.

<sup>4</sup> *Handle*. This improbable story is thus amplified by one of the latest historians of Ireland: "Sometimes as their right hands swelled with the sword-hilts, well known warriors might be seen falling back to bathe them in a neighbouring spring, and then rushing again into the mêlée." *Popular Hist. of Ireland*, by Thos. D'A. M'Gee (New York, 1864), vol. i., p. 99.

was forced to cast the sword away ; then seizing the foreigner by the helmet, he drew his coat of chain armour off him, and dragged him to the ground. Murchadh being uppermost possessed himself of the foreign chieftain's sword, and stabbed him through the breast three times ; but notwithstanding this, the son of Elbric had time to draw his knife, with which he gave Murchadh a deadly wound, so that "the whole of his entrails were cut out, and fell to the ground before him." The Irish hero, however, had strength enough left to cut off his enemy's head ; nor did he die until sunrise the following morning, when he received "absolution, and communion, and penance," and lived "until he had received the Body of Christ, and had made his will" (p. 197).

Brian's  
devotions  
in his tent.

Meanwhile Brian, who had not himself entered the battle as a combatant,<sup>1</sup> was engaged in prayer<sup>2</sup> and devotional exercises, at some distance from the contending armies. He had recited fifty psalms, fifty prayers, or collects, and fifty pater-nosters, when he desired his attendant, Latean, or Laidin,<sup>3</sup> to look out and tell him the

<sup>1</sup> *Combatant*. The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen represent Brian as having commenced the battle in person, after having gone through the army, crucifix in hand, exhorting his men, and setting before them the great interests that were at stake. This chronicle, however, is of no authority. It was compiled (from ancient sources, no doubt), by John Conry and Dr. O'Brien, titular bishop of Cloyne, and its compilers were eminent Irish scholars. Its value is diminished by the fact that they both belonged to a school which frequently permitted themselves to be carried away from their authorities by zeal for some favourite hypothesis. Nevertheless these Annals are valuable as showing the interpretation put upon difficult passages of the authentic chronicles by such eminent Irish scholars as Conry and O'Brien.

<sup>2</sup> *Prayer*. This agrees with what is said in the Njal-Saga, that "Brian would not fight on a fast day, and so a shield-burg [*i.e.*, a ring of men holding their shields locked together] was thrown round him, and his host was drawn away in front of it." *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 334. When the route began, some of these men were tempted to join in the pursuit ; the shield-burg was weakened ; Brodir perceiving this, easily broke through and slew the king. *Ibid*, p. 337.

<sup>3</sup> *Latean, or Laidin*. The O'Clery MS. B, calls him Brian's *horse-boy*, (ἵπλλα αἰετ πεν). The family is now dispersed, and have generally taken the name of Ladden. But the allusion to the family in the text is an evident interpolation. See above, pp. xxiv., xxv. The Njal-Saga makes no mention of Latean, but tells us

general appearance of the battle, and especially the position of Murchadh's standard. Latean reported that the strife was close and vigorous, with a confused noise, as if seven battalions were cutting down Tomar's wood,<sup>1</sup> but that Murchadh's standard was floating aloft, and many of the banners of the Dal-Cais around it, and many heads falling wherever it went.

Reports  
made to  
him of the  
battle.

Then Brian said fifty more psalms, and made the same inquiries. This time the answer was that all was confusion; multitudes on both sides had fallen; no man could tell on which side the advantage lay; all were so besmeared with blood and dust that no father could know his own son. But Murchadh's standard still stood and moved through the battalions westward, that is to say, towards Dublin. "As long as that standard remains erect," said Brian, "it shall go well with the men of Erinn."

When he had repeated the last fifty psalms of the psalter, and said his fifty collects and his fifty pater-nosters, he asked the attendant to look out once more. Latean replied, "They appear as if Tomar's wood was on

Murchadh's  
fall.

that "the lad Takt" [*i.e.*, Tadhg, Brian's son] was with him when Brodir rushed upon the aged king. Takt threw up his arm to defend his father, and the stroke of Brodir's sword or battle-axe cut off Takt's arm and the king's head; "but the king's blood" (adds the Saga) "came on the lad's stump, and the stump was healed by it on the spot." *Burnt Njal*, ii., p. 337. The *Annals of Loch Cé* tell us that Conaing, Brian's nephew, was with him in the tent, and was beheaded along with him. This is evidence that the name of Latean was not in the original narrative. Neither the *Four M.* nor the *Ann. of Ulster* mention the tent or the

particulars here given of Brian's murder.

<sup>1</sup> *Tomar's Wood*. This was a wood which seems to have extended from the plain of Clontarf along the north side of the river Liffey to near Dublin. Whether it extended to the south side of the river at this time is uncertain. But anciently the round hill, or Drom, on which the Castle of Dublin and Christ Church Cathedral are built, was called *Drom-choll-coill*, "Hill of the hazel wood;" and recent excavations in the streets of the neighbourhood have shown undoubted evidence of the existence of an ancient hazel wood on the hill. See Haliday, *On the Ancient Name of Dublin*, p. 441.

fire, its underwood<sup>1</sup> and brushwood destroyed, and its stately trees only remaining. So in the contending armies the private soldiers are cut down; a few of the chieftains and gallant heroes only are left; Murchadh's standard has fallen." "Alas!" said Brian, "Erim has now fallen with it; why should I wish to survive such losses, even though I should obtain the sovereignty of the world?" The attendant now recommended an immediate flight to the security of the camp; but Brian refused to move. "Retreat," he said, "becomes us not. And wherever I go, I know that I shall not escape death, for Aibhill, of Craig Liath,<sup>2</sup> appeared to me last night, and revealed to me that I should be killed this day, and that the first of my sons<sup>3</sup> I should see this day (and that was Donnchadh) should succeed me in the sovereignty." Then Brian gave directions about his will and his funeral; he left 240 cows to the successor of Patrick, or abbot of Armagh; to his own cathedral of Killaloe, and the other churches of Munster, their "proper dues," adding, Donnchadh knows that I have not wealth of gold or silver, therefore let him pay them as an adequate return "for my blessing"<sup>4</sup> (meaning

Brian  
refuses to  
fly.

His gifts to  
the clergy.

<sup>1</sup> *Its underwood.* From this place (p. 199) to the end of the work the MS. D is defective, and the conclusion of the narrative is supplied from O'Clery's copy B.

<sup>2</sup> *Aibhill of Craig Liath,* more correctly Aibinn. This was the banshee [*ben-sidhe*] or boding female spirit of the Dal-Cais, who appeared before the chieftain's death to warn him of his approaching fate. See above, p. cxi., note <sup>2</sup>. If Brian was not a believer in this superstition, the historian who has recorded the story certainly was.

<sup>3</sup> *First of my sons.* The annals of Loch Cé tell us that when Brian received the prediction he sent for Murchadh, his eldest son. Murchadh waited to put on his dress; meantime

Donnchadh, without waiting to dress, went at once to his father's cell, and thus the prophecy was fulfilled in him to Brian's great discontent, who received both his sons in wrath, and dismissed them his presence. The narrative in the text is evidently written or tampered with by a partizan of Donnchadh. This is at least evidence of its antiquity, for it was probably so interpolated when Donnchadh's claim was doubtful, and certainly before 1064, when Donnchadh died.

<sup>4</sup> *My blessing.* The original is *mo bhennachtan ocus mo chomarbus*—lit. "for my blessing and my succession," i.e., their blessing of me, and for Donnchadh's succession to me.

for their blessing upon me) "and for his own coming to the throne in succession to me." He even prescribed the route to be observed by the procession in his funeral; first to Sord or Swords, near Dublin; then to Daimhliag of Ciaran, now Duleek, in the county of Meath; then to Lughmagh or Louth, where he requested the "successor of Patrick,"<sup>1</sup> with the Society or Clergy of Armagh, to meet his remains.<sup>2</sup>

Directions  
about his  
funeral.

Latean, during this conversation, perceived a party of foreigners approaching. It proved to be Brodar, with two other warriors. Latean described them to his master as "blue stark-naked people." By this description the aged chieftain<sup>3</sup> recognized them at once as the foreigners who were in coats of mail. He immediately stood up from the cushion on which he had been praying, and unsheathed his sword. Brodar would have passed him without notice had not one of his companions, who had once been in Brian's service, cried out that this was the king. "No," said Brodar, perceiving that Brian had been at prayer, "that is a priest." "Not so," said the other; "this is the great King Brian." Brodar then turned round, having "a bright gleaming battle-axe in his hand." Brian made a blow with his sword which "cut off Brodar's left leg at the knee, and his right leg at the foot." The savage Viking, however, had time, before he fell, to cleave Brian's head with his axe,

Brodar  
murders  
Brian.

<sup>1</sup> *Patrick*. The *comharba* or "successor of Patrick" at this time was Maelmuire, son of Eochaidh, of the Race of Colla da Crioch, and of the tribe of Ua Sionaigh, from which were taken the bishop-abbots of Armagh for many generations in hereditary succession. He died on the Friday before Whitsunday, 3 June, 1020, and was succeeded by his son Amhalgaidh, 1020-1050, and then by another son Dubhdaleithe, 1050-1065. This Amhalgaidh was the first prelate of Armagh who exercised jurisdiction over Munster, acting

most probably on the authority of the entry made by Brian's chaplain in the Book of Armagh during his father's incumbency.

<sup>2</sup> *Remains*. See pp. 202, 203.

<sup>3</sup> *Aged chieftain*. According to the Four M., Brian was born in 925, and was, therefore, at this time 89 years of age. The Ulster annals fix the more probable date of 941 as the year of his birth, which would make him only 73 in 1014. See Dr. O'Donovan's note <sup>f</sup>, Four M., p. 772.

and Brian to cut down one of the companions<sup>1</sup> of his assassin.

Panegyric upon Brian.

Then follows (chap. cxv.) a panegyric upon Brian, in the style to which the reader of this work has, by this time, become accustomed. No such deed had been done in Ireland since the beheading of Cormac Mac Cuilennain.<sup>2</sup> Brian was one of the three born in Ireland who had most successfully promoted the prosperity<sup>3</sup> of the country, for he had delivered Ireland from the bondage and iniquity of the foreigners, and had defeated them in twenty-seven battles. He is compared to Augustus, to Alexander the Great, to Solomon, to David, and to Moses (p. 205).

Prophecies of the evils resulting from Brian's death.

Having cited some prophecies attributed to St. Berchan and to Bec Mac De, predicting evils that should follow on Brian's death, which (it need scarcely be said) are childish forgeries, our author proceeds to enumerate the principal chieftains slain on both sides, whose names<sup>4</sup> are given in detail.

Return of Murchadh with oxen.

After the battle the Munster clans, having collected

<sup>1</sup> *Companions.* All this looks very like romance, and is far less probable than the account of Brian's death given in the *Njal-Saga*. There Brodir or Brodar is represented as knowing who Brian was, and where he was. He broke through the guards, and "hewed at the King." He then cried out aloud:—"Now let man tell man that Brodir felled Brian." Brodir was surrounded and taken alive; but, what follows seems somewhat apocryphal, "Wolf the quarrelsome cut open his belly and led him round and round the trunk of a tree, and so wound all his entrails out of him, and he did not die before they were all drawn out of him. Brodir's men were all slain to a man." *Burnt Njal*, ii., 337.

<sup>2</sup> *Cormac mac Cuilennain.* He was King of Munster and Bishop of Cashel. Slain 903. See the history of his reign in Keating (*O'Mahony's Transl.*, p.

519), Moore's *Hist. of Ireland*, vol. ii., p. 45, *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Prosperity.* The other two were Lugh or Lugaidh Lamhfada, and Finn Mac Cumhaill. The former of these heroes (see p. clxxxii.) lived before the Christian era, and was the reputed founder of the Tailten (or Telltown) games. The other was the original leader of the Fenian militia, the Fingal of Macpherson's *Ossian*, whose followers are there called Fingalians.

<sup>4</sup> *Whose names.* See p. 207. On the side of the Danes there fell—1. Brodar, son of Osli [Flosi?] earl of Caer Ebroc or York, "with a thousand plundering Danars, both Saxons and Lochlauns." This is a curious example of the use of the term *Danars*, to signify robbers, ruffians, or desperados. The thousand Norsemen of the coats of mail are evidently intended. 2. Si-triuc [*read Sigurd*], earl of the Innsi

together their surviving chieftains and men, encamped on the Green of Dublin (p. 211), where they remained for

Orc or Orkney Islands. 3. Of the foreigners of Dublin were slain 2,000, amongst whom are mentioned Dubh-gall, son of Amlaff, son of Sitric, King of Dublin; Gillaciarain, son of Gluniarann, son of Olaf Cuaran (see p. 165); Dunchadh Ua h-Erulf (grandson of Heriolf, see note, p. clxxiv.); Amlaff the Lagman, son of Godfrey (see p. 165, and p. clxxiv., n. 3), King of the Insi Gall, or Hebrides; and Ernal Scot (see p. clxxxi., n. 3). 4. Of the other foreigners are mentioned Oitir the black, Grisin [? Griffin], Luimiun, and Siogradh, four leaders of the foreigners and chieftains of ships. 5. Carlus and Ciarlus, two sons of the King of Lochlann. 6. Goistilin Gall, and Amund, son of Dubhginn [or Dubhcenn], two Kings of Port Lairge or Waterford. 7. Simond, son of Turgeis. 8. Sefraid or Geoffrey, son of Suinin. 9. Bernard, son of Suainin. 10. Eoin Barun (John the Baron?), and Ricard, the two sons of the Inghen Ruaidh [red maiden, see p. 41]. 11. Oisill and Raghmall, the two sons of Ivar O'Ivar. These were evidently the Danes of Waterford; therefore our author adds, p. 207, that it was right they should fall with Brian, because it was by Brian and his brother Mahoun the fathers of all these had been slain.

Then follows a list of the Irish chieftains who fell on the Danish side. These were—1. Maelmordha, King of Leinster. 2. Brogarbhan, son of Conchobhair, King of Ui Failge or Offaly (see p. clxiii., n. 1). 3. Domhnall, son of Fergal, King of Fortuatha Laighen. (See p. clxxv., n.). 4. Dunlang (son of Tuathal), King of Lifé or Liffey. See p. 35, and note 2, p. lxxxix. With these fell 2,000 of the Leinster men, and 1,100 of the Ui Ceinnselaigh,

the total loss of the enemy being 66,000, which is no doubt exaggerated. Brian lost his son Murchadh and his grandson Torrdelbach, with Conaing, his nephew, son of his brother Donnucan. Next to these are enumerated Eochaidh, son of Dunadhach, chief of the O'Scanlainn; Cuduiligh, son of Cenneidigh or Kennedy; and Niall O'Quin, the three "rear guards" or body guards of Brian (see p. clxxvi., n. 1). Domhnall, son of Diarmaid, King of Corcabhaiscinn (Ibid. and *Four M.*, p. 775, n. 9); Mothla, son of Faclan or Phelan, King of the Deisi (Ibid. and *Four M.*, p. 773, n. 1), with Magnus, son of Annchadh, King of the Ui Liathain (see p. clxxvi., n. 9); Gebennach, son of Dubhagan, King of Fera-Muighe [Fermoy], (*Four M.*, p. 774, n. 9); Dubhdabhoirenn, son of Domhnall, (i.e., of the Domhnall mentioned, p. 213); and Loingsech, son of Dunlang (i.e., of Dunlang, k. of Leinster, No. 4, supra.); Scannlan, son of Cathal, King of the Eoghanaicht Locha Lein (or Killarney), *Four M.*, p. 775, n. 7; Baedan, son of Muirchertach, King of Ciarriaghe Luachra (the co. of Kerry). The *Four M.* and *Ann. Ult.* call this chieftain *Mac Beatha*, son of *Muireadhach Claen*, whom Dr. O'Donovan identifies with the ancestor of the O'Connor Kerry. *Four M.*, p. 774, n. 8. The *Ann. of Loch Cé* have copied verbatim the list of the *Ann. Ult.* Maelruanaidh Ua hEidhin (or O'Heyne), King of Aidne (see p. clxxvi., n. 4). *Four M.*, p. 775, n. 8. Tadhg Ua Cellaigh [O'Kelly], K. of Hy Many (p. clxxvi., n. 5, *Four M.*, p. 774, n. 10), and Domhnall, son of Eimhin (son of Caimneach, Mormaor or Steward of Mar in Scotland, *Four M.*) See p. clxxviii., n. 2, and *Four M.*, p. 775, n. 8.

the next two days<sup>1</sup> awaiting the return of Donnchadh, son of Brian, who, it will be remembered, had been sent to plunder Leinster (see p. 135). He returned "at the hour of vespers on Easter Sunday," with eight and twenty oxen, which were immediately slaughtered on the Green of Dublin. Hearing this, Sitric, King of Dublin, sent a message to Donnchadh, demanding a share in the oxen, and threatening, unless his demand was complied with, to attack the shattered troops of the Dal-Cais with his fresh soldiers from the garrison of Dublin. Donnchadh, however, sent back a haughty refusal, and Sitric, we are told, "declined the battle, for fear of Donnchadh and of the Dal-Cais" (p. 211).

Care of the  
dead and  
wounded.

The next day (Easter Monday) was spent in visiting the field of battle, for the purpose of burying the dead (p. 211) and succouring the wounded. The bodies of thirty chieftains were sent off to their territorial churches to be interred in their family burial grounds; and those who were still living, among the wounded, were carried on biers and litters to the camp.

Dissension  
among the  
leaders of  
Brian's  
army.

On this very night, however, dissension broke out among the surviving leaders of Brian's army. Observing the broken condition of the Dal-Cais, the chieftains of Desmond resolved to put forward their claim to the sovereignty of Munster, on the ground of the alternate right founded on the will of Oilioll Olum. Cian, son of the Maelmuaidh or Molloy, who had taken so active a part in the murder of Brian's brother Mahoun (see p. 85, sq.), resolved to contest the matter before the Dal-Cais had reached their home, or had had time to repair their losses. They had marched with the Dal-Cais, although in separate camps, as far as Rath Maisten;<sup>2</sup> there the two tribes separated, and Cian sent messengers, to Donn-

<sup>1</sup> *Two days.* Our author notes (p. 211) that Brian's funeral, with that of his son Murchadh, was celebrated in the manner he had directed, and that Donnchadh paid in full all bequests,

as his father had willed.

<sup>2</sup> *Rath Maisten.* Masten's fort. Now Mullagh-Mast, or Mullanmast, an earthen fort, about six miles east of Athy, co. of Kildare.

chadh, to demand hostages, in other words, to claim the sovereignty of Munster. The men of Desmond he said, having submitted to Brian, and to Brian's brother, Mathgamhain, it was now the turn of their chieftain to be received as sovereign. Donnchadh replied that they had submitted to his uncle and to his father from necessity, not in recognition of any alternate right to the throne. Brian had wrested Munster from the foreigners at a time when the chieftains of Desmond had tamely submitted to their tyranny. Donnchadh therefore refused to give hostages in recognition of Cian's claim, and announced his intention of holding the sovereignty by the same force of arms which had given it to his father.

When this answer was received, Cian and his followers at once advanced under arms to give battle to the Dal-Cais. Donnchadh ordered the sick and wounded to be put into the fort of Rath Maisten for protection; but the sick and wounded refused. They "stuffed their wounds with moss," took up their arms, and insisted upon being led into battle. This example of determination alarmed the troops of Desmond, and "they hesitated to give battle" (p. 215). But this was not all. Domhnall, son of Dubhdabhoirenn, was now chieftain of the Ui nEochach of Munster,<sup>1</sup> and joint leader with Cian, of the army of Desmond. A dispute arose between them. Domhnall's father, Dubhdabhoirenn (or Duvdavoren) had been King of Munster. He therefore claimed his share of the territory which Cian proposed to wrest from the son of Brian. This was sternly refused, and Domhnall separated his troops from those of Cian, refused<sup>2</sup> to fight against the

Cian  
prepares for  
battle.

His feud  
with  
Donnell  
Mac  
Duvdavo-  
ren.

<sup>1</sup> *Munster*. See above, p. lx., n. 2. The Ui Eochach or Ui nEochdach were the descendants of Eochadh, son of Cas. See the descent of Domhnall, s. of Dubhdabhoirenn; *Geneal. Table IV.*, p. 248. Donnchadh, s. of this Domhnall, was ancestor of the Ui Donnchadha, or O'Donoghue of Munster.

<sup>2</sup> *Refused*. Domhnall demanded that Munster should be equally divided between himself and Cian. This being declined, he refused to support Cian's claim. His words, as given by our author, were:—"I shall not go with thee against the Dal-Cais, because I am not better pleased to be under thee

Dal-Cais in Cian's quarrel, and from this time "they met not" (says our author) "in one camp till they reached their homes." Before the end of the year, as we learn from the Annals of Ulster,<sup>1</sup> the feud had reached its climax. The two chieftains fought a battle, with great slaughter, in which Cian, with his brothers Cathal and Ragallach, was slain. The following year<sup>2</sup> Domhnall, son of Dubhdabhoirenn, was himself slain in a battle at Limerick, by Donnchadh and Tadhg, the sons of Brian.

Opposition  
made by  
Ossory and  
the men of  
Leix.

The wounded Dalcassians were greatly exhausted after their recent excitement in the prospect of a bloody fight; but at Ath-I,<sup>3</sup> on the Bearbha (now the Barrow) they washed their wounds in the river, and were refreshed (p. 215). They had still, however, to cross the hostile territory of Ossory in order to reach their homes. There Donnchadh, son of Gillpatrick, King of Ossory, with his allies the Laighsi,<sup>4</sup> were up in arms, and encamped in battle array on the plain called Magh Chloinne Ceallaigh<sup>5</sup> to oppose the progress of the Dal-Cais. Besides the hereditary enmity of the two clans, Donnchadh had a private

than under the son of Brian, unless for the profit of land and territory for myself" (p. 215). Nevertheless, Mr. Moore represents him as "calmly expostulating with his brother chieftain, and succeeding in withdrawing both him and the whole of their force quietly from the camp;" ii., 118. The Dublin Ann. of Inisfallen, which Mr. Moore continually quotes as if they were an ancient authority, would have corrected this error. Donnell Mac Duvdavoren had no nobler motive than the aggrandizement of his clan and the increase of his own territory.

<sup>1</sup> *Ulster. Ann. Ult.*, 1014. The Four Mast. have misplaced the entry of this event at the beginning instead of at the end of the year, so that a reader might inadvertently suppose that Cian had been slain before the battle of Clontarf.

<sup>2</sup> *Following year.* Four M., 1014 (= 1015), p. 783. *Ann. Ult.*, 1015.

<sup>3</sup> *Ath-I.* Properly *Baile-atha-ai*, "Town of the ford of the district," now Athy, a considerable town on the river Barrow, S. of the co. of Kildare. *Ai* is a region, district, patrimony.

<sup>4</sup> *Laighsi.* The inhabitants of Leix, a district in the Queen's county. This tribe was descended from Laeigsech Ceann mór, son of Conall Cernach, a celebrated hero, who flourished in the first century. See *Book of Rights*, p. 214, n. *O'Flaherty, Ogyg.*, iii., cap. 51, p. 293.

<sup>5</sup> *Magh Chloinne Ceallaigh.* "Plain of the children of Ceallach," or Kelly: called also Magh Dructain, a district inhabited by a branch of the O'Kelly's, in the territory of Leix. See *Four M.*, A.D. 1394, note †. *Topogr. Poems*, p. lii. (426).

feud with the sons of Brian, because his father, Gillapatrik, who had sided with the murderers of their uncle, Mathgamhain, had been taken prisoner<sup>1</sup> by Brian, and kept in fetters for a year (p. 217). Knowing this, the son of Brian had his shattered forces drawn up "in martial array" at Athy, expecting opposition; and when the King of Ossory sent ambassadors to demand hostages, in other words, to lay claim to the sovereignty of Munster, the answer given was that whatever pretence the chieftains of Desmond may have had, seeing they were of the Eoghanachts, descendants of Oilíoll Olum, and directly concerned in the rule of alternate sovereignty, the son of Gillapatrik, of Ossory, had none; for he was of a different race,<sup>2</sup> and had no natural right to the throne of Munster.

The wounded men hearing this, again insisted on being led to the battle with the rest of the army; they caused themselves to be supported by stakes driven into the ground, against which they could lean their backs, and in this condition they prepared for action.<sup>3</sup> The men of

Heroic  
conduct of  
the Dalcas-  
sian  
wounded.

<sup>1</sup> *Prisoner.* See chap. lxvi., p. 107. Gillapatrik, father of this Donnchadh, was son of another Donnchadh, son of Ceallach, son of Cearbhall, or Carroll, the great ally of the Danes, and himself Danish King of Dublin. See *Tribes and Territories of Ossory*, by Dr. O'Donovan (reprinted from *Transact. Kilkenny Archaeol. Soc.* for 1850); *Dublin*, 1851, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *A different race.* He was of the race of Heremon of Leinster, whereas the Dal-Cais were of the race of Heber. See *O'Flaherty, Ogyg.*, p. 118; *O'Donovan, Tribes of Ossory*, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *For action.* This enthusiastic conduct of the wounded is made the subject of Moore's well-known words:—

"Forget not our wounded companions  
who stood

In the day of distress by our side,

While the moss of the valley grew  
red with their blood,

They stirred not, but conquer'd  
and died.

The sun, that now blesses our arms  
with his light,

Saw them fall upon Ossory's  
plain:—

Oh! let him not blush, when he  
leaves us to-night,

To find that they fell there in  
vain."

Here the poet assumes that the heroes whose valour he celebrates fell in battle in a national cause; but the original story, as recorded in the present work, is that their enthusiasm was called forth, not in the cause of their country, but in the cause of their clan. "Country" was at that time in Ireland an unknown sentiment; and

Ossory, however, intimidated by this wonderful energy of the Dal-Cais, declined the contest, and the wounded men, when the danger was past, relapsed into intense weakness. One hundred and fifty of them fainted away, and expired. They were buried on the spot, with the exception of the more noble among them, who were carried to their native places, to be interred with their ancestors in their family burial-grounds.

“And thus far<sup>1</sup> the war of the Gaill with the Gaedhil, and the battle of Clontarf.”

Completeness of the victory due to Malachy.

Upon the death of Brian, as we have seen, the troops under his command dispersed, each clan to its own proper territory, leaving Malachy to his own resources. His energy in the emergency refutes triumphantly the base calumny<sup>2</sup> that he was secretly in the interest or pay of the enemy. To him, in fact, if we may credit the Four Masters, was due the completeness of the victory. The remains of the enemy's army, and particularly of the men of Leinster, who had lost their sovereign, were met by him, on the evening of the battle, in their flight to Dublin. “He routed them,” say the annalists, “by dint of battling, bravery, and striking, from the Tulcain<sup>3</sup> to Dublin.” The next year, 1015, Malachy, with his allies of the Northern O'Neill, led an army to Dublin itself against the Danish garrison. They “burned the fortress, and all the houses outside the fortress.” They afterwards invaded the territory of Ui Cennselagh (county of Wexford), plundered the whole country, “carrying off many thousand captives

even the author of these romantic fictions about the heroic wounded of the Dal-Cais could conceive nothing more glorious than that they should display their heroism in the cause of their clan.

<sup>1</sup> *Thus far.* This is the well known form in which an Irish historical tale generally ends.

<sup>2</sup> *Calumny.* See Mr. Moore's *Hist.*

*of Ireland*, chap. 22, vol. ii., p. 137, *sq.*, where this calumny is conclusively refuted. See also p. clxxi., n<sup>o</sup> 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Tulcain.* Four M., 1013, p. 777. Now the Tolka. A small river running through the village of Finglas, near Dublin. These facts are suppressed by all the Munster historians, as well as by our author.

and cattle,"<sup>1</sup> and thus effectually weakened the power of the Dublin Danes and their allies of Leinster.

The immediate result<sup>2</sup> of the battle of Clontarf and the death of Brian was to replace Malachy upon his former throne. His right was tacitly recognised; he seems to have resumed the government as a matter of course,<sup>3</sup> as if his administration had never been interrupted; and it is remarkable that the annalist, Tighernach, who wrote within the same century, in recording his death and the length of his reign, ignores altogether the twelve years of Brian's usurpation, including them in the total which he assigns to the reign of Malachy. Nothing, as Mr. Moore has remarked, can more clearly show "the feeling entertained on the subject in times bordering on those of Brian."<sup>4</sup>

But although the name of king was thus tamely yielded to its rightful owner, the consequences of Brian's revolution were severely felt. The old constitutional rule under which the Ard-riagh, or chief King of Ireland, had been elected exclusively from the descendants of Niall of the nine hostages, was no longer acquiesced in, although it

<sup>1</sup> *Cattle*. Four M., 1014, p. 783; and Ann. of Clonmacnoise, quoted by Dr. O'Donovan, *ibid*.

<sup>2</sup> *Result*. It would be out of place here to attempt any lengthened account of the consequences, immediate or remote, of the battle of Clontarf. A good summary of them, and of the whole of this melancholy period of Irish history, will be found in a work already referred to. M'Gee's *Popular History of Ireland—(New York)*, 1864. (Vol. ii., p. 101, *sq.*)

<sup>3</sup> *Of course*. Warner talks of his having been "restored with the general consent of the *states of the Kingdom*," whatever that may mean; and his follower, Mr. M'Dermot, gives us an account of a formal "*assembly of the states of the Kingdom*, assembled to

elect a successor," in which "they all concurred in restoring" Malachy. Warner, *Hist. of Irel.*, ii., p. 223. M'Dermot, *New and Impartial Hist. of Irel.*, ii., 274. For such a statement there is not the smallest authority.

<sup>4</sup> *Brian*. Moore, ii., p. 138. The Annals of Ulster and the Four M. have followed the older chronicle; the latter annalists expressly quote "the Book of Clonmacnoise," by which they mean what we now call the Annals of Tighernach. See O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 436. Mr. Moore says that Tighernach "wrote in the following century." By this error he impairs his own argument, for Tighernach died in 1088, before the end of the same century.

had a prescriptive right of five hundred years. The Kings of Connaught and Leinster now asserted their claims to the succession, maintaining that they had as good a title as Brian had to become chief-king in their turns; and thus, from the death of Malachy to the days of Strongbow, the history of Ireland is little more than a history of the struggles for ascendancy between the great clans or families of O'Neill,<sup>1</sup> O'Connor, O'Brien, and the chieftains of Leinster.

The position of the Norsemen of Ireland, not seriously affected.

The Norsemen of Ireland were not seriously affected in their position by the victory of Clontarf. They retained their hold of the great seaports, and the Irish annals, for some years, continue to record the usual amount of conflict between them and the native tribes. We read, however, of but few new invasions, and the design of forming in Ireland a Scandinavian kingdom, which seems to have influenced such men as Sigurd, of Orkney, and the viking Brodar, was certainly abandoned. The national distinction between the Irish and the Danes,

<sup>1</sup> *O'Neill*. In this clan are included the descendants of Malachy II., who was of the Southern Hy Neill. The celebrated Dearbhforgaill, or Dervorgall, "the Helen of Ireland," was the daughter of Murchadh (ob. 1153), son of Domhnall (ob. 1094), son of Flann (sl. 1013), son of Malachy. She was the wife of Tighernan O'Rourke, of Brefné. She eloped with, or was carried off by Diarmaid, called Mac Murchadha, in 1152, and was the cause of his calling to his aid the Norman Knights of Henry II. In 1153 she returned to her husband; was a great benefactor to the Church, and died in the abbey of Mellifont, 1193, aged 85. Diarmaid (see pp. ix., xi.), was descended from Enna Cennsalech (K. of Leinster in the fourth century), and was the ancestor of the Mac Murchadha or Mac Murrnghs of Leinster, whilst

his sons, Domhnall, surnamed Caemhanach [Kavanagh], and Enna, surnamed from his great ancestor Cennsalach [Kinnsela], were the ancestors respectively of the families of Kavanagh and Kinnsela. The O'Byrnes were descended from Bran, son of Maelmordha, the King of Leinster, who fell in the battle of Clontarf. These are the principal families of Leinster alluded to above. The Mac Lochlainn, or O'Lochlainn, were of the Northern O'Neill, descended from Domhnall, brother of Niall Glundubh. Two of this family, Domhnall Mac Lochlainn (ob. 1121), and Muirchertach, or Morrogh (1156-1166), claimed to be Kings of Ireland in the confused times of the 12th century, which preceded the coming of the Anglo-Normans. O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, pp. 439, 440.

however, continued until after the Anglo-Norman invasion; the Danes then in several places sided with the native chieftains; but in many instances they appear to have recognised in the new comers a kindred origin. In the seaport towns especially a common interest produced alliances by which the peculiarities of the two races were gradually softened down, and both were at length confounded by the Irish under the same generic name of GAILL, or foreigners.

The battle of Clontarf seems to have shaken the foundation of paganism among the Scandinavians of Ireland. About the same time, indeed, Christianity, so called, or, at least, a profession of Christianity, was making considerable progress in the north; and paganism in Ireland was no longer strengthened by any new arrivals. It may have been, as a learned writer<sup>1</sup> holds, that on the field of Clontarf the spells of heathendom were deemed to have been vanquished for ever by the superior power of the faith, so that it was considered hopeless to continue the contest; and it is certain that the next generation saw Christianity the recognised religion of the country; and Bishoprics were founded in the Danish cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, at the instance of the Danish inhabitants themselves.<sup>2</sup> Most true, nevertheless, it is "that the pure doctrines of Christianity were then the possession of a few, while the creed of the common herd was little more than a garbled blending of the most jarring tenets and wildest superstitions of both faiths."<sup>3</sup>

Paganism  
shaken  
among the  
Irish  
foreigners.

<sup>1</sup> *Writer.* Dasent, *Burnt Njal*,  
Introduct., p. clxxxix., sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Themselves.* See Ware's *Bishops*,  
in loc. Ussher, *Religion of the Ant.*  
*Irish*; (*Works* by Elrington, iv., p.  
326). *Sylloge Epist. Hib.* (*ib.*, p.  
564).

<sup>3</sup> *Faiths.* See *Burnt Njal*, p. cxcviii.  
One or two instances will suffice to  
show how King Olaf the Saint pro-

pagated Christianity. In the Uplands  
he "inquired particularly how it stood  
with their Christianity; if there were  
any there who would not renounce hea-  
then ways;" he "drove some out of  
the country, mutilated others of hands  
or feet, or stung their eyes out; hung  
up some, cut down some with the  
sword; but let none go unpunished  
who would not serve God." See

## CONCLUSION.

The Editor's  
object in  
this Intro-  
duction.

The Editor must now apologise for the great length to which these remarks have extended. His object was, as far as possible, to identify every *place* mentioned in the present work by pointing out its modern name and geographical position, that the reader might be enabled to trace on the map of Ireland the ancient stations and fortresses of the Norsemen, and the sites of their principal battles.

He has also endeavoured to give, as accurately as he could, the genealogies of the Irish chieftains as well as of the Danish or other Scandinavian leaders who are mentioned in the work. The corruption of the names of the latter, as they are represented by Irish transcribers, was a serious obstacle to accuracy in this attempt, and to it was added the further difficulty caused by the Editor's imperfect acquaintance with the language of the Sagas. It is hoped that his mistakes will be viewed with indulgence, when it is remembered that this is the first attempt ever made to harmonize the genealogies of the north with Irish historical records.

It appears to the Editor to be an object well worth the time and labour he has expended upon it, if he has succeeded in proving that the minute history of the two countries can be made to dovetail satisfactorily into each other. This will be an unanswerable evidence of the

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Laing, *Sea Kings of Norway*, ii., p. 79. Again, at Heligoland, "he threatened every man with loss of life, and limbs, and property, who would not subject himself to Christian law." *Ibid.*, p. 147. In the Drontheim country he surprised the people at a heathen sacrifice; Olver, in whose farm called Egge the feast was held, he commanded to be put to death, with "many other men besides." "The King also let all the bonders

he thought had the greatest part in the business be plundered by his men at arms;" and of the men he judged most guilty, some he ordered to be executed, some he maimed, some he drove out of the country, and took fines from others." *Ibid.*, p. 152. After this fashion Christianity was established in Norway by King Olave the Saint, and such were the missionary services to the Church that won him that title.

authenticity of both ; for it would be clearly impossible that the author of a mere fiction, or of a dishonest forgery, should be able to make the genealogy of his heroes, as well as the geography of his narrative, tally with the facts of the history at the precise period to which his story belongs. In the present instance it will be found that, except in the case of some mere errors of transcription, or of some palpable interpolations, this work will fully stand the test.

Nevertheless, the Editor cannot but regret that this tract, so full of the feelings of clanship, and of the consequent partisanship of the time, disfigured also by considerable interpolations, and by a bombastic style in the worst taste, should have been selected as the first specimen of an Irish Chronicle presented to the public under the sanction of the Master of the Rolls. His own wish and recommendation to His Honor was, that the purely historical chronicles, such as the Annals of Tighernach, the Annals of Ulster, or the Annals of Loch Cé, should have been first undertaken. The two former compilations, it is true, had been already printed,<sup>1</sup> by Dr. O'Conor, although with bad translations and wretchedly erroneous topography; and a rule which at that time existed prohibited the Master of the Rolls from publishing any work which had, even in part, been printed before. This rule has since been judiciously rescinded;<sup>2</sup> and it is hoped that His Lordship will soon be induced to sanction a series of the Chronicles of Ireland, especially the two just alluded to, which, it is not too much to say, are to the history of Ireland and of Scotland what the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is to that of England. The Annals of Loch Cé<sup>3</sup> belong to

Defects of the present work.

Importance of publishing the Irish Annals of Tighernach and Ulster.

<sup>1</sup> *Printed.* The Ann. of Ulster are given only to the year 1131. The Dublin MS. extends to 1503. The *Chronicon Scotorum* is not here mentioned, because it is already on the list of the Master of the Rolls, edited by Mr. W. M. Hennessy.

<sup>2</sup> *Rescinded.* New editions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the *Annales Cambriæ*, and the *Brut y Tywysogion*, have already appeared in the series.

<sup>3</sup> *Loch Cé.* Or "Annals of Inis Mac nErinn in Loch Cé," (*pron.* Lough Kè.) These Annals (of which only a single MS. exists) were formerly called *Tigernachi continuatio*, and for a short time the *Annals of Kilronan*. But Mr. O'Curry (*Lectures*, p. 93, *sq.*) has satisfactorily shown that they are the Annals of Loch Cé, mentioned by Abp. Nicholson in Appendix, No. IV., to his Irish Historical Library.

a later period. They begin with the battle of Clontarf, 1014, and continue the history, with some few gaps, to 1590.

Until these and other original sources of history are made accessible, it is vain to expect any sober or trustworthy history of Ireland; the old romantic notions of a golden age, so attractive to some minds, must continue to prevail; and there will still be firm believers in "the glories of Brian the brave," the lady who walked through Ireland unmolested in her gold and jewels, and the chivalrous feats of Finn Mac Cumhail and his Fenians.

Authors of the popular histories of Ireland avowedly ignorant of the Irish language.

The authors of our existing popular histories were avowedly ignorant, with scarcely an exception, of the ancient language of Ireland, the language in which the real sources of Irish history are written. It was as if the authors of our histories of Rome had been all ignorant of Latin, and the writers of our histories of Greece unable to read Greek. Even this, however, would not fully represent the real state of the case as regards Ireland. Livy and Tacitus, Herodotus, and Thucydides, are printed books, and good translations of them exist. But the authorities of Irish history are still, for the most part, in manuscript, unpublished, untranslated, and scattered in the public libraries of Dublin, Oxford, and London, as well as on the Continent of Europe. Hence our popular histories leave us completely in the dark, and often contain erroneous information. Wherever the Irish names of persons or places are concerned, they are at fault; they are entirely silent on the genealogies, relationships, and laws of the clans and their chieftains, a subject so essential to the right understanding of Irish history; and we are not correctly informed either who the actors are, or where the scenes of the narrative are laid. All interest in the story is therefore lost.

Anti-quarian theories of the last century, respecting Ireland.

Along with this total neglect of the original Irish records, the antiquarian scholars of the last century had perplexed themselves with untenable theories as to the ancient history of the country. The old Celtic language was a dialect of the Punic or Carthaginian. The aboriginal inhabitants of Ireland were a colony from Tyre or from

Carthage. Their religion was the worship of Baal or Astarte. The Round Towers were temples for the adoration of fire. The cromlechs, stone circles, and other megalithic monuments, were altars or theatres for the public immolation of human victims. To these theories, for which not the slightest evidence exists, but which have not yet lost their hold on the public mind, the whole history of Ireland was made to bend. Antiquity was ransacked for arguments to support them; and arguments were piled together from the remains of pagan Greece and Rome, from Persia, from Scandinavia, from India—from every quarter of the globe except Ireland.

But a decided change for the better has now begun; and our more recent histories, even though they continue to exhibit a strong party bias, contrast most favourably with the similar publications of the last century. The beginning of this change is mainly due to the noble design of publishing historical Memoirs of the counties and towns of Ireland, planned, and in a measure carried out, by the enlightened officers<sup>1</sup> then at the head of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland. The new feature in this work was, that it was resolved from the beginning to make use of all the accessible records extant in the Irish language. The original orthography of the names of towns and townlands, with their true etymologies, was carefully studied, and the anglicized spelling corrected, according to the laws which appeared to regulate the passage of the old Irish names,<sup>2</sup> into their present modern representatives. A body of Irish scholars was engaged for this work, and for the collection of materials for the "Memoirs;" and at their head was placed the late ever to

Improve-  
ment in our  
more recent  
popular  
histories.

<sup>1</sup> *Officers.* Although we speak here in the plural number, it is well known that the real designer and organizer of the Memoirs was one, whose appointment to his present office has been of such great and permanent benefit to Ireland. It is lamentable to think that such a work, after the publica-

tion of a single volume of the highest merit, should have been abandoned.

<sup>2</sup> *Names.* See a paper "On the changes and corruptions of Irish topographical names," by Patrick W. Joyce, esq., in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (read May 22, 1865).

be lamented GEORGE PETRIE. A more judicious selection could not have been made. He was a man singularly devoid of all party prejudice; an accomplished antiquary, of rare judgment and of ripe scholarship; characterized in a remarkable manner by the love of historical truth. Among the staff under his direction were John O'Donovan<sup>1</sup> and Eugene O'Curry, men of very different genius and character, but who both became, under the advantages thus afforded them, scholars of the highest eminence.

The assistance given to the Editor of this work by his friends.

To Petrie, and to the two distinguished men just named—all three now alas lost to us—the Editor is deeply indebted for invaluable assistance in translating and editing the present work. By Mr. O'Curry the original MSS. were transcribed for collation, and a rough translation of the text prepared. From these transcripts the Editor carefully collected the various readings, which will be found in

<sup>1</sup> *O'Donovan*. One good result of the preparations made for the Ordnance Survey Memoirs was the publication of the Annals of the Four Masters, a magnificent work, which we owe to the spirit and patriotism of our great Dublin publisher, Mr. George Smith. In the copious notes with which Dr. O'Donovan has enriched his translation of these Annals, a large portion of the matter collected by him when engaged on the Survey has been preserved. He has also published a great mass of valuable information, of the same kind, in the works so ably edited by him for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Societies. To these publications the improved tone of our modern Irish historians, above noticed, is mainly due. The new translation of Keating's History of Ireland, lately published at New York (Haverty, 1857) by Mr. John O'Mahony, is largely indebted to O'Donovan's notes upon the Four Masters. Notwithstanding the extravagant and very

mischievous political opinions avowed by Mr. O'Mahony, his translation of Keating is a great improvement upon the ignorant and dishonest one published by Mr. Dermot O'Connor more than a century ago (*Westminster*, 1726, *Fol.*), which has so unjustly lowered, in public estimation, the character of Keating as an historian; but O'Mahony's translation has been taken from a very imperfect text, and has evidently been executed, as he himself confesses, in great haste; it has, therefore, by no means superseded a new and scholarlike translation of Keating, which is greatly wanted. Keating's authorities are still almost all accessible to us, and should be collated for the correction of his text; and two excellent MS. copies of the original Irish, by John Torna O'Mulconry, a contemporary of Keating, are now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. The work, however, is not suited for Lord Romilly's series of chronicles.

the notes under the text ; and corrected the translation to the best of his judgment, having in every instance the opinion and advice of Dr. O'Donovan and Mr. O'Curry upon all difficulties. The whole text of the work, to p. 217, with the translation, was in this way gone over and printed before those great masters of the ancient language and history of Ireland were called to their everlasting rest.

From Dr. O'Donovan especially the Editor received a large amount of information, communicated in the shape of notes upon the narrative. From these notes invaluable aid was derived in the identification of the topographical names, and in the Irish genealogical researches.

To Dr. Reeves the Editor owes his most grateful thanks, for his kindness in reading, with his characteristic accuracy and care, the proof-sheets of the Introduction, and Genealogical tables in the Appendix ; and particularly for the free communication of that extensive topographical and other information, of which he is an inexhaustible fountain.

He is deeply indebted also to his excellent friend, Charles Haliday, esq., who kindly placed in his hands the materials of a work on the connexion between the Norsemen of Ireland and Northumberland, containing much valuable genealogical and historical information. By these papers the Editor's researches were directed to the best sources of Scandinavian history, and he was enabled to test the accuracy of the results at which he had himself independently and previously arrived.

His thanks are due to Mr. W. M. Hennessy, for very able assistance in reading the sheets, and for several corrections and suggestions, which he hopes he has duly acknowledged in every instance.<sup>1</sup> To Mr. Hennessy also the reader is indebted for that most necessary appendage to every book of this kind—THE INDEX.

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<sup>1</sup> *Every instance.*—The correction of the text (p. 37) where  $\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\tau$ , "measure," was mistaken for a proper name (see p. xcii, n. <sup>3</sup>), is due to Mr. Hennessy.

Facsimiles  
of the  
Manu-  
scripts.

Lithographed facsimiles of the two principal manuscripts used in forming the Irish text of the work will be seen prefixed to the title page. These MSS. have already been described;<sup>1</sup> but it should be stated that the facsimiles of them have been executed under considerable disadvantages. The rules of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, did not permit the removal of the originals to London. Accordingly photographs were taken of the selected specimens by Mr. Mercer, of Dublin, and sent to London to be lithographed by Messrs. Day and Co. In the case of the older MS. designated by the letter L, the difficulty was very great, owing to the darkness of the parchment, and the almost entire obliteration of the writing on the page selected. It was desirable, however, to give that page on account of its containing the commencement of the work, deficient in the other MS.; and for the sake of the ornamented initial letter, which is characteristic of this class of Irish manuscripts. To meet the difficulties it became necessary to render the letters more distinct, by carefully retracing them, before sending the photograph to the lithographer, and also to omit altogether the second column<sup>2</sup> of the page, which was found too dark and obliterated to be restored by this process. It is, however, to be feared that notwithstanding the great care and accuracy with which the letters were retraced, a blurred appearance has been given to the writing, which does not do full justice to the sharp definition and elegance of the original character. The other MS. (marked D), is much more accurately represented.

The Editor in conclusion has to return his thanks to Lord Romilly for so kindly allowing him, without any pressure, his full time to complete the work. He is

<sup>1</sup> *Described.* See pp. ix., xiii.

<sup>2</sup> *Column.* It has been stated (p. ix.), that this MS. is written in double columns. The passage given, Plate I, occupies about a third of the first column. It will be found in ordinary

type, with a translation, in Appendix A, p. 221. The passage selected from the MS. D, Plate II., will be found at the beginning of p. 62, line 2, *sq.* It represents a full page of the original.

ashamed to put on record the date at which it was first announced for publication. In his own defence he has to plead the occupation of his time by professional avocations, as well as the peculiar difficulties of the work itself, which nothing but time could overcome. The translation required the greatest consideration, owing to the immense number of Irish words, to whose true signification our dictionaries give no clue. The labour of forming a correct text by a careful collation of the existing manuscripts of the work was necessarily irksome and tedious. The topographical and historical matter collected in the Introduction and Appendices, required much time and patient research, as every one who has ever been engaged in such studies, will readily admit. Each statement had to be well weighed, the authorities checked, and many paragraphs written and rewritten before the matter was given to the printer.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,  
*October, 1866.*



COΣAON ΓAEΘHEI RE ΓAIIAIBH.

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THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL WITH  
THE GAILL,

OR

THE INVASIONS OF IRELAND BY THE DANES  
AND NORSEMEN.

cosaroh zæothel re zallabh.

The period of the Danish invasions, 170, or, as some say, 200 years.



CCl docraitte iongnad̄ ad̄bal mór ar Eriinn uile zo roirleáan, ó zennuiv̄ zomzlará zymara, ocyr ó ðanarav̄ doilze dyp-ðroideacha, p̄r̄í ré éian, ocyr re haunyr̄ fáta, .i. p̄r̄í reñneȳ deic̄ mbliad̄an ocyr oét̄ p̄ic̄it, no da éed̄ iar̄ p̄roirunn̄ .i. ó reñneȳ Airt̄m̄ moe Caéal̄ moe Finzane, co reñneȳ Úr̄ian̄ moe Cinnéit̄iḡ; ocyr o reñneȳ Aod̄a moe Héill̄ p̄r̄ar̄raḡ moe P̄erzale, co Maolp̄eclann̄ mac Doñ-  
nall̄.

The kings of Munster during that time.

II. Oét̄ p̄iḡ déc̄ in cCaun̄ul̄ p̄r̄uȳr̄u ré ȳu. It̄ iar̄ an̄no an̄ annaana, .i. Airt̄m̄ mac Caéal̄ moe Finzane; ocyr P̄erolinn̄ mac Cymóclann̄; Olc̄óbar̄ mac Cnaeḡ; Ailgenán̄ mac D̄unzale; Maolzuala mac D̄unzalaḡ; Cennp̄aelad̄ mac M̄ur̄chaḡ; Donnchaḡ mac D̄uib̄daib̄oirenn̄; D̄uib̄lachta mac M̄aelzuala; P̄ingune mac Laḡaire Cennzégan; Corb̄mac mac Cuilennan̄; P̄laḡḡber̄taḡ mac Ion̄n̄ianen; Lor̄can mac Conn̄l̄ián̄; Ceallačan̄ mac D̄iádaḡan; M̄aelp̄aḡar̄taḡ

<sup>1</sup> *Gaethil*. That is, "the War of the Irish," who in their own language call themselves *Gaethil* or Gael (in Welsh *Gwyddil*), "with the Gail," strangers or foreigners, a generic name given to all invaders of Ireland. See O'Donovan's Transl. of *Book of Rights*, p. 51, n. 9. The original terms are here retained without translation, because of the alliteration which was evidently intended.

<sup>2</sup> *Awfully great*. L. omits the expletive adjectives and reads, D̄ui do-ðr̄ar̄ti moe roe p̄er̄av̄ h̄er̄enn̄, "there was a great oppression on the men of Ireland." See Appendix A.

<sup>3</sup> *Gentiles*. L. reads, lochlann̄c̄ab̄, omitting the adjectives zomzlará, zymara.

<sup>4</sup> *Fierce*. L. reads, d̄ulzav̄ dyp-ðroideav̄, the ancient and more grammatically correct forms. The

## THE WAR OF THE GAEDHIL<sup>1</sup> WITH THE GAILL.

**T**HERE was an astonishing and awfully great<sup>2</sup> oppression over all Erin, throughout its breadth, by powerful azure Gentiles,<sup>3</sup> and by fierce,<sup>4</sup> hard-hearted Danars, during a lengthened period, and for a long time, namely, for the space of eight score and ten years, or two hundred, according to some authorities, that is to say, from the time of Airtri, son of Cathal, son of Finguine, to the time of Brian, son of Cenneidigh,<sup>5</sup> and from the reign of Aedh, son of Niall Frassach,<sup>6</sup> son of Ferghal, to Maelsechlainn,<sup>7</sup> son of Domhnall.

The period of the Danish invasions, 170, or, as some say, 200 years.

II. There were eighteen<sup>8</sup> kings in Caisel during that time. These are their names—viz., Airtri, son of Cathal, son of Finguine; and Feidhlimidh, son of Criomhthann; Olchobhar, son of Cinaeth; Ailgenan, son of Dungal; Maelguala, son of Dungal; Cennfaeladh, son of Murchadh; Donnchadh, son of Dubhdabhoirenn; Dubhlachtna, son of Maelguala; Finguine, son of Laeghaire, *surnamed* Cenngegain; Cormac, son of Cuilennan; Flaithbhertach, son of Ionnhainen; Lorcan, son of Connligan; Cellachan, son of Buadhachan; Maelfathartaigh, son of Bran; Dubh-

The kings of Munster during that time.

reader will observe the alliteration in the adjectives ó gennetib̄ g. g. ó oannarab̄ o. o.

<sup>5</sup> *Cenneidigh*. L. adds, 1 Cappul, "in Cashel."

<sup>6</sup> *Niall Frassach*. L. adds, 1 Teampal, "in Teamlar or Tara." L. also omits the genealogical particulars, giving only the names of the kings, without the names of their grandfathers.

<sup>7</sup> *To Maelsechlainn*. L. omits the words "to Maelsechlainn, son of Domhnall."

<sup>8</sup> *Eighteen*. L. reads, ye riu de g, "sixteen kings," and omits the list of names, which is therefore probably an interpolation. The text gives nineteen names—one name has, therefore, probably been interpolated. See Appendix B.

mac Úrann; Dubdaibíreann mac Doínnall; Peryarath mac Cleirg; Donnchað mac Cellach; Macéanán mac Cennettri; ocuy Úrann mac Cennettri.

The kings of Ireland during the same period.

III. Da ruz dec moipio, for Teimraiz, ppiy an re yin, .i. Coð Oirathie mac Heill Pparraiz, Conðobhar mac Donnchaða, Hiall mac Ceða, Maelrechlanm mac Maelruamað, Coð Fimbiaz, Flann mac Maelrechlanm, Hiall Glunouib, Donnchað mac Flomn, Congalach mac Maelmuiz, Doínnall ó Heill, Maelrechlanm mac Doínnall, ocuy Úrann mac Cennettri. Pp penney na ruz yin, ocuy na ruzpé tra, moip do ðuað ocuy do ðoðar, do éar ocuy do éarcarraie, timneð ocuy deccomnarz po íotamnyot rruite raera roibeiaða nanðaeðel, ó Danmarcaðaib allmarðaib, ocuy ó tiberzaib barðarðaib.

The first invasion of the foreigners.

IV. 18 re penney tra Airtri mu Caðal, ocuy Coða mu Heill, po timrcanpet Hoill moipato Erenn ar tny, dáiz ip nanamnyr yin tawzadar Hoill i gcamar ó Foðaro Tíre .i. ríe ar céo long; ocuy po hnopeð leó an tir, ocuy po harpéð ocuy po loipéð leó moip Labrauo, ocuy Darunoy; ocuy tazpato Eðzamaæt Loða Léin cað doib, ocuy po marðað re ppy deð ar .cccc. do galaghib ano, .i. an bliaðan ar marðað Doínan Airato yin, .i. .x. mbliaða armécc Airtri mu Caðal.

A.D. 812.

Another invasion, A.D. 821-823.

V. Táimz longey ele rar yin .i. an tarra bliaðan rapzabhal ruzé do Peiðlim mac Cumtáann, co po moipatoípet Corcaiz, ocuy moip Teimn, ocuy po hno-

<sup>1</sup> *Cellach*. Read *Cellachan*. See Appendix B.

<sup>2</sup> *Temhair*: i.e., in Tara. As the kings of Munster are designated as kings *in Caise*, or Cashel, their royal seat or fortress—so the kings of Ireland are called kings *in Tara*, although the royal palace there had ceased to be the actual residence of the supreme king, for some time before

the Danish invasions. Here again L. omits the list of names.

<sup>3</sup> *During the time*. L. omits the expletives in this paragraph. See Appendix A.

<sup>4</sup> *Airtri*. In this passage B. puts the king of Munster first, and the king of Ireland second. The order is inverted in L. This latter MS. was not written in Munster.

dabhóirenn, son of Domhnall; Fergraidh, son of Clerech; Donnchadh, son of Cellach<sup>1</sup>; Mathghamhain, son of Cenneidigh; and Brian, son of Cenneidigh.

III. But in Temhair<sup>2</sup> there were twelve kings during the same period—namely, Aedh Oirdnidhe, son of Niall Fras-sach; Conchobhar, son of Donnchadh; Niall, son of Aedh; Maelsechlainn, son of Maelruanaidh; Aedh Finnliath; Flann, son of Maelsechlainn; Niall Glundubh; Donnchadh, son of Flann; Conghalach, son of Maelmithigh; Domhnall, grandson of Niall; Maelsechlainn, son of Domhnall; and Brian, son of Cenneidigh. During the time<sup>3</sup> of those kings and chieftains, much hardship and oppression, contempt and indignity, fatigue and weakness, were submitted to by the learned and accomplished nobles of the Gaedhil, from pirate Danmarcachs, and barbarous robbers.

The kings of Ireland during the same period.

IV. It was in the time of Airtri,<sup>4</sup> son of Cathal, and of Aedh, son of Niall, that the foreigners first began the devastation of Erin; for it was in their time the foreigners came into Camas ó Fothaidh Tire<sup>5</sup>—viz., an hundred and twenty<sup>6</sup> ships, and the country was plundered and devastated by them, and Inis Labrainn and Dairinis were burned by them. And the Eoganachts of Loch Lein gave them battle, when four hundred and sixteen men of the foreigners were killed. This was the year after<sup>7</sup> that in which Diman of Aradh was killed, A.D. 812. and ten years after the death of Airtri, son of Cathal.

The first invasion of the foreigners.

V. There came another fleet after that—viz., in the second year after the accession to the throne of Feidhlim, son of Crimthann, and they plundered Corcach, and Inis

Another invasion, A.D. 821-823.

<sup>5</sup> *Camas ó Fothaidh Tire.* Cammas Ἡνι Ἰσθμῶς Τηρε L. Casmuuy o Ὑποῖστος (Fair Island of Ui Fothaidh), Keating. Introd., p. xxxvi., n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *An hundred and twenty.* L. has the same number, but Keating reads, λυετ τρη ριετ λονς α λιον, "the crews of three score ships was their number."

<sup>7</sup> *After.* L. omits the notice of Diman's death, and reads, .i. in oechmuro blioscan penec (Cprru: "i.e., the tenth year before the death of Artri." See App. A. and B. Another instance of the same difference will be found, chap. xxiii. (p. 22, note 3), where the Four M. understood after, although here they understood before.



Temhni<sup>1</sup>; and Bennchair,<sup>2</sup> and Cluain Uamba, and Ros-Maelain,<sup>3</sup> were plundered by them. Scelleg Michil was also plundered by them; and they took Edgall<sup>4</sup> with them into captivity, and it was by miracles he escaped, and he died of hunger and thirst with them.

VI. There came, after that, another fleet into the north of Erin, four years after the death of Aedh, son of Niall, at Ath-dá-Fert; and they plundered Bennchur of Uladh, and brake the shrine of Comhghall, and killed its bishop,<sup>5</sup> and its doctors, and its clergy: they devastated, also, the plain.<sup>6</sup>

VII. Another fleet came to Ui Cennselaigh, and they plundered Teach Munnu, and Teach Moling, and Inis Teoc. They afterwards went into Osraighe, and the country was devastated<sup>7</sup> by them. The Osraighe gave them battle; and there were killed of them there one hundred and seventy.<sup>8</sup> By them were demolished Dun Dermuighe,<sup>9</sup> and Inis Eoganain, and Disert Tipraiti; and they devastated Leas Mor, and burned Cill Molaisi, and Chuain-ard Mubeoc<sup>10</sup>; Lann Leri,<sup>11</sup> also, and Cenn Slebhi were plundered by another party of them. There were plundered<sup>12</sup> also by them Sord Colum-cilli, and Damliag Chianain, Slaini,<sup>13</sup> and Orlla-saile,<sup>14</sup> and Glenn-dá-Locha,

Bangor in Ulster plundered, A.D. 824, 5.

Invasion of Hy Cennselaigh, and plundering of the principal churches of Munster.

<sup>9</sup> *Dun Dermuighe.* *Ḍun Ḍerḡ-múine*, B. "Dun Dergmuine."

<sup>10</sup> *Mubeoc.* *Ḍobeccoc* L. *Ḍobeóς*, B. *Ḍobeóðος*, Keating. The reading of L. is more correct, being the devotional form of the name of St. Bec (diminutive *Becoc*, or *Becan*), with the pronoun *mo*, *my*, *Mubeococ*, "My Becog." Cf. *Lanigan*, *Ecccl. Hist.*, iii., p. 20. L. puts the plundering of Dun Dermuighe, &c., after that of Lismore, Cill Molaisi, and Cluain-Ard-Mobeoc.

<sup>11</sup> *Lann Leri.* These words, to the next full stop, are omitted in B. In L. the clause is given thus: *Ḥá ḡab pempo Ḥá ḡuaro iapetan co Ḥnám Ḥḡneé co Ḥo mllpet lano leri*

*ocur Cellḡleibí*: "They afterwards went northwards to Snamh Aigneuch" [Carlingford bay], "so that they spoiled Lann Leri, and Cell Shleibhi" [Killeavy]. *Cellḡleibí* is a more correct reading than the *Cenro Slebí* of the text.

<sup>12</sup> *There were plundered.* L. reads *Ḥḡ tuaro apuri toib co Ḥo apḡpet*: "They returned again" [i.e., from the north of Ireland] "and plundered." "Damhliag Chianan," was at first written in the MS. *ḡuncianan*, *Dun Chianan*, but corrected by a later hand.

<sup>13</sup> *Slaini.* Omitted in B.

<sup>14</sup> *Orlla-saile.* L., B., and Keating read, *Cell uapale.*

ocuy Cluan Uama, ocuy Munzarpt, ocuy urmor cell  
Epeno.

A fleet  
enters  
Limerick  
harbour,  
A.D. 834.

VIII. Tame lonzey ele por euan Lunnis, ocuy po  
hinpat Copco Dairemo, ocuy Tpaopazgi, ocuy u Conill  
Sabra leo. Tuerat o Conacall cae doib ic Senatib .i.  
Doncato mac Scannlan pi ua Conacall, ocuy Niall mac  
Cintraelad; ocuy ni pef ca lin ropocair antorin tob.

Turgeis in  
the north  
of Ireland,  
assumes the  
sovereignty  
of the  
foreigners,  
A.D. 839.

IX. Tame iayin puglonzey atbulmor la Turzey,  
i tuarcept Erenn, ocuy po zab pugi Hall Erenn,  
ocuy po hinped tuarcept Erenn leo, ocuy po pcal-  
ret po Leit Cunn. Ro zab tra lonzey tob por Loē  
Eatae; ocuy po zab lonzey ele ic Lusbur; ocuy po  
zab lonzey ele por Loē Rai. Ocuy pa hinped tra  
Apo Mača po tpu yronon miy leo yin, ocuy po zab  
Turzey pemin abbdam Apo Mača, ocuy po hinparb  
Paraman abb Apo Mača ocuy apo comarba Pa-  
orac, co topaeē Mumann, ocuy peyun Paracac ley;  
ocuy bui ceēru blaōna in Mumann, ocuy Turzey in  
Apo Mača, ocuy ypiygi tuarcept Erenn; amacal po  
tairuzir Dercan, pprimaeē monn ocuy talman,—

St. Ber-  
can's pro-  
phesy.

<sup>1</sup> *Erinn*. Urmor cell nErenn  
uile, L., "the greater part of the  
churches of all Ireland." So also  
Keating.

<sup>2</sup> *Tradraighe*. The reading of L.,  
B., and Keating, is here adopted. D.  
reads tartrazgi. Instead of po hin-  
opreō.....leo, as in B. and D., L. has  
pa hinopreō.....uaterarōe.

<sup>3</sup> *Senati*. Seanōad, B. Sean-  
nōad, Keating. The place of this  
battle is not mentioned in L.

<sup>4</sup> *Donnachadh, son of Scannlan*. Don-  
adhach, 4 M. The clause mention-  
ing the names of these chieftains  
omitted in the text of L., is added in  
the margin in a later hand; but instead  
of Niall, son of Cennfaeladh, as he is  
called here, and also by the Four  
Masters (A.D. 845), this marginal  
addition in L. reads "Domhnall, son

of Cennfaeladh, king of the Hi Cair-  
bri." See Appendix A., p. 224.

<sup>5</sup> *There slain*. Topocair ann tob,  
B., "was slain there." Topocair  
aio, L., "fell there."

<sup>6</sup> *Was plundered*. Ro mopairiot,  
B., "they plundered." B. omits  
leo.

<sup>7</sup> *Leth Chuinn*. The northern half  
of Ireland, called *Leth Chuinn* or  
Conn's half.

<sup>8</sup> *Of them*. For tob, the reading  
of L. and D., B. has ele, "another  
fleet."

<sup>9</sup> *Lughbudh*. Uuzmur, L. Uuz-  
magh, B. and Keating. Now  
*Lowth*.

<sup>10</sup> *Loch Rai*. Loch Ri, L. Loē  
RiB, B. and Keating.

<sup>11</sup> *In the same month*. Po ēpu yinon  
oen uoy leo, L. Po ēpu in en mi

and Chuain Uamha, and Mungairt, and the greater part of the churches of Erin.<sup>1</sup>

VIII. Another fleet came into the harbour of Luimnech; and Corco-Baiscinn, and Tradraighe,<sup>2</sup> and Ui Conaill Gabhra were plundered by them. The Ui Conaill defeated them at Senati,<sup>3</sup> under Donnchadh, son of Scannlan,<sup>4</sup> king of Ui Conaill, and Niall, son of Cennfaeladh, and it is not known how many of them were there slain.<sup>5</sup>

A fleet enters Limerick harbour, A.D. 834.

IX. There came after that a great royal fleet into the north of Erin, with Turgeis, who assumed the sovereignty of the foreigners of Erin; and the north of Erin was plundered<sup>6</sup> by them, and they spread themselves over Leth Chuinn.<sup>7</sup> A fleet of them<sup>8</sup> also entered Loch Eathach, and another fleet entered Lughbudh,<sup>9</sup> and another fleet entered Loch Rai.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, Ard Macha was plundered three times in the same month<sup>11</sup> by them; and Turgeis himself<sup>12</sup> usurped the abbacy of Ard Macha, and Farannan,<sup>13</sup> abbot of Ard Macha, and chief comharba of Patrick, was driven out,<sup>14</sup> and went to<sup>15</sup> Mumhain, and Patrick's shrine with him; and he was four years in Mumhain, while Turgeis was in Ard Macha,<sup>16</sup> and in the sovereignty<sup>17</sup> of the north of Erin, as Bercan<sup>18</sup> prophesied, chief prophet of heaven and earth,<sup>19</sup>—

Turgeis in the north of Ireland, assumes the sovereignty of the foreigners, A.D. 839.

St. Bercan's prophecy.

leo, B. These are merely differences of orthography, except that B. omits γιν, reading "in one month," instead of "in the same month."

<sup>12</sup> *Himself.* B. omits γην, and merely says "Turgeis," instead of "Turgeis himself." The name of this chieftain is Τυργεϊν in B. throughout. D. has Τυργεϊρ, *nom.*, Τυργεϊρ, *gen.*

<sup>13</sup> *Farannan.* Forannan, L. and B. throughout. *Comharba*, is the name given to a successor in an episcopal or abbatial see.

<sup>14</sup> *Driven out.* Ro hinhreaso ocyr ro hinhreaso, B., "was driven out and banished." Ro hinhreaso ar, L., "driven away."

<sup>15</sup> *Went to.* Lit. reached. Κορηότ, L. Σον θεαχασ, B., "came to."

<sup>16</sup> *In Ard Macha.* In abōtane (Cpota Mača, B., "in the abbacy of Ard Macha."

<sup>17</sup> *And in the sovereignty.* L. reads ocyr nept tuarcpit hēreivō ace, "and the power of the north of Erin was with him."

<sup>18</sup> *Bercan.* L. introduces this prophecy thus: Ιρ ανθρηγν μα comα-λασ παρτινι θερχαν in ppyu φασα: "It was on this that the prophecy of Bercan, the eminent prophet, was fulfilled."

<sup>19</sup> *And earth.* B. adds ocyr atber, "and he said."

TICPAT ZENTĪ OARĪ MUIPI MALL  
 MĒPCAPAT ZOPĪ PĒPĀIB EBĒND  
 ŪIB UATĪB ABB APĪ CACĪ CĪLL  
 ŪID UATĪB MIZ POPĪ EBĒND.  
 SEACĒT ŪIATONA OOB, NĪ PĒIDM PĀID,  
 IN NĀPOTMIZI NĀ HĒPĒND,  
 IN NABBADAMĪ CACĪ CĪLL  
 OUI OUBZENTĪB OUIBLINNI.  
 ŪIAD ABB APĪ MU CĪLLĒA OĒ,  
 NĪ TICPA OON EPMEIPZE,  
 CAN PĀTERĪ, IP CAN EPĒDA,  
 ZAN ZOETĪZ, ACĒ ZALL BĒPLA.

The pro-  
 phesy of St.  
 Colum  
 Cille.

RO TAIPIZHPI TPĀ COLUM CĪLLĪ MĪ NĪ CĒTNA POPĪ, CONEBAPIT,  
 IN LONGEP PIM ŪACĀ RĀ  
 RĪA DO MOPĀO ZALL ZENTĪ  
 ŪID UATĪB ABB APĪ CĒD MĀCĀ  
 ŪID POPĪAMUP AMPĪACĀ.

The  
 prophecies  
 of Ciaran  
 the older,

X. RO TINCĒLL, OĪA, PĒN CĪPĀN SĀZĪMĪ MĪ PĒEL CĒTNA  
 .1. OĀNĀPĪ PO TPĪ DO ZĀBĀL EBĒND, .1. OĀM OIB APĪ  
 COLUM CĪLLĪ OINNĀPĪBĀ, OCUY OĀM OIB MĪ MĀO A PĀ-  
 PĀNZĒĪ PUMĪ TĀLLĒTM, OCUY OĀM MĪ MĀO TPĀPĒI NĀN  
 APĪCĀLĪ TEMPIAZ. CONO APĪMĪ PO CAN MĪ PĪLO OCUY  
 MĪ PĀCĒ .1. ŪEC MĀC OĒ, CONO APĒPĒT,

and of Bec-  
 mac-Dé.

<sup>1</sup> *Soft.* Keating reads, meam, "over the glorious sea."—*Curry's Copy*, p. 590. Keating quotes only the first quatrain of this prophecy.

<sup>2</sup> *The men.* L. reads, pĒpĀND, "the land."

<sup>3</sup> *Over every church.* CĒBĀO POPĪ CĀCĪ CĪLL. L. For this and the next line, B. substitutes the last two lines of the quatrain, attributed to St. Colum Cille: this was probably an error of transcription, arising from the initial words of the lines being the same.

<sup>4</sup> *A king.* NĒPĒT, L., "power over Erin."

<sup>5</sup> *Seven years.* This quatrain is omitted in B.

<sup>6</sup> *Black Gentiles.* L. reads O ZENTĪB OUM OUBĪMĪ. "the Gentiles of the fort of Dublin."

<sup>7</sup> *My church.* MO CĪLLĪ OĒ, B. PĒPĪCĪLLĒPĒ OĒ, L. In the next line B. reads, NĪ CĀPĒOĒCĀ MĪ IAPMEIPZE, a more modern but less correct orthography.

<sup>8</sup> *Without Pater:* i e., ignorant of the *Pater noster* and *Credo*—mere pagans.

<sup>9</sup> *Without Irish.* CAN ŪĀTM, L., "without Latin." But the alliteration of Gaedhlig, and Gaill, in D. and B., seems intentional.

<sup>10</sup> *Colum Cille.* "Item Colum Cille." L. EBĀPIT is, perhaps, an error of the scribe for EBĀPĒT.

“Gentiles shall come over the soft<sup>1</sup> sea;  
 They shall confound the men<sup>2</sup> of Erinn;  
 Of them there shall be an abbot over every church<sup>3</sup>;  
 Of them there shall be a king<sup>4</sup> over Erinn.  
 Seven years<sup>5</sup> shall they be; nor weak their power,  
 In the high sovereignty of Erinn.  
 In the abbacy of every church  
 The black Gentiles<sup>6</sup> of Dubhlinn.  
 There shall be of them an abbot over this my church,<sup>7</sup>  
 Who will not attend to matins;  
 Without Pater<sup>8</sup> and without Credo;  
 Without Irish,<sup>9</sup> but only foreign language.”

Colum Cille<sup>10</sup> also foretold the same thing, when he said—  
 “This fleet of Loch Rai,<sup>11</sup> The prophecy of St. Colum Cille.  
 By whom<sup>12</sup> are magnified the Gaill-Gentiles;  
 Of them there shall be an abbot over<sup>13</sup> Ard Macha;  
 It shall be the government<sup>14</sup> of a usurper.”

X. The old Ciaran, of Saigher, foretold also the same—  
 viz., that Danars would three times conquer Erinn; that The prophecies of Ciaran the older,  
 is, a party of them [in punishment] for the banishment of  
 Colum Cille<sup>15</sup>; a party of them, for the insult<sup>16</sup> to [Ciaran]  
 himself at Tailltin; and a party for the fasting of the  
 Apostles<sup>17</sup> in Temhair. And it was of this the poet and  
 prophet Bec-mac-De sang, as he said<sup>18</sup>—  
and of Bec-mac-Dé.

<sup>11</sup> *Loch Rai.* Λοῦα Ρι, L. Λοῦα Ριῦ, B.

<sup>12</sup> *By whom.* For ρια, “by whom,” L. and B. read, μαε. “has well exalted,” or “magnified.” Keating reads, βασ μαεη το μοραο Γεννηε, “the Gentiles shall be well exalted.”—*Curry's Copy*, p. 581.

<sup>13</sup> *Over.* L. and B. omit αρ, and read, “an abbot of Ard Macha.”

<sup>14</sup> *Government.* Οὐλαμναετ, L., “the rule” or “sovereignty.”

<sup>15</sup> *Of Colum Cille.* Αε ρον Colom Cille, B., “because of Colum Cille's banishment.” The meaning is, that the Danes were sent by Providence to

punish the country for the three national sins mentioned.

<sup>16</sup> *Insult.* The word implies a sacrilegious insult. Αῖ ἑαυαεῖε ρυμ ρεμ, B., “the sacrilege offered even to himself,” or “to his very self.”

<sup>17</sup> *The Apostles:* i.e., of the apostles or twelve eminent saints of Ireland—naem hEppenn, L., “of the saints of Erinn.”

<sup>18</sup> *As he said.* The words, Conno αρβερετ, are omitted in B. L. gives the prophecy of Bec-mac-Dé immediately after that attributed to Colum-cille, and then explains the allusion to the three invasions said to have been



“When the bell was rung in warm Tailtin,  
Ciaran the Old, the wealthy, of Saigher,<sup>1</sup>  
Promised [to Erinn<sup>2</sup>] that three times there should be<sup>3</sup>  
Parties of Danars of the black ships.”

And now<sup>4</sup> these three predictions came to pass, and the prophecies were fulfilled, [as every righteous and true saint had foretold].

XI. There came [now Turgeis,<sup>5</sup> of Ard Macha, and brought] a fleet upon Loch Rai, and from thence plundered Midhe and Connacht; and Cluain Mic Nois was plundered by him,<sup>6</sup> and Cluain Ferta of Brenann, and Lothra, and Tir-dá-glas, and Inis Celtra, and all the churches of Derg-dheirc,<sup>7</sup> in like manner; and the place where Ota,<sup>8</sup> the wife of Turgeis, used to give her audience was upon the altar of Cluain Mic Nois. The Connachtmen, however, gave them battle, in which Maelduin, son of Muirghes, royal heir apparent of Connacht, was slain.

XII. After this<sup>9</sup> came three score and five ships, and landed<sup>10</sup> at Dubhlinn of Atheliath, and Laghin was plundered to the sea by them, and Magh Bregh. But the Dal Riada<sup>11</sup> met them in another battle, in which was slain Eoghan,<sup>12</sup> son of Oengus, king of Dal Riada.

Turgeis enters Loch Ree, and plunders the monasteries of Meath and Connaught, A.D. 838-845.

Invasion of Dublin and Leinster.

the reading of L. and B., has been substituted. B. omits ἀρενα.

<sup>8</sup> *Ota*. B. has *Otur*, and L. *Otta*. For α ἡ-αυριεῖ, “her audience,” L. and B. read, α ἡρεαριεθα, “the place where she used to give her answers.”

<sup>9</sup> *After this*. ἰαργῖν, omitted in B., but the word occurs in L.

<sup>10</sup> *And landed*. L. omits κορυζαβρατ, and reads, κο Ὀυβλιννο. “to Dublin,” &c. D. reads, Μασ μρεξ, for which the more correct spelling of B. has been substituted.

<sup>11</sup> *The Dal Riada*. L. reads, Τυρατ Ὀαλριαται καθ τον λοῖξιγ ρεμ, “the Dalriadans gave battle to this fleet.” B. agrees with D., omit-

ting only the word ελε, “another.” L. adds here the following note, which does not occur in the other MSS.:— Ἰαρι ρα εἰσαταρ λαμ ελερι ηθρενω ρα τηατω αμ μιλλισο λαξεν οαυ Ὀρεξ: “Afterwards many of the clergy of Erinn went to the north after the plundering of Laigin and Bregh.”—See App. A., p. 226.

<sup>12</sup> *Eoghan*. In L. and B. he is more correctly called *Eoghanan*, son of Oenghus. He was the 31st king of the Dalriadans of Scotland, according to O’Flaherty. *Ogygia*, p. 481. L. gives the tribe name in the *nom.* Ὀαλριαται, *gen.* Ὀαλριαται. B. gives the *nom.* Ὀαλριατα, and *gen.* Ὀαλριατα; making the inflexion



XIII. After this there came great sea-cast floods<sup>1</sup> of Simultaneous invasions in various places of Munster. foreigners into Erin<sup>2</sup>, so that there was not a point thereof<sup>3</sup> without a fleet. It was by these that Bri-Gobhann was plundered, and Tressach, son of Mechill<sup>4</sup> killed. A fleet came to Ciarraighe Luachra, and all was plundered by them to Cill Ita and Cuil Emhni; and the Martini<sup>5</sup> of Mumhain were plundered by the fleet of Luimnech, who carried off Farannan, Comharba of Ard Macha,<sup>6</sup> from Cluain Comairdi to Luimneach, and they broke Patrick's shrine. Farannan, of Armagh, carried off, A.D. 845.

XIV. It was in this year<sup>7</sup> Turgeis was taken prisoner by Maelsechlainn; and he was afterwards drowned in Loch Uair,<sup>8</sup> viz., the year before the drowning of Niall Cailli, and the second year before the death of Fedhlimidh, son of Crimhthann; and it was in<sup>9</sup> the time of these two that all these events<sup>10</sup> took place. Now, when Turgeis was killed, Farannan, abbot of Ard Macha, went out of Mumhain<sup>11</sup> [to Ard Macha], and the shrine of Patrick was repaired<sup>12</sup> by him. Turgeis taken and drowned, A.D. 845.

XV. Now the same year in which Farannan was taken prisoner,<sup>13</sup> the shrine of Patrick broken, and the churches of Mumhain plundered, [the foreigners] came to Ros Creda<sup>14</sup> on the festival of Paul and Peter, when the fair had begun; and they were given battle, and the foreigners were defeated through the grace of Paul and Peter, and countless numbers<sup>15</sup> of them were killed there; and Earl Onphile<sup>16</sup> was struck there with a stone by which The battle of Roscrea, A.D. 845.

sense. The reading of B. is substituted.

<sup>8</sup> *Loch Uair.* Νεὸς Ψαίρι, B.

<sup>9</sup> *And it was in.* This clause is omitted in L.

<sup>10</sup> *Events.* ἡα ἔμοιρησά, B.

<sup>11</sup> *Out of Mumhain.* Ἔο ἔτασθ, B., "to the north." The words "to Ard Macha" are inserted from L.

<sup>12</sup> *Repaired.* Ἐρρηγασθ, L. Ὅταν-θῆξασθ, B.

<sup>13</sup> *Taken prisoner.* Ρο σαδασθ, B. This repetition of the events of the

year does not occur in L., where we read only Τανσαοαρ οια σαλλ σο Ρορρερε ριν βλιασασ ρεο, "the foreigners came to Roscrea this year."

<sup>14</sup> *Ros Creda.* Ρορρερε, L. Ρορρερε, B., and in c. xvii., p. 16. The word σαλλ, is added from L.

<sup>15</sup> *Countless numbers.* Κο οιαρ-μιτι, lit. "innumerabiliter." Κο ηανθαλ ιασ, B., "they were slain prodigiously."

<sup>16</sup> *Onphile.* Οιλριου, B. Οιλριου, Keating (p. 636).

ժու՛ճ, ԿՕՐ ՄԱՐԲ ԾԵ Է. ՄՕՐ, ԾՈՒ, ԾԱԼԵ ՕՍՄ ԾՈՒՄՈՒԾ ԲԱՐԱԾԱՐ ՕՍՄ ԲՐԻՒ ԿԱՅԻՆ, ԿՂԱ ԵԼԻՃՈՒՆԱԾ ԲՈՒ, ՆԱԸ ՄՈՒՐՏԵՐ ԵՏԻՐ.

Northmen on the Boyne, in Bregia, Meath, &c.

XVI. ԿԱՆԵ ԿԱԲՈՒ ԼՈՆՏԵՐ ԵՂԱ ԲԻՇԻ ԼՈՆՏ ԾՕ ՈՐՄԱՆԾԱԻՆ ԲՕՐ ԾՕՈՒՄԾ, ՕՍՄ ԲՕ ՄՈՒՐ ԾՐԵՃԱ ԼԵՕ, ՕՍՄ ՄԻՇԻ. ԿԱՆԵ ԼՈՆՏԵՐ [աԼԵ] ԿՕՐ ՏՅԱՆ ԲՕՐ ԼՕ՛ ԵՇԱՅԻ, ՕՍՄ ԲՕ ԽՈՒՐԵԾ ԼԵՕԻՐԾԵ ԿՕ ԽԸՐԾ ՄԱՃԱ. ԿԱՆԵ ԼՈՆՏԵՐ ԷԼԵ ԿՕՐ ՏՅԱՆԻՐԾԵ ԲՕՐ ԱԲԱՆԾ ԼԻՒ, ՕՍՄ ԲՕ ԽՈՒՐԵԾ ՄԱՏ ՄԾՐԵՅ ԼԵՕ, ԵՏԻՐ ԿԱՅԻՒՒ ՕՍՄ ԵՂԼ.

A great fleet lands south of Dublin: their ravages in Leinster.

XVII. ԿԱՆԵ ԿԱԲՈՒ ԼՈՆՏԵՐ ԱԾԵՆ ԽՕՐ ՈՒ ԾԵՐԿԱՐԾ ԱՇՏԱ ԸԼԻՄԻՒ, ՕՍՄ ԲՕ ԽՈՒՐԵԾ ԼԵՕ ԿԱՄՕՐ ԷՐԵՆԾ; ՕՍՄ ԲՕ ԽՈՒՐԵԾ ԼԵՕ ԱՆ 1 COLUM ԸԼԼԻ, ՕՍՄ ԽՈՒՐ ՄՈՒՐԵՕՑ, ՕՍՄ ԾԱՄՈՒՐ, ՕՍՄ ՏԼԵՆԾ ԾԱ ԼԱՃԱ, ՕՍՄ ԼԱՅՈՒ ՍԼԻ ԿՕ ԽԸՇՈՒՐԻ, ՕՍՄ ԿՕ ԽԸՇՈՒՐԾՕ, ՕՍՄ ԿՕ ԼԻՄԻ ՄՕՇԱԵՄԾՕ՛, ՕՍՄ ԿՕ ԾԱՐԵ ՄՕՐ, ՕՍՄ ԿՕ ԸԼԿԱՆ ԲԵՐԿԱ ՄՕԼՈՒԱ, ՕՍՄ ԿՕ ՐՕՐ ԸՐԵ, ՕՍՄ ԿՕ ԼՕ՛ՐԱ, ԿՕ ԲՕ ԵՐԻՐԵԿԱՐ ԲԵՐՈՒ ԴԱՏԱՆ, ՕՍՄ ԿՕ ԲՕ ՄԻԼԼԵՐ ԸԼԿԱՆ ՄԻՇ ԽՈՒՐ, [ՕՍՄ ԿՕ ՏԱՃԻՐ], ՕՍՄ ԿՕ ԾՈՒՐՄԱՏ.

Invasion of the south of Ireland. Munster plundered.

XVIII. ԿԱՆԵ ԿԱԲՈՒ ԼՈՆՏԵՐ ՈՒ ԾԵՐԿԱՐԾ ԷՐԵՆԾ ԿՕ ԽՈՒՐԵՐ ԸԸԼԼԵՅ ՄԻՇԻԼ, ՕՍՄ ԽՈՒՐ ԲԼԱՆԾ, ՕՍՄ ԾՈՒՐԵՐ ԾՕՄԱՆ, ՕՍՄ ԸԼԿԱՆ ՄՕՐ, ԿՕՐ ՄԱՐԵԿՐԱԾԱՐ ԴԱՏՏԱԼԵ ՄԱԸ ԾՐԵԵԿԱԾԻ ՕՍՄ ԸՕՐՄԱԸ ՄԱԸ ՏԵԼԵԱՏ ԿԱՅԱՐ,

<sup>1</sup> *Killed.* L. inserts here the following passage, which is not found in the other MSS., ԾԱ ՏՐԵՄԱ Օ՛ՐԵՄԱՆ ՄՈՒՄԱՆ ՄԵՐՕՐԿՍ ԾԱՐՈՒՐԱՏ ԲԱ ԲՕԼԻՐԱ ԲԵԿԱՐՄՈՒՆ ԱՐՇԵ ՐԵՄԵ. See Appendix A. This seems like a marginal note inserted by the transcriber in the text.

<sup>2</sup> *Not recorded.* The text of B. is here adopted. D. reads, ԿՂԱ ԵԼԻՃՈՒՆԱԾ, ԾՕՆԵՕ ՆԱԸ ՄՈՒՐՏԵՐ ԵՏԻՐ. L. differs from both. See Appendix A.

<sup>3</sup> *A fleet.* D. reads, ԼՈՆՏ ԵՂԱ ԲԻՇԻ ԼՈՆՏ, an evident mistake of transcription. The reading of B. is preferred. L. reads, ԼՈՆՏԵՐ ԱԾԵՆ ՄՕՐ, "a very great fleet," without mentioning the number of ships.

<sup>4</sup> *Another.* ԱԼԵ is added from L. *else, B.*

<sup>5</sup> *Loch Echach.* Loch Eachihaeh, B. Loch Nethach, L. B. omits ԿՕՐ ՏՅԱՆ, "settled." L. reads, ԿՕՐ ՐԱՏԱԻՆ.

<sup>6</sup> *To Ard Macha.* L. adds, "and Ard Macha itself was burned and plundered by them."

<sup>7</sup> *And settled.* L. and B. omit ԿՕՐ ՏՅԱՆԻՐԾԵ. B. reads, ՕՍՄ ԲՕ ԽՈՒՐԵԾ ԼԵՕ ՄԱՏ ՄԾՐԵՅԻ ՍԼԵ ԵՏԻՐ ԸԸԼԼԱ ՕՍՄ ԿԱՅԻՒՒ: "All Magh Breggh was plundered by them, both churches and country." L. reads, "Magh Laignhen and Magh Breggh were plundered by them, both country and churches."

<sup>8</sup> *Very great.* L. omits ԿԱԲՈՒ, "after that," and ԱԾԵՆ ՄՕՐ, "very great," and reads "the fleet that was with

he was killed.<sup>1</sup> Much, indeed, of evil and distress did they receive, and much was received from them in those years, which is not recorded<sup>2</sup> at all.

XVI. There came after that a fleet<sup>3</sup> of three score Northmen upon the Boinn; and Bregia and Midhe were plundered by them. [Another<sup>4</sup>] fleet came on the Boyne, in Bregia, Meath, &c. and settled on Loch Echach,<sup>5</sup> and these plundered all before them to Ard-Macha.<sup>6</sup> Another fleet came and settled<sup>7</sup> on the river of Liffé, and Magh Bregh was plundered by them, both country and churches.

XVII. There came after that a very great<sup>8</sup> fleet into A great fleet lands south of Dublin; their ravages in Leinster. the south<sup>9</sup> of Ath-Chiath, and the greater part of Erin was plundered by them; they plundered, also, Hí of Colum Cille,<sup>10</sup> and Inis Muireoc,<sup>11</sup> and Damhinish, and Glenn dá Locha, and the whole of Laighin, as far as to Achadh Ur, and to Achadh Bó, and to Liath Mocaemhoc,<sup>12</sup> and to Daire-mór,<sup>13</sup> and to Cluain Ferta Molua, and to Ros Cre, and to Lothra, where they broke the shrine of Ruadhan, and they spoiled Cluain Mic Nois, [and as far as Saighir,<sup>14</sup>] and on to Durmhagh.

XVIII. There came after that a fleet<sup>15</sup> into the south of Erin, and they plundered<sup>16</sup> Scellig Michil, and Inis Flainn,<sup>17</sup> and Disert Domhain,<sup>18</sup> and Cluain Mor, and they killed Rudgaile,<sup>19</sup> son of Trebtade, and Cormac, Invasion of the south of Ireland. Munster plundered.

them went at once." Τανικ ονα λονζεγ βα λια ανσαγαροε.

<sup>9</sup> *The south.* L. and B. omit *μνοεγ-επιητ.*

<sup>10</sup> *Hi of Colum Cille.* Ηι Κολαμν Γιλι. L., B.

<sup>11</sup> *Inis Muireoc.* A corrupt spelling; more correctly *Ιουρ Μυριουαξ*, L., and in modern spelling, *Ιουρ Μυρι-εαδουξ*, B.

<sup>12</sup> *Liath Mocaemhoc.* D. reads, *Μο-νemoç*, which is evidently a mistake. The reading of L. and B. has been adopted in the text.

<sup>13</sup> *Daire-mór.* D. reads, *εο ηΑρτο-μογ*; but the reading of L. and B. has

been substituted, as being evidently correct.

<sup>14</sup> *Saighir.* The words *οουγ κο Σαιξιγ* are added from L. and B.

<sup>15</sup> *Fleet.* L. reads *λονζεγ ο λυμ-νιου*, "a fleet from Limerick."

<sup>16</sup> *Plundered.* Συη μιλλρετυ οουγσυι μογαταγ, B., "they spoiled and they plundered."

<sup>17</sup> *Inis Flainn.* Inis Faithlend, L., B.: now Inisfallen, in the Lower Lake of Killarney.

<sup>18</sup> *Disert Domhain.* Disert Donnain, L. Disert Damhain, B.

<sup>19</sup> *Rudgaile.* L. reads, "Rudgaile, son of Trebhtaidhe, and Cormac, son of Selbach, the anchorite."

ocuy ip doipde no oplaac anzeal po tpi ocuy por ceuglar cað uayp. Ocuy no hinped, ðna, leo Corcað, ocuy no loyceð Roj Ailicþu, ocuy Ceno Mapa, ocuy upmop Mumhan, ocuy [tuccrað Mumha Medonacð cað doibþ] no cyped a nap ic Aþo Feapadaas. Tucrað, ðna, ðepecerþ Epenð cað doibþide, ocuy Donecað mac Amaalgaða pið Eoganaacþ ua Heit, ocuy ðpoðcip Cloðna pið Corcaðasi leo ano.

Battle of Corca Laighe.

The fleet of Dublin plunders Kildare, Clonenagh, &c.

XIX. Ro hinped leo, ðna, Cell Ðapa, ocuy Cluan Eðneach, ocuy Ceno Eas, ocuy Cell Aðeo la longep Aða Cliað por; ocuy po toglao Ðun Mare .i. du in ðpocap Aeo mac Ðuibðacpið, comapba Colum mic Cymicþano ocuy Þinðtan Cluana Eðnið. Ocuy po hinped leo, ðna, Cenannup, ocuy Manupþip Ðuti, ocuy Ðamliac Cianan, ocuy Sopð Colum Cilli, ocuy Þinðglap Cannið; ocuy po loyceð pin uli leo ocuy po hinpaz.

The Black Gentiles contend with the Fair Gentiles, A.D. 851.

XX. Tancaðap iayþin Ðuibgeniti Ðanaapða, ocuy po laepet po Eþnoð, ocuy ða baðap ic ðuicup na Þinðgeniti a hEþnoð, ocuy tucrað cað, ocuy ðo mapþpað .ii. mihi ðono Þinðgenitib ic Snam Eþða. Tami iayþin longep ele po gab iCiaþpaði, ocuy po hinped leo co Lumneð, ocuy Cell Ita, ocuy Imleacð Iþay, ocuy Capþel

<sup>1</sup> *The anchorite.* Anchora, L., Anscapne naem, B., "the holy anchorite."

<sup>2</sup> *Every time.* Gað lae, B., "every day." L. reads, pa hoþlac aiðel poði, ocuy por ceuglaþip na gail cað nuayp: "The angel set him loose twice, and the foreigners used to bind him every time."

<sup>3</sup> *They burned.* Loþseo leo, B., "was burned by them."

<sup>4</sup> *Cenn Mara.* L. adds, ocuy Aðeo.

<sup>5</sup> *Mumha Medhonach:* i.e., the men of Middle Munster. The words within brackets in the text are inserted from B.

<sup>6</sup> *Ard Feradaigh.* B. reads, Carn Fearadaigh, which is also the reading

of the Four M. L. has Aþo Þepa, *Ardfert.*

<sup>7</sup> *Under.* D. reads, ocuy Ðonncað, "and Donnchad." The reading of B. is preferred.

<sup>8</sup> *Ua Neit.* An error for Ua Heic, or Ua nEochach (see p. 137). h.netacð, L. Ocuy Ua nEchach, B., "and of Ua nEchach." The word *and* is a mistake. The meaning is, that Donnchadh, son of Amhalghaidh [*pron.* Awley] was king of the Eoghanacht Ua nEochach, that is of those Eoghanachts, or descendants of Eoghan Mor (son of Oilioll Olum, king of Munster,) who were also descendants of Eochaidh, son of Cas, son of Core, king of Munster. See Gen. Table, IV., p. 248, and Table of

son of Selbach, the anchorite,<sup>1</sup> and he it was whom the angel set loose three times, though he was bound again every time.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Corcach was plundered by them, and they burned<sup>3</sup> Ros Ailithri and Cenn Mara,<sup>4</sup> and the greater part of Mumhan ; but [the Mumha Medhonach<sup>5</sup> gave them battle and] their slaughter was completed at Ard Feradaigh.<sup>6</sup> The south of Erin also gave them battle under<sup>7</sup> Donnchadh, son of Amhalgaidh, king of the Eoganacht Ua Neit,<sup>8</sup> and Clochna,<sup>9</sup> king of Corca Laighe, was killed by them there.

Battle of Corca Laighe.

XIX. Cell Dara, also, and Cluain Eidhneach, and Cenn Etigh, and Cell Ached were plundered by them, that is, by the fleet of Ath Cliath ; and Dun Masc was demolished, where fell Aedh, son of Dubh-da-Crich, Comharba of Colum Mac Crimthainn, and of Finntan of Cluain Edneach. They also<sup>10</sup> plundered Cennannas, and Mainister-Buite, and Damhliac-Cianan, and Sord-Coluim-Cille and Finnghlas-Cainnigh ; and all these were burned by them and plundered.

The fleet of Dublin plunders Kildare, Clonenagh, &c.

XX. There came after this Black-gentile Danars, and they spread<sup>11</sup> themselves over Erin, and they endeavoured to drive the Fair-gentiles out of Erin ; and they engaged<sup>12</sup> in battle, and they killed five thousand of the Fair-gentiles at Snamh Ergda<sup>13</sup>. After that another fleet came and landed in Ciarraighe,<sup>14</sup> and all was plundered by them to Luimnech, and Cill-Ita ; and Imleach-Ibhair, and Caisel

The Black Gentiles contend with the Fair Gentiles, A.D. 851.

the Descendants of Oilioll Olum, *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 341. L. adds, .i. acCorcais ro marbath: "viz., it was at Corcach he was killed."

<sup>9</sup> *Clochna*. L. omits all notice of the death of Clochna.

<sup>10</sup> *Also*. For the expletive *ona*, B. reads, *éna*, "in like manner." L. omits the mention of Finntan of Cluain Edneach, and all that follows, as far as the word *Cennannas*, and instead reads, *Rucras leo mhlumam ocuf ra-ria . . . . . ocirraio ruaraieti*

*raia ocuf irro naé ruar. Ra . . . . . la lonser aca cliaé ocuf manirter buzi*, etc. Some words are illegible. See Appendix A.

<sup>11</sup> *Spread*. *Ro leatatar*, B.

<sup>12</sup> *Engaged*. *Tuccrat fein caté ra ceile*, B., "they engaged in battle with each other."

<sup>13</sup> *Snamh Ergda*. *Snamh Oengusa*, B. *Snamh Eidhneach*, Four M. (A.D. 850). *Snamh Aidhneach*, Ann. Ult. (A.D. 851). *Snam Aigneé*, L.

<sup>14</sup> *Ciarraighe*. B. reads *Tanic iar-*

նա ընչ, օսոյ արքո Շէտրաջի, օսոյ Լիւթ Մոսաեմոս.  
1 ընտր Քոսթեմոս միս Շրիմէանոս զօ թոնատ սև նա  
հարջոյ ըն.

Various  
defeats  
sustained  
by the  
foreigners.

XXI. Մօր, զոն, զօ ծնատ [օսոյ զօ զօճար] ըսարտար  
ընտր ընտր ըն. Քօ Երթար ամ Շենել Շոնալլ Կաթ  
թօրթօ յօ Ար Քուսո. Դա Երթար Դալ Շարր Կաթ  
եւ թօրթ թօ Լօճ Դերթօրթ. Դա Երթար Կա Կեւլ  
Կաթ եւ յօ Ար ծրօն. Քօ մարԵրար, զոն, Կ Շոլ-  
ճան Տարւե յարևա. Դօ թան Օլեւսըր մա Շուսո ընչ  
Շարր, օսոյ Լօրնան մա Շելլայ ըն Լաջեն Կաթ Շեւթ  
Կեւթան թօրթ, զո Կ ծրօնար տանարր ըն Լօճան, օսոյ  
զա Շեւ զե զօ մաթեւ Լօճան սոն. Քօ զոլայ, զոն,  
Օլեւսըր շեւնա Կ Կուլայ նա Քիջո թօրթ, զո Կ ծրօ-  
նար թօճատ; օսոյ թօ մարԵ Լեւ Մօջո սև յա.

Battle of  
Sciath  
Nechtain,  
A.D. 847.

XXII. Քօ Երթ տրա Մալթեւան ըն Կեմրաթ Կաթ  
Շարեն Ճոնո թօրթ, զո Կ ծրօնար .սո. Շեւ. Քօ  
Երթ, զոն, Կիջարայ Կաթ [թօրթ] յօ Դար Սիւրթ  
Դաոնոն, զո Կ ծրօնար .ս. Շեւ. Քօ Երթ, զոն, Օլեւ-  
սըր Շեւնա, օսոյ Շօջանաթ Շարր Կաթ թօրթ յօ Դոն  
Մալթու զո Կ ծրօնար զա թիւթ զե. Ծրօնար,  
զոն, զոն Շեւ .Լա.սոն. Լա Քոնճեւո. Ծրօնար զա

Several  
other de-  
feats sus-  
tained by  
them.

ըն զոնթր եւ զոն ճաճ Կ Շարր-  
թաջ: “After that came another  
fleet, and landed in Ciarraighe.”

<sup>1</sup> *Mocoemhoc.* Monæmoc, D. The  
reading of L. and B. is preferred. See  
p. 17, note 12.

<sup>2</sup> *In the reign.* B. reads, օսոյ յր  
թե ընտր Քոսթեմոս միս Շրիմ-  
էանոս զօ թոնատ սև նա թօլա ըն:  
“And it was in the reign of Feidhli-  
midh, son of Criomthann, that all  
these inroads were made.” L. has, Կ  
սոյրթ Քոսթեմոս միս Շրիմէանո  
զա թոնատ նա Կոլե ըն: “In the  
time of Feidhlimidh, son of Crimthann,  
these evils were committed.”

<sup>3</sup> *And damage.* The words օսոյ զօ  
զօճար are inserted from B., which MS.  
reads also ըսարտար ըն Շրիմ

ընտր ան ըն ըն, “did the men of  
Ireland suffer during that time.” The  
text, on the contrary, states that the  
foreigners suffered toil and damage;  
and proceeds to describe the defeats  
sustained by them.

<sup>4</sup> *Earl Saxulb.* Քաւե յարևա, L.,  
“Earl Ralph.”

<sup>5</sup> *Heir.* In the original տանարր  
or *Tanist.* The Four M. name him  
*Tomarar*, or *Tomhrair* (A.D. 846).  
*Domrair*, Ann. Ult. (A.D. 847).  
B. omits զա Շեւ զե զօ մաթեւ  
Լօճան, “twelve hundred of the  
nobles of Lochlann;” but these words  
occur in the Four M. In the next line  
B. reads ԿՄՕՇօնար Շեւնա, which  
seems more correct, although the mean-  
ing is the same.

<sup>6</sup> *Taluch-na-Rigna.* Literally, “in

of the Kings, and the eastern Cethtraighi; and Liath Mocoemhoc.<sup>1</sup> It was in the reign<sup>2</sup> of Feidlimidh, son of Crimhthann, that all these ravages were perpetrated.

XXI. Much of toil [and damage<sup>3</sup>] did they suffer during that period. The Cenel Conaill defeated them in a battle at Eas Ruaidh. The Dal Cais defeated them in another battle on Loch Deiredeirc. The Ui Neill defeated them in another battle at Ard Breacain. The Ui Colgan killed Earl Saxulb.<sup>4</sup> Olchobhar, son of Cinaedh, king of Caisel, and Lorcan, son of Cellach, king of Laighen, defeated them in the battle of Sciath Nechtain, where the heir<sup>5</sup> of the king of Lochlainn fell, and twelve hundred of the nobles of Lochlainn along with him. The same Olchobhar demolished Tulach-na-Rigna<sup>6</sup> against them, where numbers of them were killed; and Leth Mogha<sup>7</sup> killed all of them.

Various defeats sustained by the foreigners.

Battle of Sciath Nechtain, A.D. 847.

XXII. Maelsechlainn, also, king of Temhar, defeated them in the battle of Caislen-Glinni,<sup>8</sup> where seven hundred were killed. Tighernagh, too, defeated [them] in a battle at Daire-Disiurt-Dachonna,<sup>9</sup> where five hundred<sup>10</sup> fell. The aforesaid Olchobhar,<sup>11</sup> and the Eoghanachts of Caisel, defeated them in a battle at Dun-Maeltuli,<sup>12</sup> where twelve score<sup>13</sup> fell. There fell, also, three hundred and sixty-eight<sup>14</sup> by the Fair-gentiles. Two hundred of them fell

Several other defeats sustained by them.

Tulach-na-Rigna:" but B. omits 1, "in," and reads, Τυλάκ να Ρίγνα, more correctly.

<sup>7</sup> *Leth Mogha*: i.e., the people of Leth Mogha. B. reads ἡο μαριβαο ἰλλεττ Μογχα ινλε ιασ, "they were killed in Leth Mogha all of them."

<sup>8</sup> *Caislen-glinni*. Κατ-ḡλιννε, B. ḡλατḡννε, Keating, p. 591; but, p. 602, he mentions also a battle of *Caisglinne*. B. says that 710 were slain in this battle, ου ι ττορḡατḡ ρεττ σḡο .x. Keating gives the same number; the text is supported by L.

<sup>9</sup> *Daire-Disiurt-Dachonna*. Disiurt Daconna, B. The word within paren-

theses in the text is inserted from B. and L.

<sup>10</sup> *Five hundred*. Ὅα ρικετ .x. B. Keating, and Four M. (A.D. 846), "twelve score." Ὅα σετ οεḡ, Ann. Ult. (A.D. 847), "twelve hundred."

<sup>11</sup> *Olchobhar*. Ḳη τ-Ὀλḡοβαρ, σετ-να, B.

<sup>12</sup> *Dun Maeltuli*. This name is omitted in B. Dun Mael. L.

<sup>13</sup> *Twelve score*. Cucc ceo, B. L. "five hundred;" and the same number is given, Four M., A.D. 846, Ann. Ult., A.D. 847.

<sup>14</sup> *Three hundred and sixty-eight*: ccc.lxxviii, L. Ceatḡαρ αρ τḡ ρḡετḡ αρ τḡ σεσασ ḡα ηυ ρḡο-

ceo doib re Cianaċt ic Inyir Fínnic; ocuy iorocratar, tona, tpi cet doib for re Cianaċta i curō mír iarírin ic Ráit̃ Altan. Ro byir, tona, Maelreclainn caċ ele forċtu ic Rait̃ Commair. Ro byirōar, tona, Ciarraszi Luāċra caċ ele forċtu.

Arrival of  
Amhaibh  
with a pro-  
digious  
fleet, A.D.  
853.

XXIII. Tanic iar yin Almlab [mac] yu loċlano ocuy longey aobul moir leir .i. deċ m-bliatona arnec Maelreclainn, ḡor ḡab ruzi ḡall Epeno, ocuy ir leir ro baċeo Concubair mac Ōonċāda ruzdomna Tempaċ. Ir leoride ro ronao caċ Cluana doam fory na Ōeyi, du i orocairōar maċi na Ōeyi uli. Ir leo romarbad mac Cinothaelad ruz Murcrazi Ōreosain, ocuy ro muċao Muċdairgen mac Reaċtabrat in nuaim. Ir leo ro marbad Caetil Fíno lin a longpuyr. Ir leo ro marbad Maelḡuala mac Ōunḡaile ruz Carril, .i. a oruim da byireo im cloiċ. Cio tra aċt iorōċra-ōar yin uli for ic fepaib Muman .i. Ona ocuy Scolph, ocuy Tomar, teora ocuy ceo.

Arrival of  
Ossil, and  
his defeat.

XXIV. Tanic iarírin Orpúll mac ruz loċlano, longey ele, ocuy ro hinreō urmor Epeno leo. Ōrocratar

ḡemnti, B., i.e., "364 by the Ui Fídhgeinnti."

<sup>1</sup> *Inis Fínnic*. Inyir Fíno mac, L. Inyir Fíno me, B.

<sup>2</sup> *Rath Altan*. Rait̃ Altan, L. Rat̃ Altan, B.

<sup>3</sup> *Ten years after*. Sin deċmas bliatōan penec Maelreclainn, L., "in the tenth year before the death of Maelsechlainn," [i.e., before 863.] *O'Flah. Ogyg.* p. 434. This seems the correct reading, and is followed by the Four M., 851, and by the Ann. Ult. 852 (=853). These Annals agree also with L. in calling this chieftain mac ruz loċhlann, "son of the king of Lochlainn;" not "king of Lochlainn," as in B. and D. See Appendix A., and chap. xxx., *infra*, where the MSS. B. and D. themselves, call this Amhaibh, "son of the king of Lochlainn." The

word mac has, therefore, been inserted within brackets in the text. Keating says that Amhaibh arrived "about the time when Olcobhar, king of Munster, died;" an event which the Four M. date 849 (=852).

<sup>4</sup> *Son of Donnchad*. Mac Cimaēda, B. Mac Ōonċāda leŋri Míde, Ann. Ult. 863; Four M. 862.

<sup>5</sup> *Cluain-Daimh*. Ir leirín loḡey ran ro memao caċh cluana doam, L., "it was by this fleet was gained the battle of Cluain-daimh, &c." Ocuy ir leir ro rruameo caċh, 7c., B.: "And it was by them was won the battle, &c." D. reads caċ clunōam, but for this, caċ cluana doam has been substituted in the text, on the authority of L. and B.

<sup>6</sup> *Was suffocated*. For ro muċao, "was suffocated," (the reading of L.

by the Cianachta at Inis-Finnic<sup>1</sup>; and there fell, too, three hundred more of them by the Cianachta in a month after that, at Rath-Altan.<sup>2</sup> Maelsechlainn gained another victory over them at Rath-Commair. The Ciarraighi Luachra also gained another victory over them.

XXIII. After that came Amlaibh, [son of] the king of Lochlainn, with a prodigious fleet, i.e., ten years after<sup>3</sup> the death of Maelsechlainn, and he assumed the sovereignty of the Gaill of Erin; and it was by him that Conchobhar, son of Donnchad,<sup>4</sup> heir apparent of Temhair, was drowned. It was by them the Desi were overthrown in the battle of Cluain-Daimh,<sup>5</sup> where all the nobles of the Desi fell. It was by them the son of Cennfaeladh, king of Muscraige-Breoghain, was killed, and Muchdaighren, son of Reachtabrat, was suffocated<sup>6</sup> in a cave. It was by them Caetil Find<sup>7</sup> was killed, with his whole garrison. It was by them Maelguala, son of Dungaile, king of Caisel, was killed: i.e., his back was broken by a stone. However, they were all killed by the men of Mumhain,<sup>8</sup> i.e., Ona, and Scolph, and Tomar, an hundred and three.<sup>9</sup>

XXIV. There came after that Ossill,<sup>10</sup> son of the king of Lochlainn, with another fleet, and the greater part of Erin was plundered by them. These, too, fell by

Arrival of Amlaibh with a prodigious fleet, A.D. 853.

Arrival of Ossil, and his defeat.

and D.) B. reads, *ocur ue Mur-chadh mac Muētigein mic Reachtāra 1 Murhann*: meaning that Cennfaeladh was killed by the Lochlainns, "and by Murchadh, son of Muehtighern, son of Reachtabra, in Munster." Over the words 1 Murhann, "in Munster," a later hand has written *uel in uain*, "or in a cave." The text is undoubtedly the true reading. L. has *ra mucad Muētigein [nac] Rechtārao in uain*. See Appendix A.

<sup>7</sup> *Caetil Find*. *Catal Find*, B. *Caer Find*, L.

<sup>8</sup> *Men of Mumhain*. *Ra riu*

*hErenn, ocur na toerig reo*, L.: "By the men of Erin, and also their leaders," [i.e., their leaders also were destroyed by the men of Erin].

<sup>9</sup> *An hundred and three*. The names of the leaders are omitted by B. L. reads *Solph, ocur Ona, ocur Tomar, ocur Turgein, 7c*. It seems probable that 7c., "et cetera," and 7c., "and one hundred," were in some way confounded, and the name of one of the chieftains mistaken for *teora*, "three."

<sup>10</sup> *Ossill*. *Oirle*, L. *Cuirle*, Ann. Ult. A.D. 862, 865. *Uairi*, Four M. A.D. 861. Perhaps the name is *Vailsi*, *Falsius*, or *Flosius*.

Colphin  
and the  
fleet of Dun  
Medhoin  
destroyed.

Earl  
Baethbarr  
drowned.

Battle of  
Loch Foyle,  
A.D. 866.

Leinster  
and Mun-  
ster plun-  
dered by  
Baraid and  
Amlaff's  
son, with  
the Dublin  
fleet.

ρην φορ λα περαιβ Ερενο. Οροϋαρ, am, ινοθρη  
ocuy .u. ceso λειρ ιε περαιβ Ερενο ι Μυμαν ιν οεν  
λο. Ιρ ιρην βλιασαν ι οροϋαρ Colphin ocuy lonzer  
Θουι Μεδοιμ ι Cινο Cυρραγ. Ro bar ιca μαριβασ ο  
Cινο Cυρραγ co ληρ Μορ, ocuy do οροεραταρ ροεασι  
οιβ .ι. λα Reϋταβρατ mac θρηαν. Θα εϋασι, θα,  
θαεϋβαρη ιαριλα ocuy ροϋασι don λυϋτ μασιμα λειρ co  
Cϋ Cλιαϋ. Ιαρην ρο βαϋεθ ιε Cϋ Cλιαϋ τρε μιρβιλιτο  
Cιαραν ocuy Cεσα Scannal φορ α ραβαταρ ιε φορ-  
βαρηρ. Ιρ ιρην βλιασαν ι οροϋαρ Tomur ιαριλα λα  
θρηανισ, ι εινθ τρη λα αρναρζαν Cιυατα Ρερα το.  
Ιρ ιρην βλιασαν ρο βρηρ Cεθ Ρινολιαϋ mac Heill  
caϋ φορϋι ιε λοϋ Ρεβαλ, ου ι οροϋαρηταρ θα cet θες  
ceno ιν οεν ινασ οιβ, ocuy ρυε α νυλι ινμαρ ocuy  
α ρεσου.

XXV. Ro ιηρητ, θα, λα θαρανο ocuy λα mac Cμ-  
λαβ λαζην ocuy ρρη Μυμαν λα lonzer Cϋα Cλιαϋ  
coryuaϋταταρ Cιαραγ, ζυαρη ραερατ υαην ρο εάλμαν  
αηθ ζαν ταϋαντ, ocuy ηρη ραερατ ηι ο λυμνηϋ co  
Cορραγ can ιηρηθ, ocuy ρο λορρετ ιηλεϋ ιβαρη, ocuy  
ρη ιηρηρετ ηα Θερη δερηερητ. Ro ιηρηταρ, θα, ιν  
λυϋτ cetna θα βλιασαν ρεμηρην Μιθι ocuy Connaϋτα,  
co ραεαταρ Cορρυμιαθ ocuy λειμ Conδυλανθ. Ορο-

<sup>1</sup> *This Ossill.* B. reads, ocuy τορ-  
ϋαρ ιν τοθρηλ λε περαιβ Μυ-  
μαν, ocuy cucc ceso λειρ ι ναεν  
λο: "And this Ossill fell by the men  
of Munster, and 500 with him in one  
day." L. reads also, λε περαιβ Μυ-  
μαν, "by the men of Munster," but  
omits "and 500 hundred with him in  
one day."

<sup>2</sup> *Colphin.* Perhaps *Golfin*. This  
name does not occur in the Annals.

<sup>3</sup> *Was continued.* Literally, "they  
were in their being killed, from Cenn  
Curraigh to Lis-mor."

<sup>4</sup> *Earl Baethbarr.* B. calls him  
θαροβαρη, "Badbarr," omitting the  
title of ιαριλα, or Earl.

<sup>5</sup> *Was drowned.* B. reads, ocuy ρο  
βαϋεαθ ιαττ occ Cϋ Cλιαϋ, τρε  
μιοριβυλιθ Cιαραν ocuy Cεσα  
ocuy Scannal: "And they were  
drowned at Ath Cliath, by the miracles  
of Ciaran and Aedh and Sgandall."

<sup>6</sup> *Twelve hundred heads.* Θα ceso  
θες ιν αεν ιοηασ, B., "twelve  
hundred in one spot." Θα ρορτ, L.,  
"two score," but the words following  
are illegible in this MS. Keating  
has, ζο τρυζ ceαρηαϋαθ ceann  
ταορηγ τοιθ λειρ, ιαρη μαριβασ θα  
ϋεθ αρ ηηλε λοδονηαϋ οηε το:  
"Forty heads of their chieftains were  
borne off by him, after he had killed  
1,200 other Lochlainns." The Four M.

the men of Erinn; and this Ossill,<sup>1</sup> with five hundred men along with him, fell by the men of Erinn in Mumhain in one day. It was in that year that Colphin,<sup>2</sup> and the fleet of Dun Medhoin, were destroyed at Cenn Curraig. And the slaughter of them was continued<sup>3</sup> from Cenn Curraig to Lis-Mor, and numbers of them were killed by Rehtabrat, son of Bran. The Earl Baethbarr,<sup>4</sup> however, escaped with many of the defeated party to Ath Cliath. Afterwards he was drowned<sup>5</sup> at Ath Cliath, through the miracles of Ciaran, and Aedh Scannail, whom they were besieging. It was in that year that Earl Tomar was killed by St. Brendan, three days after he had plundered Cluain Ferta. It was in that year that Aedh Finnliath, son of Niall, gained a battle over them at Loch Febhail, where there fell twelve hundred heads<sup>6</sup> of them in one spot; and all their wealth and all their jewels were taken.

Colphin and the fleet of Dun Medhoin destroyed.

Earl Baethbarr drowned.

Battle of Loch Foyle, A.D. 866.

XXXV. Then Laighen and the men of Mumhain were plundered by Baraid,<sup>7</sup> and Amlaibh's son, with the fleet of Ath Cliath,<sup>8</sup> until they reached Ciarraighe<sup>9</sup>; and they left not a cave there under ground that they did not explore<sup>10</sup>; and they left nothing from Luimnech to Corcach that they did not ravage. And they burned<sup>11</sup> Imleach Ibhair, and they ravaged the southern Desi. The same party, two years before,<sup>12</sup> had ravaged Midhe and Connacht, until they came

Leinster and Munster plundered by Baraid and Amlaff's son, with the Dublin fleet.

say "twelve score heads," A.D. 864. Ann. Ult. 865.

<sup>7</sup> *Baraid.* Ὀαυεθ, L. Ὀαυηυτ, B. Ὀαυετ, Ann. Ult. (A.D. 880). Ὀαυατ, Four M. (A.D. 878).

<sup>8</sup> *With the fleet.* Λεο λουζεγ. D. a mistake of transcription, for which λη λουζεγ; the reading of B. and L., has been substituted. L. has simply, "Laighin and the men of Mumhain were plundered by the fleet of Mac Amhlaibh;" instead of "the fleet of Ath Cliath," and without any mention of Baraid in this place.

<sup>9</sup> *Ciarraighe.* Ciarraighe λιαάρα B.

<sup>10</sup> *Explore.* Lit. "without exploring

it." Can τελαε, L., "without exploring." Σαν ιαυηαο οαυγ ζαν το-χαιετ, B., "without searching and without exploring."

<sup>11</sup> *They burned.* B. reads, ζαν ιη-θηεο οαυγ ζαν λογρεαδ; οαυγ ηο λογρεγιοτ ιηλεαε ιηβαη, οαυγ ηο αηυρεγιοτ ηα Ὀειηι Ὀειρεγτ: "They left nothing from Limerick to Cork that they did not ravage and burn: and they burned Imleach Ibhair, and spoiled the southern Deisi." Ηη Ὀειηι Ὀειρεγτ Ὀε ηουηι, L., "the southern Deisi from the sea."

<sup>12</sup> *Two years before.* Omitted in L. D. reads, λυε for λυετ.

caipdar rin for la ferab Epend. Ro cuped iatum ar ar mac Ragnall ocuy ar Gallab, la h-Ceod mac Heill ic in pleio do ronao do mac Ragnall Ceta Clia. Ro cuipret fein cae etappo .i. Finngemti ocuy Dubgemti, .i. Dauiet ocuy mac Ragnall du i rocair mac Ragnall ocuy rocairi umi, ocuy ro zono Dauiet aro. Ocuy ro ronpat cae for ferab Alban, du irocair Constantin mac Cineda airtu Alban ocuy rocairi umi. Iy aro rin da muig in talum ro ferab Alban.

A cessation of invasions for forty years, ending A.D. 916.

Hacon and Cossanara take Waterford.

Defeated by the Ciarraigh.

XXVI. Da, imorro, arali cumpana derab Epend ryu pe .xl. bliadan can inped gall .i. o remir Maelpellann mic Malruanaro curin mbliadan pe nec Planno mic Malpeclann, ocuy co gabail rizi do Niall Glunob. Iy aro rin ro haclinaro Eriu do longrib gall. Iy aro ona tamic longey la Haconro ocuy la Corra Naia corgabrat ar Loé Tacaech ocuy cor huped Mumain leo. Ro bupedar, ona, Ciarrzi cae porcu, du irocair Tomar Cno Crete. Ro bupedar, ona, Ua Fačas ocuy O Oengura cae ele porcu. Ro bupidar Connaeta ona, for longey Lunnis cae ele.

<sup>1</sup> *These were also.* Da rocairar rian ule beoy, L., "all these were killed together."

<sup>2</sup> *Were slaughtered.* Lit. "a slaughter was put upon Ragnall's son, &c." Ccū mor, B., "a great slaughter." L. adds oc Cthelath, "at Ath Cliath," i.e., Dublin.

<sup>3</sup> *Aedh, son of Niall.* L. reads, "Aed Finnliath Mac Neill:" but B. has la hCeod ua Heill, "by Aedh O'Neill," which is clearly wrong.

<sup>4</sup> *Of Ath Cliath.* In Cthelath, L., "at Ath Cliath."

<sup>5</sup> *Barith.* The same person who is called *Baraid*, at the beginning of this chapter, and who appears to have been the Commander of the *Fair* Gentiles, as Ragnall's son was of the *Black* Gentiles.

<sup>6</sup> *Wounded.* L. adds, ocuy ba

bacaé rian iarran he, "and he was lame ever after that." Sur ba bacaé iarran da eipe, B., "so that he was lame ever after."

<sup>7</sup> *A battle.* L. reads "The black Gentiles after this were driven out of Erinn, and went to Alba (Scotland) where they gained a battle over the men of Alba, in which were slain Constantine, son of Cinaedh, chief king of Alba, and a great many with him." See the original, App. A. B. omits the clause, "in which fell Constantine, &c., and many with him."

<sup>8</sup> *Under the men.* Ro coraib fer nAlban, B., "under the feet of the men of Alba."

<sup>9</sup> *Forty years.* There is probably a mistake in this number. See Introduction.

<sup>10</sup> *Haconn.* This is the reading of L.

*8. Ann. Duchenn. records  
this invasion, p 665.  
occurrences } AD 890?*

to Corcumruadh and Leim-Conchulainn. These were also<sup>1</sup> killed by the men of Erinn. After this Ragnall's son and the foreigners were slaughtered<sup>2</sup> by Aedh, son of Niall,<sup>3</sup> at the banquet that was made for Ragnall's son of Ath Cliath.<sup>4</sup> A battle was fought between themselves, viz., between the Fair Gentiles and the Black Gentiles, that is to say, between Barith<sup>5</sup> and Ragnall's son, in which fell Ragnall's son and many with him; but Barith was wounded<sup>6</sup> there. And they gained a battle<sup>7</sup> over the men of Alba, wherein fell Constantine, son of Cinaeth, chief king of Alba, and many with him. It was on that occasion that the earth burst open under the men<sup>8</sup> of Alba.

*Sim. Sur. p 665*

XXVI. Now, however, there was some rest to the men of Erinn for a period of forty years,<sup>9</sup> without ravage of the foreigners: viz., from the reign of Maelseachlainn, son of Maehruanaidh, to the year before the death of Flann, son of Maelseachlainn, and the accession to the throne of Niall Glundubh. It was then that Erinn became again filled with the fleets of the foreigners. It was then came a fleet under Haconn<sup>10</sup> and under Cossa-Nara,<sup>11</sup> and seized on Loch da Caech, and Mumhain was plundered by them. The Ciarraige then defeated them in a battle, where fell Thomas Cinn Crete.<sup>12</sup> The Ui Fathaigh,<sup>13</sup> also, and the Ui Oenghusa defeated them in another battle. The men of Connacht also gained another battle over the fleet of

A cessation of invasions for forty years, ending A.D. 916.

Hacon and Cossanara take Waterford.

Defeated by the Ciarraige.

and B. which has been adopted, instead of *Cond*, the reading of D.

<sup>11</sup> *Cossa-Nara*. Κοσαναρια, B. The Annals, although they notice this invasion of Loch da Chaech, or Waterford harbour, do not give the names of the leaders.

<sup>12</sup> *Thomas Cinn Crete*. Dr. O'Donovan suggests, that Cenn Crede may be the place called *Credan head*, barony of Galtier, east of county Waterford, where the Danes had a settlement; and that Thomas of Cenn Crete was a Dane of that place, who seems from

his name to have been a Christian. B. omits the whole passage, Ρο βυρεταρ ονα Ciarraige [so in D., but read Ciarraige] κατ πορτου, γκ., to Ο Οεngυρα κατ ελε πορτου, inclusive; substituting only Οα βυρεταρ υαααδ κατ πορτα, which is evidently wrong.

<sup>13</sup> *Ui Fathaigh*. The inhabitants of Iffa and Offa, county Tipperary. The Ui Oenghusa were the descendants of Oenghus Mac Nadfraidh, king of Munster, who was killed A.D. 489 (Four M., where see Dr. O'Donovan's note).

Րօ Երբեժար ՏՈՒ ԿԻՐԱՅԻ ՕՍԿ ԸՐԵՍԱՐԿԻՄ ԵԱԾ ԷԼԵ  
ՔՐՅԱ ԻՇ ԼԵՄԱՆ, ՏԱ ԻՐՈՒՅԱՐ ՐՈԼՇ ՔՍԾԱՐԱԼԼ, ՕՍԿ  
ՇՐԱ ԵՇՏ ՍՄՈ, ՕՍԿ ՄՍՐԱԼԼ.

The fleet of  
Dublin  
under the  
children of  
Ivor.

XXVII. ԿԱՆԵ ԻՂՅԻՄ յՈՅ ԼՈՆՅԵՐ ԲՈՒԼ ՄՈՔ ԸԼԱՆՈՒ  
ԽՄԱՐ ԽՈՒՈՒՇ ԸԼԻԱԾ; ՕՍԿ յՈ ԽԻՐԵԾ ՍՐՄՈՔ ԵՐԵՆԾ ՍԼԻ  
ԼԵՈ, ՕՍԿ յՈ ԼՈՇԵԾ ԼԵՈ ԱՄ ԱՐԾՄԱՃԱ; ՕՍԿ յՈ ԵՐԿՐԾԱՐ  
ԵԱԾ ՔՐՔ ՔԼԱՆԾ ՄԱՇ ՄԱԼՔԸԼԱՆՈ ՏԱ Ի ՏՐՈՒՅԱՐ ԱՇԾ  
ՄԱՇ ԸՈՆԿՅԱՐ, ՕՍԿ ԼԵՐՅԱՐ ՄԱՇ ԸՐՈՆԵԿԱՆ ԵՐԿՐՈՔ  
ԸԼԼԻ ԾԱՐԱ, ՕՍԿ ԾՈՒՇԱԾ ՄԱՇ ՄԱԼԾՄԱՆ ԱԲԲ ԾԵԼՅԱ;  
Ի. Մ ԵԼԻԱԾԱՆ յՈ ՄԱՐԵԾՈ ՄԱԼՔԸԼԱՆՈ ԻՐ Ի ԵԼԻԱԾԱՆ;  
ՕՍԿ յՈ ԽԱՐՅԵԾ ՕՍԿ յՈ ԼՈՂԵԾ ԼԱԵՐ ՄՈՔ ԼԱ ՄԱՇ  
ԽՄԱՐ, ՕՍԿ յՈ ԽԱՐՅԵԾ ԸԼԱՆ ԱՄԱՆԱ; ՕՍԿ յՈ ՄԱՐ-  
ԵԾ ՔԵՐՅԱԼ ՄԱՇ ՔԻՆԱՇՏԱ ԵՐԿՐՈՔ ՕՍԿ ԱԲԲ ԸԼԱՆԱ,  
ՕՍԿ ԱՄԱՆԱ ՄԱՇ ՇԵՐԱ ՄՈ ՂԵՈՔՈՔ. ԻՐ յԻ ՂՅՈ ՔՐՔ  
ԵԼԻԱԾԱՆ ԱՐ ՄԱՐԵԾՈ ԾՈՆՈՒՇԱԾ ՄԱՇ ԾՈՒԵԾԱԾՈՐԵՆԾ յԻ  
ԿԱՐՂԼ, ՕՍԿ ՏԻՐՅԱՇ յԻ ՃԱԼԼ, ՕՍԿ ԾԱ ՔՈՅԻՐԱՇ ԻՔՅԱԼԱ  
ՄՈՒՇԱ ԷԼԵ ՔԵ ԼԱՅՈՒԵ ԻՂՅՈ ԵԼԻԱԾԱՆ. ՇԵՐԱ ԵԼԻԱԾՈՒ  
ԻՂՅԻՄ յՈ ՔԱՐԻՐԱՇ ՃԱԼԼ ԵՐՄՈՒՇ, ՕՍԿ ԼՈՇՏԱՐ ՄՈ ԱԼԵԱՆ  
ՄՈ ՏԻՐՅԱՇ ՄԱՇ ԽՄԱՐ.

Synchron-  
isms of the  
war.

The fo-  
reigners  
invade  
Scotland.

<sup>1</sup> *Corcobhaiscinn*, now *Corkocascin*. A people in Thomond, south-west of the county Clare. Lemhain [pron. *Levan*] or Lanne, is a river falling into the Lower Lake of Killarney. B. reads, Րօ Երբեժար Կոնաճաճա ԵԱԾ ՔՐՔ ԼՈՆՅԵՐԿ ԼՄՈՒՈՒՇ, ՕՍԿ ՏՈ Երբեժար Կարաճաճա ՕՍԿ ԸՐԵՍԱՐԿԻՄ ԵԱԾ ԷԼԵ ՔՐՅԱՇ ԱՅ ԼԵՄԱՆ: "The Connaught men gained a battle over the fleet of Limerick, and the Kerry men and Corcobhaiscinn another battle over them at the Lemain." L. makes the victors in this battle to be the Eoghanachts [of Killarney], and the Corcoduibhne [now Corkaguinny, in Kerry], instead of the Ciarraige and Corcobhaiscinn

<sup>2</sup> *Rot Pudarill*. These names, as given in D., seem intended to denote a single chieftain. B. and L. speak evidently of more than one. B. gives their names Rot, Pudarill, and Smurall:

ՏԱ Ի ԵՐՈՔՐՈՂ ՐՈՇ ՔՍԾԱՐԱԼԼ ՕՍԿ ՏՄՍՐԱԼԼ, ՕՍԿ ՇՐԱ ԵՇՏ ԱՄԱԼԼԵ ՂՅԱ: "In which fell Rot Pudarill and Smurall, and 300 along with them." L. has Ascalt, Putrall, and Smurall. See Appendix A. These names do not occur in the Annals.

<sup>3</sup> *Pillaged*. B. reads յՈ ԼՈՂՔԵԱԾ, "was burned."

<sup>4</sup> *Son of Cronegan*. Lorgus Mac Cronegan, B. Lergus Mac Crundmael, L. Lergus Mac Cruinden, Four M. (A.D. 885). Lergus Mac Cruinnein, Ann. Ult. (A.D. 887).

<sup>5</sup> *Mac Maelduin*. Donnchadh Mael, L. Donnchadh Mac Maeleuin, B. and Four M., with the inflection or genitive, in both parts of the compound name. He is called Abbot of *Dun Delga* (abb ԾՄՄ ԾԵԼԸԸԱ), in B., and of *Cill Delga*, in Four M. and Ult. The place intended is now Kildalkey, county Meath. After the word ԾԵԼԸԸԱ,

Luinneach. Moreover, the Ciarraighe and the Corcobh-  
 aiscinn<sup>1</sup> gained another battle over them at Lemain; in  
 which fell Rolt Pudarill,<sup>2</sup> and three hundred with him,  
 and Murail.

XXVII. After this came the prodigious royal fleet of  
 the children of Imhar to Ath Cliath; and the greater part  
 of all Erin was plundered by them; Ard Macha, also, was  
 pillaged<sup>3</sup> by them; and they gained a battle over Flann,  
 son of Maelsechlainn, in which fell Aedh, son of Con-  
 chobhar, and Lergus, son of Cronecan,<sup>4</sup> bishop of Cill Dara,  
 and Donchadh, son of Maelduin,<sup>5</sup> abbot of Delga; viz., the  
 year in which Maelsechlainn<sup>6</sup> was killed was the year;  
 and Lis-mor was plundered and burned by the son of  
 Imhar, and Cluain Uamha plundered, and Fergal, son of  
 Finachta, bishop and abbot of Cluain<sup>7</sup> killed, as well as  
 Uanan, son of Cerin, the prior.<sup>8</sup> This was also the year in  
 which were killed Donnchadh, son of Duibhdabhorenn,  
 king of Cassel, and Sitriuc, king of the foreigners<sup>9</sup>; and  
 they fought many other battles against the Laighen this  
 year.<sup>10</sup> Four years after this<sup>11</sup> the foreigners left Erin,  
 and went to Alba under Sitriuc, son of Imhar.

The fleet of  
 Dublin  
 under the  
 children of  
 Ivor.

Synchron-  
 isms of the  
 war.

The fo-  
 reigners  
 invade  
 Scotland.

B. begins a new paragraph. In  
 bliadain ro marbad Maelseclainn  
 lan i n-ir in bliadain, &c.: "The  
 year Maelsechlainn was killed was the  
 same year in which Lismore," &c.

<sup>6</sup> *Maelsechlainn*. L. reads, "the year  
 in which *this* Maelsechlainn was killed."  
 There is evidently some error which  
 has caused a confusion in the Chrono-  
 logy—for Maelsechlainn died [and was  
 not killed] on Tuesday, the 30th No-  
 vember, A.D. 863 (860 of the Four M.  
 Comp. O'Flaherty, *Ogg.*, p. 434), up-  
 wards of twenty years before the events  
 here recorded. See App. A., and note.

<sup>7</sup> *Of Cluain*. B. omits Cluain.  
 The Four M. (A.D. 885), call him  
 abbot [not abbot and bishop] of *Cluain*  
*Uamha*. L. reads also Cluain uamha,  
 Cloyne, not Clonmacnois.

<sup>8</sup> *Prior*. Secnop [Secnapp, B.  
 Secnabb, L.], lit. "sub-abbot." The  
 Four M. call him ppióir, "prior," (A.D.  
 885.) His name is variously given  
 Uanan Mac Cernin, B. Uanan Cerin,  
 L. Uamanán Mac Cérén, Four M.

<sup>9</sup> *Sitriuc, King of the foreigners*.  
 Sitruucc mac ruí gal, B., "son of  
 the king of the foreigners." Siugrad  
 mac Imair ruí gal, L. "Siugrad,  
 son of Imar, king of the foreigners."  
 The Annals of Ulster (A.D. 887),  
 have "Sichfrith Mac Imair, rex Nord-  
 mannorum a fratre suo per dolum  
 occisus est."

<sup>10</sup> *This year*. Ir in bliadain ceona,  
 B., "in the same year."

<sup>11</sup> *After this*. B. omits i n-ir, "after  
 this." L. omits altogether this clause,  
 recording the invasion of Scotland.

Ragnall  
and Ottir  
land at  
Waterford  
Bay with  
innumera-  
ble hordes.

XXVIII. Τανιϋ, ιμορρο, ιαρριη τολα μορ διαριμιϋ  
pe Ραζναλλ ηυα ηιμαρ, οσυρ pe ηΟττιρ ιαριε εορ  
ζαβρατ αρ Λοϋ Ταϋαειϋ, οσυρ πο μαρβαο leo Τομ-  
ναλλ mac Τοunchαδα ρυζομνα Καρριλ, οσυρ πο ηιηριτ  
Μυρεραζι οσυρ Ηι Καρριη, οσυρ πο ροιηιρετ ετορρο  
ιριϋ ιαρριη .ι. α τριαν ι Κορεαζ, οσυρ α τριαν ι ηιηιρ  
να ηεθουζι, οσυρ α τριαν ιε Γλαρ Λιηο, οσυρ πο ηιηρεο  
Μυμαιη υβι leo ρηη, ζυ να ραβι τεαζ να τεηι ο Ληι  
ροδερ. Ιη βλιαοαιη πεηεϋ Ρλαηηο ηιϋ Μαηρεϋλαιηηη  
ρηη. Ιρ Λειρ ηη λοηζιρηη, οηα, ρο μαρβαο Γεβηηηαϋ  
mac Αεδα ρηζ Ηα Κοηαλλ, οσυρ ρυερατ α εηηο leo αρ  
να μαρβαο, κοηηο δε αρβερετ ηη ρηηο—

Μορ ηη ρεε α Τοϋ το ηηη,  
Α βειϋ ιε μηητιρ Τομαρ,  
Ρεζαηο υαηβ εηηο ρηζ Γαβρα  
Μηηο αμρηα ηρεταιρ τομαηη.

A.D. 916. 18 leo ρηη ρο μαρβαο Αηηε mac Καϋαη ρη Ηαϋηη  
Ρηοβαζ, οσυρ λοηζρεαϋ mac Σετνα ρη Ηαϋηη Τιρη.

For ραϋρατ here, and in many other places, (see p. 24, lines 18, 19,) D. reads αϋρατ, omitting the quiescent initial ρ. So also οεραηβ for οϋεραηβ (p. 26, line 7.)

<sup>1</sup> *Ragnall*. The arrival of a great fleet of foreigners at Loch dá Caech [Waterford], is recorded by the Four M., A.D. 912 (Ann. Ult. 913); and they are called "the foreigners of Loch dá Caech," Ann. Ult. 914, 915. The Four M. (A.D. 915), and Ann. Ult. (A.D. 916), speak of the fleet under Ragnall, as having come to reinforce a previously established settlement at Loch dá Caech. But neither of these authorities mention the Earl Ottir, who is called *Oifir* in B: *λε Ραζναλλ ο ηιλοηηαρ*, οσυρ *λε ηΟηιρ*, ιαριεα. D. spells the name ηετιρ, omitting ο, probably by an error of the scribe. The Saxon Chron. men-

tions an Earl "*Ohter*," slain A.D. 910. For τολα μόρη διαριμιτε (τολα μόρη διαριμηε, B.) "innumerable hordes," L. reads μόρη κοβλαϋ, "a great fleet."  
<sup>2</sup> *Domhnall, son of Donnchadh*. B. omits this name.

<sup>3</sup> *Afterwards*. Α τριη ιαο, B., "they separated into three." Ρα ραηερετ ιαριραη, L., "they separated afterwards."

<sup>4</sup> *Inis na hEdnighi*. Ηηιρ ηα ηεθουζι, B. Ηηιρ ηα ηεθουαζι, L. This place is in the county Kerry, now called Iny.

<sup>5</sup> *From Lui*. Ο λαιο, B. Ο ληη, L. and D., meaning, no doubt, the river Lee.

<sup>6</sup> *The year*. B. reads ηη βλιαοαιη pe ηεϋϋ Ρλοηηη ηιϋ Μαοηεεϋλαιηηη: "There was not a house or a hearth from the Lee southwards, in the year before the death of Flann, son of

XXVIII. Afterwards came innumerable hordes under Ragnall,<sup>1</sup> grandson of Imar, and the Earl Ottir, and they landed at Loch dá Caech; and Domhnall, son of Donnchadh,<sup>2</sup> heir apparent of Caisel, was killed by them: and they plundered Muscraige and Ui Cairpre; and they afterwards<sup>3</sup> separated into three parties; one-third settled in Corcach, and one-third in Inis na hEdnighi,<sup>4</sup> and one-third in Glas-Linn; and the whole of Munster was ravaged by them, so that there was not a house or a hearth from Lui<sup>5</sup> southward. This was the year<sup>6</sup> before the death of Flann, son of Maelsechlainn. It was also by that fleet that Gebennach, son of Aedh, king of Ui Conaill,<sup>7</sup> was killed, and they carried away his head after killing him. Wherefore the poet<sup>8</sup> said—

Ragnall and Ottir land at Waterford Bay with innumerable hordes. f. 32. B. The ...  
 that "Earl Ottir" was slain. A.D. 914  
 "a brother of Ottir the other earl, & how he was slain to Flann the ...  
 earl, & how he was slain to Flann the ...  
 earl to Ireland

Great is the pity, O God of heaven,  
 That the people of Tomar should have it!  
 Behold the head of Gabhra's king is taken from you!  
 Illustrious gem of the west of the world!

It was by them were killed Anle,<sup>9</sup> son of Cathal, king of A.D. 916. Uaithne-Fidhbhaigh, and Loingsech, son of Setna, king of Uaithne-Thiri.

Maelsechlainn." This clause is omitted in L.

<sup>7</sup> King of Ui Conaill: i.e., of the Ui Conaill Gabhra, or barony of Conelloe, west of county Limerick. The Four M. call him king of the Ui Fidhgainte (A.D. 914), which is not a real difference. For the relation between the Ui Conaill Gabhra and the Ui Fidhgainte, see Dr. O'Donovan's notes, *Leabhar na gCeart*, pp. 67, 76.

<sup>8</sup> The poet. B. omits, in ʒ110. In line 2 of the quatrain, B. reads ʒ ʒ110 ʒ; and L. ʒ ʒ110 ʒ Thomar. Line 3 in L. is illegible, but in B. is thus given, ʒ ʒ110 ʒ ʒ110 ʒ ʒ110 ʒ ʒ110 ʒ, "behold the head of bright Gabhra's king is taken from you." ʒ ʒ110, D., for which ʒ ʒ110 is sub-

stituted from B. "Muintir Tomair;" the people or family of Tomar, a name given to the Danes of Dublin. See the Poem quoted by the Four M., A.D. 942; and Dr. O'Donovan's Pref. to the *Book of Rights*, p. xxxvi, sq. Line 4, ʒ ʒ110 ʒ, B., which is more correct.

<sup>9</sup> Anle. B. reads, ʒ ʒ110 ʒ ʒ110 ʒ ʒ110 ʒ ʒ110 ʒ, omitting the notice of Loingsech, by an error of transcription. Uaithne-Fidhbhaigh, called also Uaithne-Cliach (now Owney beg), is a barony north-east of the county Limerick. Uaithne-Tire (now Owney), is an adjoining barony, county Tipperary. Anle, is called son of "Cathan, not Cathal, in L.; Four M. (A.D. 914), and Ann. Ult. (A.D. 915-16).

An extraordinary slaughter of the foreigners, at Dunmain, A.D. 869.

XXIX. ԿՈ ՏՈՂԼԱԾ ԾՈՂ, ԾՈՒՆ ՄԱՆ ՄԱՐԷՍԻՐ ԵՐԵՆԾ, ՕՍԻՐ ՔՈ ՇՍԵԾ ԱՐ ԾԵՐՄԱՐ ԾԱՐՆԵՐ ԲՈՐ ԾԱԼԼԱԻ ԿՈ ԼԱ ԿՈՆԼԻԶԱՆ ՄԱՇ ՄԱԼԵՐՈՒՆ, ՕՍԻՐ ԼԱ ԻԾՕՅԱՆԱԾԷ ԼԱՃԱ ԼԵՆ, ՕՍԻՐ ՔԵ ՔԼԱՆԾԱԲՐԱԾ ԱՅ Ա ԿԾՈՒՆԱԾԱՅ, ՔԻ ԱՅ ԿՈՆՆԱԼԼ, ՕՍԻՐ ՔԵ ԿՈՆՅԱԼԱՇ ՄԱՇ ԼԱՇԽՆԱ ՔԻ ՇԻՐԱՅԻ, ՕՍԻՐ ԼԱ ԻՐԿՍԻՐ ԵՐԵՆԾ ԱՐ ՇԵՆԱ ԻՐ ՔԻ ՔԻՆ ԵԼԻԾԱՆ ԿՈՐՈՇԱՐ ԿՈԼՔԻՆ Ի ԿՈՆԾ ԿՍՐԻՅԱՅ, ՕՍԻՐ ՔՈ ԵԱՇԵԾ ԾԱԵՃԵԱՐՐ. ԻՐ ՔԻ ՔԻՆ ԵԼԻԾԱՆ ՔՈ ԱՐՅ ԱՆԼԱԻ ԿԱՇ ՔԻՅ ԼՈՇԼԱՆՆ ԼԱԵՐ ՄՈՐ; ՕՍԻՐ ՔՈ ԼՈՒՔ ՔՕՆԵՐԵԱՆ ՄԱՇ ԾՐՈՅՆԵԱՆ, ՕՍԻՐ ՔԻՐ ՄԱՅԻ ԼԵՐ, ԼՈՆՏՐՈՐԿ ԱՆԼԱԻ ՔԵ ՆԱԾՇԻ ՄՈՇ, ՕՍԻՐ ՔՈ ՄԱՐԻ Ե ԵՐԱՇԱՐ ՔԵՆ ԻՐՔԻՆ Ա. ՕՐԻԼԼ, ՕՍԻՐ ԵԱ ՄՈՐԵԱԼ ԾՈ ՄԱՇՍԾՈ ՔԻՆ. ԻՐ ՔԻ ՔԻՆ ԵԼԻԾԱՆ, ՄՈՐՔՐՈ, ՔՈ ԵՐՔ ԿՈՆՇՍԵԱՐ ՄԱՇ ԿԱՐՅ ՔԻ ԿՈՆԱՇԷ, ՕՍԻՐ ԱՇԾ ՔԻՆՈՒԼԱՇ ՄԱՇ ՆԵԼԼ ԿԱԼԼԻ ԿԱՇ ԷԼԵ ՔՈՐՔՍ Ա. ԿԱՇ ԿԻԼԼԻ ԱՅ Ա ԿԾԱՅՔԻ, ԾՈ ԿՈՐՈՇԱՐ Ա. ՇԵՏ ԾՈ ՆԱ ՔԻՆՕՅԵՆԻԻ, ԾՈ ՄՈՐՈՇԱՐ ՄԱՇ ԿՈՆՆԱՆՅ ՔԻ ԾՐԵՄԱՅԵ ԱՐՕԵՆ ՔԻՆ, ՕՍԻՐ ԾԻՐՄԱՐԿ ՄԱՇ ԵՒԵՐՔԵՕԻԼ ՔԻ ԼԱՃԱ ԾԱԵԱՐ Ա. ՔԵ ԵԼԻԾՆԱ ԻՐՆԵՇ ՄԱԼՔԵԼԱՆԾ ՄՈՇ ՄԱԼՔԱՆԱՐԾ. ԻՐ ԱՐ ՔԻՆ ԾՈ ՔԻՅՈՒ ՄՅԵՆ ՆԵԼԼ Ա. ՔԻՐ ԱՇԾԱ ՕՍԻՐ ՄԱՇԱՐ ՔԼԱՆԾ,

Battle of Cell Ua nDaighre, A.D. 869.

ՏՍՐԻՐԱՆ, ԾՍՐԻՐԱՆ, ԾԵՅՐԵԼ, ԾՐՈՇՐԵԼ  
 ՄԱՐՈՒՆ ԿԱՇԱ ՔԱՇՈ ՔԵՄԱՅ,  
 ՏՍՐԻՐԱՆ ՔԻՅ ԾՈ ՔԻՅՈՒ ՔԱԼԻԾ  
 ԾՍՐԻՐԱՆ ՔԻ ՔՈՐՔԱՐ ՄԱՅ.

<sup>1</sup> *Demolished.* B. reads, ԿՈ ՏՈՂԼԱԾ ԼԵՕ ԾՈՒՆ ՄԱՆԵ, "Dunmaine was demolished by them;" and for "west of Ireland," a marginal note suggests an ԻՐԿՍԱՐ ՄԱՆԻՆԱՆ, "west of Munster."

<sup>2</sup> *Indescribable.* B. omits ԾԱՐՆԵՐԻ, and reads, ԱՐ ՄՈՐ ԾԵՐՄԱՐ, "a great, enormous slaughter."

<sup>3</sup> *Dunadhach.* D. reads, "Ua Dunardaigh:" an error which has been corrected from B. Comp. Four M., A.D. 833, 834; Ann. Ulst. 834.

<sup>4</sup> *With him.* B. reads, ՔԻՐ ՄԱՅԻ ՄԱԼԼԻ ՔԱՐ. This defeat of Amlaff and Oisill, at Lismore, seems to be the

same that was mentioned above, chap. xxiv.; where mention is also made of the death of Colphin, and the drowning of Baethbarr.

<sup>5</sup> *Own brother:* i.e., Amhlaibh's own brother.

<sup>6</sup> *Mochuda.* St. Mochuda; the patron saint of Lismore. The victory is ascribed to his miraculous aid.

<sup>7</sup> *Connacht.* B. reads, ԿԱՆՆԱՇԻԿԱ, which is evidently wrong. See the Four M. (A.D. 866), and Dr. O'Donovan's notes.

<sup>8</sup> *Five hundred.* B. reads, .ix.c., "nine hundred." It appears from the account given by the Four M., that this was

XXIX. Dun Main, in the west of Erin, was demolished,<sup>1</sup> and an extraordinary and indescribable<sup>2</sup> slaughter of the foreigners was effected there by Conligan, son of Maelcron, and the Eoganachts of Loch Lein, and by Flannabrat, grandson of Dunadach,<sup>3</sup> king of Ui Conaill; and by Congalach, son of Lachtna, king of Ciarraighe; and by the whole west of Erin. This was the year in which Colphinn fell at Cenn Curraigh, and Baethbarr was drowned. This was the year in which Amlaibh, son of the king of Lochlainn plundered Leas Mor; and Foenteran, son of Drognean, and the Fir Muighi with him,<sup>4</sup> burned Amlaibh's camp before night in revenge, and he killed his own brother<sup>5</sup> after that, viz., Osill; and these were the miracles of Mochuda.<sup>6</sup> This was the year, also, in which Conchobhar, son of Tadhg, king of Connacht,<sup>7</sup> and Aedh Finnliath, son of Niall Caille, gained another battle over them, viz., the battle of Cell ua nDaighre, in which fell five hundred<sup>8</sup> of the fair Gentiles; where fell the son of Conang, king of Bregh-Magh, along with them, and Diarmait, son of Eidirscel, king of Loch Gabhair, six years after the death of Maelsechlainn, son of Maelruanaidh. It was upon it<sup>9</sup> that Niall's daughter,<sup>10</sup> i.e., the sister of Aedh, and mother of Flann, composed *these lines* :—

See next page 35.

An extraordinary slaughter of the foreigners, at Dunmain, A.D. 869.

Battle of Cell Ua nDaighre, A.D. 869.

Joy! woe! good news! bad news!  
 The defeat of a bloody battle by him,  
 Joy to the king who won, let him rejoice!  
 Sorrow to the king who was defeated!

really a battle between Aedh Finnliath, king of Ireland, and Flann, son of Conang, king or lord of Bregia; the Fingaiill, or Fair Gentiles, acting as auxiliaries to the latter.

<sup>9</sup> Upon it: i.e., upon the battle.

<sup>10</sup> Niall's daughter. The mother of Flann, king of Bregh-magh, or Bregia, who fell in the battle, was the sister of Aedh Finnliath, king of Ireland, and daughter of Niall Caille; so that Flann was fighting against his uncle on the

side of the Norsemen. The verses here quoted, as the composition of Flann's mother, are given in the Leabhar Gabhala of the O'Clearys (p. 204), and also in the Four M. From these copies we gather the following various readings: *Line 2*, Ρεμ(α)ξ) Ρομ(α)τ, B. Ραε-ναξ, Four M. and L. Gabh. *Line 3*, σο γυζου πα(ι)σο) οια νθεαρ(α) πα-οι(ι)σο, Four M. and L. Gabh. *Line 4*, φορ(α)ρ(α) μα(α)ξ) φορ(α)ρ(α) ποεμ(α)τ, B., Four M. and L. Gabh.

Ragnall and Ottir slain in Scotland, A.D. 916.

Ro mmarbait iarfriu tra ariu Mumain, ocuf dacua-  
tar in nAlban, ocuf tuerat cað [do] Comrtantiu mac  
Aeda .i. do ruð Alban, ocuf ro marbait arden and, .i.  
Ragnall ocuf Otir, ocuf ár a muntiu leo.

Arrival of Sitric, grandson of Imar.

XXX. In bliadain ro gab Hiall Flunub ruðe nEreuo  
riu, tamc, dona, longef ele la Sitruuc ua nImar cop  
gabrat i Curo Ruat, ocuf ro hinrut lazin leo, ocuf ro  
ruarpet cað for Ugaru mac Alillela .i. for ru lazen,  
du inrocaur barden ocuf Maelmorua mac Murei-

Battle of Cenn Fuait, A.D. 916.

zean ru iarfriu Lipe, ocuf Mus[róin] mac Cenneitiz  
ru laðre, ocuf na tra Coman, ocuf Cionaeð mac  
Tuacal ruð O nEneclur, ocuf Maelmaeðoc mac Oiar-  
mata ab Flinne Uren, ocuf arðerpuð laðen, ocuf  
ru eccna na nðaridhel, ocuf re ðet arden ruu, in  
caeccat ruð. Ro harcedo Cell Oara leo ar ru, acuf  
ruarop cell nEreuo.

Kildare plundered.

Sitric, the blind, takes Dublin.

XXXI. Tamc iarfriu ruðlongef adbal mox la Sit-  
ruuce, ocuf la cloinn huar, .i. la Sitruuce caeð ua  
nlohar, gur gabrat ar eiccu i nOuiblino Aða Cliað,  
ocuf do ruarpet forbaru ann. Oo ruoað dona moir-  
tionól leite Cuinn la Hiall Flunoub mac Aoda], co  
tuc cað doib ic Að Cliað du inrocaur Hiall barpuo

The battle of Dublin, A.D. 919.

<sup>1</sup> *Banished.* For ro mmarbat iarfriu tra ariu Mumain, B. reads, do marbað tra ru inle ruu Mu-riam, "they were all killed then in Mumain," which is inconsistent with what follows, that they went into Scotland.

<sup>2</sup> *Into Albain.* L. omits the whole of this chapter except the concluding paragraph beginning with these words. See Appendix A. And it is evident that this paragraph is out of its place in the text, and ought to be read in continuation of the preceding chapter, for it was the fleet of Loch da Caech (Waterford bay), there mentioned, that went into Scotland under the command of Ragnall and Ottir, and were defeated by Constantine III., in

or about A.D. 916. See Four M., *in anno*, and Keating, p. 623. B. transposes the words, In bliadain ro gab Hiall Flunub [read, Flunoub] ruð, nEreuo ru, giving them after Sitruuc ua nImar. The meaning is the same.

<sup>3</sup> *A battle.* The Ann. Ult., Four M., and Keating, state distinctly that this battle was fought at Cenn Fuait: but Keating makes Imar (not the grandson of Imar), the leader of the foreigners on the occasion.

<sup>4</sup> *Western Life.* D. and Keating read, iarfriu Lipe, "western Liffey." But the Ann. Ult., Leab. Gabh., Four M., and B., read arfriu, "eastern," which is probably correct.

<sup>5</sup> *Mughron.* The remainder of this

They were afterwards banished<sup>1</sup> from Mumhain, and went into Albain<sup>2</sup>; and they gave battle to Constantine, son of Aedh, king of Albain, in which both were killed, viz., Ragnhall and Otir, and their people slaughtered with them.

Ragnhall and Otir slain in Scotland. A.D. 916.

XXX. The same year in which Niall Glundubh became monarch of Erin there came another fleet with Sitriuc, grandson of Imar, and they settled at Cenn Fuait; and Laighin was plundered by them, and they gained a battle<sup>3</sup> over Ugaire, son of Ailill, king of Laighin, in which he himself was killed, and Maelmordha, son of Muireigean, king of western Lifé,<sup>4</sup> and Mugh[roin],<sup>5</sup> son of Cenneidigh, king of Laighis and of the three Comanns, and Cionaeth, son of Tuathal, king of O nEnechlais, and Maelmaedhog, son of Diarmaid, abbot of Glenn Uisen and archbishop of Laighin, a learned sage of the Gaedhil, and six hundred with them, together with fifty kings. Cell Dara was then plundered by them, and the greater part of the churches of Erin.

Arrival of Sitriuc, grandson of Imar.

Battle of CennFuait, A.D. 916.

Kildare plundered.

XXXI. There came after that an immense royal fleet with Sitriuc and the children of Imar, i.e., Sitriuc, the blind,<sup>6</sup> grandson of Imar; and they forcibly landed<sup>7</sup> at Dubhlinn of Ath Cliath, and made an encampment there. The great muster of Leth Cuinn<sup>8</sup> was made by Niall Glundubh, son of Aedh,] and he gave them battle at Ath Cliath,<sup>9</sup> where Niall fell, who was<sup>10</sup> the monarch of Erin, and

Sitriuc, the blind, takes Dublin.

See p. 24. *derms* *cont.*

The battle of Dublin, A.D. 919.

chapter, (after the first syllable of this word,) and the first five lines of the next, as marked by brackets in the text, are wanting in D., owing to the loss of a portion of a leaf in the MS. The deficiency is supplied from B.

<sup>6</sup> *Sitriuc, the blind.* Called Sitriuc Gále (ḡále) in the L. Gabh. (p. 210), and by the Four M. (A.D. 817). He is expressly called grandson of Imar, and therefore was probably the same as the Sitriuc, grandson of Imar, who settled at Cenn Fuait, as mentioned in the foregoing chapter.

<sup>7</sup> *Forcibly landed.* The Four M. give 836, as the date of the first occupation

of Dublin by the foreigners. In the interval the Irish may have recovered possession.

<sup>8</sup> *Leth Cuinn.* See p. 8, note 7.

<sup>9</sup> *At Ath Cliath.* The Ann. Ulr. (A.D. 918-19), and Four M. (917), tell us that this battle was fought on Wednesday, 17 Kal. Oct. [not 17 Oct., as Dr. O'Donovan has printed it], and that Easter fell that year on the 7 Kal. of May. These criteria, as O'Flaherty remarks (*Oggg.* p. 434), determine the year to be 919.

<sup>10</sup> *Who was.* Ὁ δόριον ἀρτορι Εἰρην, B. a difference of spelling only.

арору Ерено, окуп да ру дес то ругаб Ерено уни .i.  
 Niall Glun-  
 dubb, and  
 twelve  
 other kings  
 slain.

Ніалл батен, окуп Concubair mac Maelveclainn, руг-  
 domnia Tempaë, окуп Conaing mac Flaunн ридомна  
 Ерено, окуп Flaithbertaë mac Domnaill ридомна  
 еиле Ерено, окуп Aed mac Eodada ру Ulad, окуп  
 Maelmuir mac Flaunugan ру Drieg, окуп Erimon mac  
 Cennoicis Flaith Ceneil Manu, окуп Congalach mac  
 Celi ру Ua Macuair, окуп Congalach mac Dremcan ру  
 Cromthane, Maelmuir mac Aibita ру Muzornn, окуп  
 Deocan mac Domnaill ру Cranaëta, окуп Dinan mac  
 Cerballan, окуп Drenan mac Ferghair, окуп urmor  
 maëi leäi Cunnн ароен руу ру, окуп рулас диармуи  
 ele.

Gothrin  
 plunders  
 Armagh.  
 A.D. 921.  
 Defeat of  
 the foreign-  
 ers at Tigh-  
 Mic-Deic-  
 thig.

XXXII. Ro himped, dona, tarcepe Ereno pe Goth-  
 rin mac Imar iarun, окуп ро hairgед Airmaca. Cro  
 tra aët tarur roppeo ron in caë ru, romam Tomair  
 pe cenн mblicona; dais ро bur Donäo mac Mael-  
 veclainn caë roppeo rom iarun ic Tis Mic Deicis, окуп

<sup>1</sup> *Himself.* Fodem, B. The kings who fell with Niall in this battle are differently enumerated in the authorities; and, except in D., the number *twelve* is not retained. Conchobhar, son of Maelsechnaill (as in B., D., and Keat.) is termed *grandson* of Maelsechnaill, by the Ann. Ult., L. Gabh., and Four M. Aedh, son of Eochadh, is called son of Eochagan, by L. Gabh., Four M., and Keat. Eremhon, son of Cennedigh, is called *Cromman*, son of Cennedigh, in L. Gabh. and Four M.; but his name, with all that follow, is omitted in Ann. Ult. L. Gabh. and Four M. mention him, but omit all that follow him. B., although retaining the statement that *twelve* kings were slain, names *fifteen*, (see note <sup>4</sup>.) agreeing in other respects with the text, except that Dunan, son of Cerballan, is called *Dinan*; Conaing, son of Flaun, is called *Conchobhair*; Congalach, son of Dremnan, is called son of *Drennan*.

<sup>2</sup> *Heir apparent.* B. adds ele, "another."

<sup>3</sup> *Erim.* Om., B. D. reads, ру еиле, "another king," instead of ругdomnia еиле, B., "another heir apparent."

<sup>4</sup> *King of Bregia.* After this name B. inserts, окуп Maeluib ру Airgiall, Maelcraibi mac Doilgen, окуп Ceallach mac Pasairtaë ру ceircerit Drieg: "And Maeluib, king of Airgiall" [Maelcroibhe Ua Dubhsionaigh, lord of Oirghiall, Leab. Gabh., Four M., and Keat. Maelcraibi Mac Dubhsionaigh king of Airghiall, Ann. Ult.] "Maelcraibi, son of Doilgen" [L. Gabh. and Four M. add, ру Tortan, king of Tortan], "and Ceallach, son of Faghartach, king of south Bregia." [Tisgerua ceircerit Drieg, "lord of south Bregia," L. Gabh., and Four M.]. This interpolation increases the list of slain kings to fifteen instead of twelve. It was probably taken by the transcriber from

twelve kings of the kings of Erin along with him, viz., Niall himself<sup>1</sup>; and Conchobhar, son of Maelsechlainn, heir apparent of Temhair; and Conaing, son of Flann, heir apparent<sup>2</sup> of Erin; and Flaithbheartach, son of Domhnall, another heir apparent of Erin<sup>3</sup>; and Aedh, son of Eochaidh, king of Uladh; and Maelmithigh, son of Flannagan, king of Bregh<sup>4</sup>; and Eremhon, son of Cennedigh, chief<sup>5</sup> of Cenel Mani; and Congalach, son of Cele, king of Ua Macuais<sup>6</sup>; and Congalach, son of Dreman, king of Crimthbainn; Maelmuire, son of Ainbith, king of Mugornn;<sup>7</sup> and Deochan, son of Domhnall, king of Cianachta; and Dunan, son of Cerbhallan; and Brenan, son of Fergus; and the greater part of the nobles<sup>8</sup> of Leth Cuinn with them, and a countless army besides.

Niall Glundubh, and twelve other kings slain.

XXXII. The north of Erin, also, was plundered by Gothrin,<sup>9</sup> son of Imar after that, and Ard Macha was spoiled. Notwithstanding, however, that this battle was gained over them, Tomais<sup>10</sup> submitted before the end of a year; for Donnchadh, son of Maelsechlainn,<sup>11</sup> gained a battle over them at Tigh-Mic-Deicthig,<sup>12</sup> and it was im-

Gothrin plunders Armagh, A.D. 921.

Defeat of the foreigners at Tigh-Mic-Deicthig.

the Leabhar Gabhala, and inserted without regard to the number.

<sup>5</sup> *Chief.* D. reads, 7 ῥλαῖτ, "and the chief," but the 7, "and," is probably a mistake of the scribe for .i. "i.e."

<sup>6</sup> *King of Ua Macuais.* ῥλαῖτ ο υἱβ μαῶ Cuair, B., "prince of [or from] the tribe of Mac Cuais."

<sup>7</sup> *Mugornn.* Μυζοορν, B., which is more correct.

<sup>8</sup> *Nobles.* B. omits μαῖτ, and reads, ὑψηλοῦ ἑρῆς Cuinn υἱε αρ ἄεν ῥῖρ, οὐρ ῥλαῖτ ὄρησε ἀρῆνα: "The greater part of all Leth Cuinn along with him, and an innumerable army likewise."

<sup>9</sup> *Gothrin.* B. reads, Ὕορραῖτ ὑα νῆμαρ, "Gofraigh, grandson of Imar," which is confirmed by the Four M., who call him Goffraith, grandson of Imar, and date the spoiling of Armagh 919, "on Saturday, the day before St.

Martin's festival" [not "the Saturday before," as Colgan and Dr. O'Donovan translate it]. It follows that 921 must have been the true year.

<sup>10</sup> *Tomais.* So in both MSS.; but it seems evident that *Tamar* or *Tomar*, the chieftain mentioned in the next chapter, was intended.

<sup>11</sup> *Son of Maelsechlainn.* So in both MSS.; but it ought to be *grandson*, for Donnchadh, king of Ireland, who succeeded Niall Glundubh, was son of Flann Sionna, and grandson of Maelsechlainn. The L. Gabh. and Four M. say, that the battle here described took place in the first year of Donnchadh's reign. If so, it must have been in 919, two years before the sacking of Armagh by Gothrin or Goffrey. There is, therefore, some confusion.

<sup>12</sup> *Tigh-Mic-Deicthig.* "In Cianachta Bregh, i.e., Tigh-Mic-nEathach," Four

po pemed a armuu and ar marbad do hallab. Oais ni mo na lin uunoyi pcel do euas leo ar do hallab.

Tamar, son of Elge, at Inis Sibhtonn, A.D. 922.

XXXIII. Tanic iarpin Tamag mac Elgi niz longey aobalmor; zop zab ar Inoy Sibhtonō [ar euan luimniġ, ocuy po hinopad uphōp Muñan leo ar euy euyi ðealla ocuy tuatā. Lopcan mac Conligan ba ni Cairil an tan pin.

The churches of Loch Derg, the Shannon, and Lough Ree plundered, also west Meath and south Connacht, A.D. 922.

XXXIV. Tanic iarpin coblað ar loð Derzderc, zup arzetar Inoy Celtra, ocuy po baðpnot a pcpine, ocuy a muonna, ocuy a luðpa, ocuy po arccpnot ðna Muicmoy Riagall, ocuy cella Derccderc; ocuy po arccpnot Tir ða zlap, ocuy loðpa, ocuy Cluan pcpae, ocuy Cluan moe Noip, ocuy Inoy Cloðpann, ocuy Inoy bo pinne, ocuy cella loða Rið arçena; ocuy iapðar Miðe, ocuy ðeipceipc Connaçt, ocuy po marbpat Duach ni Aðone, ocuy poçaðe ele, ocuy po puaçtatar plán aruy co luimneð, zan cað ocuy zan eliaðað.

Iy iad pin arpðpmonhapaða cloinne Elgi ocuy lomzpi cçta Cliað hi leið Cuind, ocuy hi lazgnib. C cpeaða imoppo, ocuy a mopzala, ocuy a celiaçða, ni puiat hi ccumhne, ocuy ni hapimter hi leabpað.

History of the Danes in Munster.

XXXV. Imtura imoppo na Muñan ocuy cloinne lūhap uoyter pinu co leicc, ðoiz po potampnot a naenar leð doçar ocuy doçpate pe hcpinn ule.

Tanic ðna Oitip ðuð iapla, luçt .c. long co Þopz

M. The L. Gabh. says, "in Cianachta Bregh," without mentioning Tigh-MicnEathach. See Reeves, Adamnan, p. 110, note <sup>b</sup>. B. reads, "Oiz po byp Donnchad mac Maelseclainn cað popyae i tpaiz meic Meçtaiz ocuy ni po cumangpnot arpeh ar marbad do Hallab ann: "For Donnchad, son of Maelseclainn, gained a battle over them at Tigh meic nEchtaigh" [house of the son of Eochadh], "and it was not possible to count the number of the foreigners that was killed there."

<sup>1</sup> Landed at. For zop zab ar Inoy, B. reads, ni Inoy. Inis Sibhtonn (now King's Island), is called by

the Four M., *Inis Ubhdaín*, which is only another form of the name (A.D. 965 and 969), but they make no mention of Tamar's settlement there. The Ann. Ult. (921-2) mention the fleet of Limerick under the son of Ailche [Ailgi. Four M. 920], as having plundered Clonmacnois and the islands of Loch Ree. See O'Donovan's *Book of Rights*, Introd. p. xli. After the words Inoy Sibhtonō, there occurs a considerable defect in D., which has been supplied from B. It extends from this place to the seventh line of chapter xxxvii., as indicated by the brackets in the text.

possible to count the number that was there killed of the foreigners. For of the foreigners not more than enough to tell what had happened escaped.

XXXIII. After that came Tamar, son of Elge, king of an immense fleet, and landed at<sup>1</sup> Inis Sibhtonn, [in the harbour of Luimnech; and the chief part of Mumhain was ravaged by them, both churches and chieftainries. Lorcan, son of Conligan, was king of Caisel at that time.

Tamar, son of Elge, at Inis Sibhtonn, A.D. 922.

XXXIV. There came after that a fleet on Loch Derg-dere, and they plundered Inis Celtra, and they drowned its shrines, and its relicks, and its books; and they plundered Muc-Inis of Riagall<sup>2</sup> and the churches of Derg-dere; and they plundered Tir-da-glas, and Lothra, and Chuain-Ferta, and Cluain-mic-nois, and Inis Clothrann, and Inis-bo-finne, and the churches of Loch Ribh, in like manner; and the west of Midhe and the south of Connacht; and they killed Duach, king of Aidhne,<sup>3</sup> and numbers of others; and they arrived safely again at Luimnech, without battle or conflict.

The churches of Loch Derg, the Shannon, and Lough Ree plundered, also west Meath and south Connacht, A.D. 922.

These were the mighty deeds<sup>4</sup> of the sons of Elge, and of the ships of Ath Cliath, in Leth Cuinn and in Laighin. But their plunders, and their battles, and their conflicts, are not fully in recollection, and are not enumerated in books.

XXXV. We proceed now to relate here the history of the [men of] Mumhain and of the sons of Imar, for they<sup>5</sup> alone sustained half the troubles and oppressions of all Erinn.

History of the Danes in Munster.

The Earl, Oiter Dubh,<sup>6</sup> came with an hundred ships to

<sup>2</sup> *Muc-Inis of Riaghall*: i.e., the Hog Island of St. Riaghall or Regulus. For a curious series of errors about this island, see Dr. O'Donovan's valuable note, *Four M.*, A.D. 743, p. 345.

<sup>3</sup> *Duach, King of Aidhne*. This is probably the same person who is called by the *Four M.* "Maol mic Duaich, lord of Aidhne," and who they say was slain by the foreigners A.D. 920 [922].

<sup>4</sup> *The mighty deeds*. This summary marks the termination of a first part

or division of the work, in which the author has collected whatever he could find recorded of the deeds of the pirates in all parts of Ireland. The remainder treats almost exclusively of their ravages in Munster.

<sup>5</sup> *For they*: i.e., the men of Mumhain or Munster.

<sup>6</sup> *Oiter Dubh*, Oiter or Otter, the Black. We have had mention in chapter xxviii., of the arrival of an Earl Otter, at Loch da Caech [Water-

Earl Otter  
the Black,  
arrives at  
Waterford.

Λαιρζε, ocuy po hnoṛαḃ leip ap̄ēer Muman, ocuy a  
veipceṛe, ocuy po čaipēip po čan, ocuy po žeilirine  
zall uile iad, ocuy po čoccaḃ a čioṛ piožoa poṛpa. Do  
lionαḃ Muñia uile do čola epαḃḃail, ocuy do mup-  
bpučt diaipneip loṇz, ocuy laḃēnž, ocuy coḃlač, conαč  
paḃēe cuan, na calαḃpoṛe, no oin, no čanžen, no oinžna  
i Muñian uile žan loinžep Doṇmarccach ocuy all-  
mupach.

Names of  
the princi-  
pal chief-  
tains who  
invaded  
Munster.

XXXVI. Tamičc ann añ loinžep Oibepo, ocuy loinžep  
Oduino, ocuy loinžep Župpin, ocuy loinžep Snuatžairp,  
ocuy loinžep Lažmuno, ocuy loinžep Epaulb, ocuy  
loinžep Sitpučā, ocuy loinžep Duinoṇ, ocuy loinžep  
Duṛnoṇ, ocuy loinžep Liažuplač, ocuy loinžep Toip-  
beapṛaž, ocuy loinžep Eoan ḃapun, ocuy loinžep Milio  
Duu, ocuy loinžep Sumin, ocuy loinžep Suanin, ocuy  
loinžep na hInžine Ruαḃē pa ḃeoiož. Čio tpa ačt poṛαḃ  
neñni olc da ppuair Eppe i načpežαḃ uile na peḃna pin.  
Ro hnoṛαḃ an Muñiu uile žo coitcioṇn leo pin ap̄  
žαč leč, ocuy po hapcečḃ. Ocuy po pccaoilpoṛe poṇ  
Muñian, ocuy do ponaitt oin, ocuy čanžne, ocuy  
calαḃpupṛe do Epun uile, co na paḃēe ionαḃ in Epun  
žan loinžep lionmaṛ do čanmarccαḃail, ocuy čallmup-  
čhoiḃ ann; co noḃepṛat peṛann ep̄eičē, ocuy cloiṛom, ocuy  
poṛžαḃala žo poṛplečan, ocuy žo coitčenn [oi]; ocuy po  
ap̄ceipote a tuαčā, ocuy a ccella caḃap, ocuy a neñneḃā,  
ocuy po pccaoilpeṛe a p̄epine, ocuy a mionna, ocuy a  
liubpa. Ro oilaṛp̄ceipote a ttemp̄lu caeñiu cumḃoαč-  
ta, oiož in paḃēe caḃap, no onoiṛ, no comap̄ce, až  
teṛmonn, no anacal do čill no do neñneḃ, do Oia, no

The rav-  
ages com-  
mitted by  
them in  
Munster.

ford harbour], who afterwards went to Scotland and was killed in battle there by Constantine III., A.D. 916 (chap. xxix., and note <sup>2</sup>, p. 34). The Otter Dubh here mentioned settled at Port Lairge, another name for Waterford, and this naturally leads us to suspect that he is the same as the Earl Otter of chap. xxviii.

<sup>1</sup> *A Dún.* The words here used, *Dán, Daingen, Dingna*, all signify a fort

or fortress. It is not easy to define the precise difference between them. *Dán*, is in Scotland *Doon*; in Wales, *Din*; in Gaulish, *dūnon*; Latinized, *dunum*, as in Lug-dunum, Augusto-dunum, &c.; in England, *ton, town*. It seems to signify a fortified hill or mound. *Daingen* (dungeon) is a walled fort or strong tower; hence *daingniġim*, I fortify.—*Dingna*, is apparently only another form of the same word. Cf. *Zeuss*, p. 30 n.

Port Lairge, and the east of Mumhain was plundered by him, and its south; and he put all under tribute and service to the foreigners; and he levied his royal rent upon them. The whole of Mumhain became filled with immense floods, and countless sea-vomitings of ships, and boats, and fleets, so that there was not a harbour, nor a landing-port, nor a Dún,<sup>1</sup> nor a fortress, nor a fastness, in all Mumhain, without fleets of Danes and pirates.<sup>2</sup>

XXXVI. There came there, also, the fleet of Oiberd, and the fleet of Oduinn, and the fleet of Griffin, and the fleet of Snuatgar, and the fleet of Lagmann, and the fleet of Erolf, and the fleet of Sitriuc, and the fleet of Buidnin, and the fleet of Birndin, and the fleet of Liagrslach, and the fleet of Toirberdach, and the fleet of Eoan Barun, and the fleet of Milid Buu, and the fleet of Suimin, and the fleet of Suainin, and lastly the fleet of the Inghen Ruaidh.<sup>3</sup> And assuredly the evil which Erin had hitherto suffered was as nothing compared to the evil inflicted by these parties. The entire of Mumhain, without distinction, was plundered by them, on all sides, and devastated. And they spread themselves over Mumhain; and they built Dúns, and fortresses, and landing-ports, over all Erin, so that there was no place in Erin without numerous fleets of Danes and pirates; so that they made spoil-land, and sword-land, and conquered-land of her, throughout her breadth, and generally; and they ravaged her chieftainries, and her privileged churches, and her sanctuaries<sup>4</sup>; and they rent her shrines, and her reliquaries, and her books. They demolished her beautiful ornamented temples; for neither veneration, nor honour, nor mercy for Termonn,<sup>5</sup> nor protection for church, or for sanc-

Earl Otter the Black, arrives at Waterford.

Names of the principal chieftains who invaded Munster.

The ravages committed by them in Munster.

<sup>2</sup> *Danes and pirates.* The words here used are *Ṫanmarrcach* (Denmarkians), and *alimurach*, foreigners who come from beyond the sea, barbarians, pirates.

<sup>3</sup> *Inghen Ruaidh*: i.e., the red-haired maiden.

<sup>4</sup> *Sanctuaries.* *Ṽemeto*, a temple,

a sanctuary (*nemeto*, *gl. sacellum*. *Zeuss*, p. 11, old Bret. *nemeto*, *silva*. *ib.* p. 102, 186), glebe land. Gaulish, *nemeton*. See *Petrie's Eccles. Architect. of Ireland*, p. 58-64.

<sup>5</sup> *Termonn.* The Termonn lands were districts in connexion with the churches possessing the right of sanctuary and

ΔΟ ΔΑΝΕ, ΑΣ ΑΗ ΘΡΟΙΝΣ ΞΛΟΜΝΗΝΡ ΞΛΙΡΤΟΪΣ ΖΕΙΝΝΤΛΙΘΕ  
 ΑΝΝΑΡΜΑΡΤΑΙΣ ΑΝΝΑΡΘΑ ΡΗ. ΟΥΘ ΤΡΑ ΑΪΤ ΖΟ ΝΑΡΗΜ-  
 ΤΙΟΡ ΓΑΜΕΗΝ ΜΑΡΑ, ΝΟ ΡΕΡ ΡΟΡ ΡΑΪΤΣΕ, ΝΟ ΡΕΤΤΛΑΝΘΑ  
 ΝΗΗΕ, Μ ΗΥΡΑ Α ΤΑΥΡΟΗΝ, ΝΟ Α ΑΡΕΗΝ, ΝΟ Α ΝΝΗΥΗ, Μ ΡΟ  
 ΡΟΘΑΜΗΡΤΟΤ ΖΑΟΙΘΙΛ ΜΛΕ ΟΟ ΟΙΤΕΙΟΝΝ; ΙΤΙΡ ΡΙΟΡΗ, ΟΟΥΡ  
 ΜΝΑ, ΙΤΙΡ ΜΑΘΑ ΟΟΥΡ ΜΞΕΝΑ, ΟΟΥΡ ΛΑΘΑ ΟΟΥΡ ΕΛΕΙΡΕΙΟ,  
 ΕΤΙΡ ΡΑΕΡΑ ΟΟΥΡ ΘΑΕΡΑ, ΕΤΙΡ ΡΕΝΑ ΟΟΥΡ ΟΘΑ, ΤΟ ΕΪΡ ΟΟΥΡ  
 ΔΟ ΕΑΡΘΑΥΡΗ, ΔΟ ΔΟΘΑΡ, ΟΟΥΡ ΔΕΟΟΗΝΝΑΡΤ ΜΑΪΒ. ΟΥΘ  
 ΤΡΑ ΑΪΤ ΡΟ ΜΑΡΒΡΑΤ ΡΟΘΞΑ, ΟΟΥΡ ΤΑΟΙΡΥΞ, ΡΟΘΞΟΑΗΝΝΑ,  
 ΟΟΥΡ ΡΟΘΞΡΛΑΪΑ ΘΡΕΝΝ. ΡΟ ΜΑΡΒΡΑΤ ΤΡΕΟΙΝ, ΟΟΥΡ ΤΡΕΙ-  
 ΤΙΛ, ΟΟΥΡ ΤΡΕΙΝ ΜΙΛΕΘΑ, ΑΥΡΑΘ, ΟΟΥΡ ΑΥΡΑΪΣ, ΟΟΥΡ ΟΙΟ-  
 ΤΙΖΕΙΡΗ, ΟΟΥΡ ΡΟΡΕΕΛΑ ΛΑΪΣΑΛΕ ΟΟΥΡ ΖΑΡΕΟΙΘ ΝΑ ΝΓΑΟΙΘΕΛ  
 ΜΛΕ; ΟΟΥΡ ΡΟΡ ΤΑΡΒΗΡΥΤΟΤ ΡΟ ΕΪΑΝ, ΟΟΥΡ ΡΟ ΞΕΙΛΥΡΗ  
 ΙΑΘ, ΡΟ ΘΑΕΡΑΤ, ΟΟΥΡ ΡΟ ΜΟΞΥΡΑΝΑΖΙΤΤ ΙΑΤΤ. ΜΟΡ ΤΡΑ  
 ΔΟ ΘΑΝΝΤΡΑΪΤΑΒ ΒΛΑΪΣΕ ΒΙΪΣΕ, ΟΟΥΡ ΔΙΝΞΕΝΑΒ ΜΑΟΡΘΑ  
 ΜΗΝΕ ΜΑΘΑΪΤΑ, ΟΟΥΡ ΔΟΟΕΜΝΑΒ ΡΥΑΡΕΑ ΡΑΕΡΑ ΡΕΝΞΑ  
 ΡΥΛΞΙΛΑΡΑ, ΟΟΥΡ ΔΟ ΜΑΘΑΟΜΑΒΗ ΜΑΕΡΘΑ ΜΟΡΞΙΛΑΝΑ; ΟΟΥΡ  
 ΔΟ ΞΑΗΑΝΡΑΘ ΞΑΡΤΑ ΞΗΙΟΗΑΪΑ, ΡΥΕΕΡΑΤ Α ΝΘΟΑΡ, ΟΟΥΡ  
 Ι ΝΘΑΡΕ ΤΑΡ ΡΑΥΡΥΞΕ ΛΕΪΑΝΞΙΛΑΥ ΛΕΟ. ΜΕΪΑΝ! ΒΑ ΗΙΟΜΘΑ  
 ΟΟΥΡ ΒΑ ΜΗΜΕ ΞΡΥΑΘΑ ΞΙΛΑΝ ΞΛΕΞΑΡΤΑ ΖΟ ΡΛΥΘ ΔΕΡ-  
 ΡΑΘΑΪ ΔΥΒΑΪ ΔΟΗΗΕΜΝΑΪ ΑΝΗΥΗ, ΟΕ ΡΕΑΡΤΑΝ ΜΕΙΟ ΡΕ  
 ΗΑΪΤΑΡ, ΟΟΥΡ ΜΞΕΝ ΛΕ ΜΑΪΤΑΡ, ΟΟΥΡ ΒΡΑΪΤΑΡ ΡΕ ΕΙΛΕ,  
 ΟΟΥΡ ΟΙΒΗΕΡΤΑ ΡΕ Α ΟΕΝΕΛ, ΟΟΥΡ ΡΕ Α ΝΑΟΜΗ.

Victory of  
 the Danes  
 of Dublin,  
 at the  
 battle of  
 Muine  
 Broccain,  
 A.D. 949.

XXXVII. 18 ΡΕ ΛΟΜΞΕΡ ΑΪΑ ΟΙΑΪ ΡΟΡ, ΟΟΥΡ ΕΙΟΜΝΕ  
 ΙΟΗΑΥΡ ΡΟ ΡΡΑΟΜΕΑΘ ΕΑΪ ΜΗΜΗ ΔΡΟΟΟΑΝ, ΔΟ ΙΤΟΡΕΪΟΥΡ  
 ΡΥΑΟΡΗ Ο ΟΑΝΑΘΑΝ ΡΗ ΤΙΡΕ ΟΟΝΙΛ, ΟΟΥΡ ΡΗ ΘΡΕΝΝ  
 ΙΑΡ ΡΡΟΙΡΗΝ ΕΛΕ, ΟΟΥΡ ΜΑΪΣΕ Μ ΤΑΥΡΕΙΡΤ ΛΕΙΡ .Ι. ΤΡΗΘΑ  
 ΒΛΑΪΘΑΝ ΙΑΡ ΜΑΡΒΑΘ ΗΕΙΛ ΞΙΝΔΟΝΒ ΛΕΟ. ΟΙ ΒΛΑΪΘΑΝ  
 ΙΑΡ ΜΑΡΒΑΘ ΛΑΪΤΗ ΜΙΟ ΖΟΡΡΑΘΑ, ΟΟΥΡ] Α ΕΤΑΥΡ ΜΟΡΡΟ  
 ΑΡ ΜΑΡΒΑΘ ΜΥΡΕΡΤΑΣ ΜΙΟ ΗΕΙΛ. ΙΡ ΡΗ ΡΗ ΒΛΑΪΘΑΝ

other privileges. The boundaries of  
 these lands were marked by crosses or  
 other conspicuous objects, and hence,  
 no doubt, the name *Termonn*, *Ter-*  
*minus*. See Ussher "On the original  
 of Corbes, Herenaches, and Termon  
 Lands." *Works* by Elrington, vol. xi,  
 p. 419, *seq.*

<sup>1</sup> *Field*. ΡΑΪΤΣΕ, lit. a fair-green,

a common, or field for village sports.  
 See *Irish Nennius*, p. 93, note <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *Was gained*. The Ann. Ult., L.  
 Gabh., Four M., and Keat., represent  
 the Danes as having been defeated in  
 this battle; and Keating makes Conga-  
 lach, king of Ireland, the leader of the  
 victorious party. As Congalath was  
 certainly opposed to Ruaidhri O'Canan-

tuary, for God, or for man, was felt by this furious, ferocious, pagan, ruthless, wrathful people. In short, until the sand of the sea, or the grass of the field,<sup>1</sup> or the stars of heaven are counted, it will not be easy to recount, or to enumerate, or to relate what the Gaedhil all, without distinction, suffered from them: whether men or women, boys or girls, laics or clerics, freemen or serfs, old or young;—indignity, outrage, injury, and oppression. In a word, they killed the kings and the chieftains, the heirs to the crown, and the royal princes of Erin. They killed the brave and the valiant; and the stout knights, champions, and soldiers, and young lords, and the greater part of the heroes and warriors of the entire Gaedhil; and they brought them under tribute and servitude; they reduced them to bondage and slavery. Many were the blooming, lively women; and the modest, mild, comely maidens; and the pleasant, noble, stately, blue-eyed young women; and the gentle, well brought up youths, and the intelligent, valiant champions, whom they carried off into oppression and bondage over the broad green sea. Alas! many and frequent were the bright and brilliant eyes that were suffused with tears, and dimmed with grief and despair, at the separation of son from father, and daughter from mother, and brother from brother, and relatives from their race and from their tribe.

XXXVII. It was by the fleet of Ath Cliath, and of the sons of Imar, that the battle of Muine Broccain was gained<sup>2</sup>; in which were killed Ruaidri O'Canannan, king of Tir Conaill, and king of Erin, according to other people, and the nobles of the North along with him; thirty years after Niall Glundubh was killed by them. Two years after Lachtin, son of Goffraidh, was killed; and four after Muirchertach, son of Niall,<sup>3</sup> was killed. This was

Victory of the Danes of Dublin, at the battle of Muine Broccain, A.D. 949.

nan, and there were probably Danes or Norsemen on both sides—these statements may not be inconsistent.

<sup>3</sup> *Muirchertach, son of Niall.* Surnamed "of the leather cloaks," slain

A.D. 945. See the "*Circuit of Ireland of Muirchertach Mac Neill*," edited with a Translation and notes, by Dr. O'Donovan, for the Irish Archaeological Society.

po harzeperet zall Cenannur Colum Cilli, ocuy ruerať .x. cet do bpat ar. IS pu pu bliadann ar marbat Cenoeuz mac Lorcan pu Tuar Mumau ocuy puomna Cairil.

Death of Congalach, king of Ireland, A.D. 956.

XXXVIII. IS Leo, oia, apocair Congalať mac Maunioz pu Tempať ocuy Epeno uli, ocuy maťi feap Mroi umi; oi pabi ic forbau pu for Laizuib, peťt bliadna ar marbat Ruadu; .xiii. iar Congalať ip Leo do puano cať Cilli Mona for Domnall mac Muirceptaiz for puiz Tempať, ou ropocair Arduil mac Maducau pu Ulađ, ocuy Dooroau mac Maelmui pu Arzeil, ocuy Cinať mac meic Crongailli, ocuy Maeburzo mac Zaribita pu Ua nEťať, ocuy Perzuy Pial pu Cođlaiz, ocuy rođau mo pu opoen pu pu. IS Leo, oia, po marbat Muirceptať mac Domnall puomna Tempať ocuy Epeno, ocuy mac Domnall me Congalaiz puomna ele Epeno .i. oťt mbliadna iapui cať remunio. IS pu bliadann tuaro cať Caťpať Cuan im Mumau pu Đuan.

Battle of Kilmoon, co. Meath, A.D. 973.

Battle of Cathair Cuan.

<sup>1</sup> *Plundered.* Cp. arzepta, B.

<sup>2</sup> *Ten hundred:* cet, B., "one hundred."

This plundering of Cenannus, or Kells of Meath, is mentioned by the Four M., at 949, but the number of prisoners is perhaps exaggerated; the Ann. Ult. (A.D. 950, *al.* 951), say "ubi capta sunt tria milia hominum vel plus;" and the Four M. give the same number.

<sup>3</sup> *Cennedigh.* Cemneuz mac Lorcan, B.

<sup>4</sup> *All Erin.* Uile arcana, B., "all Ireland together."

<sup>5</sup> *Of Midhe.* Per nErenn, B., "men of Ireland." The immediate followers of the supreme king of Ireland, when he was of the Southern Hy Neill, were called indifferently "men of Meath," and "men of Ireland."

<sup>6</sup> *After.* Iap, B. See ch. xxxvii.

<sup>7</sup> *Seventeen.* B. reads, Ocuy .xiii. iar cCongalach do puameo

[puano, D.] which makes "seventeen years after Congalaeh" to be the date of the battle of Cill Mona.

<sup>8</sup> *Cill Mona.* Mune Mona, B. Cill Monať, Keat. Cill Mona, Four M. who give 976 (= 978) as the date of this battle; this would be twenty-two years after the death of Congalaeh.

<sup>9</sup> *Ardul, son of Maducau.* Ardghal, son of Matudan, B. Son of Madudan, Four M. Son of Madagán, Keat.

<sup>10</sup> *Son of Maelmuire.* Om., B. Donaccán Mac Maoilmuire, Four M. and Keat.

<sup>11</sup> *Son of Cronghaille.* Cinead mac meic Rođuil, B., "son of the son of Roghill." "Cinaedh, son of Croinghille, lord of Conaille," Four M.

<sup>12</sup> *VanEthach.* Ua nEchtať Cođa, B. Now Iveagh, county Down. See *Book of Rights*, p. 165, and Dr. O'Donovan's note ".

the year in which the foreigners plundered<sup>1</sup> Cenannus of Colum Cille, and carried off from thence ten hundred<sup>2</sup> captives. This was the year in which was killed Cennedigh,<sup>3</sup> son of Lorcan, king of north Mumhain, and heir apparent of Caisel.

XXXVIII. It was by them, too, fell Congalach, son of Maelmithigh, king of Temhair, and of all Erin,<sup>4</sup> and the nobles of the men of Midhe<sup>5</sup> with him, while he was making war on the men of Laignin; seven years after<sup>6</sup> Ruaidri was killed. Seventeen<sup>7</sup> years after Congalach the battle of Cill Mona<sup>8</sup> was gained by them over Domhnall, son of Muirchertach, king of Temhair, in which fell Ardul, son of Maducan,<sup>9</sup> king of Uladh, and Donnucan, son of Maelmuire,<sup>10</sup> king of Airghiall, and Cinaeth, son of the son of Cronghaille,<sup>11</sup> and Maelbrighde, son of Gairbith, king of Ua nEthach,<sup>12</sup> and Fergus Fial, king of Codlaighe,<sup>13</sup> and great numbers<sup>14</sup> along with them. It was by them, too, were killed Muirchertach, son of Domhnall, heir of Temhair and of Erin; and the son of Domhnall,<sup>15</sup> son of Congalach, another heir of Erin, eight years after the aforesaid battle. It was<sup>16</sup> in this year the battle of Cathair Cuan, in Mumhain, was fought by Brian.<sup>17</sup>

Death of Congalach, king of Ireland, A.D. 956.

Battle of Kilmoon, co. Meath, A.D. 973.

Battle of Cathair Cuan.

<sup>13</sup> *Codlaighe*. Cuałgne, B., which is probably the true reading. *Codlaighe* is unknown.

<sup>14</sup> *Great numbers*. Soćarōe ele umme, B., "many others with them."

<sup>15</sup> *Son of Domhnall*. The Four M. record these deaths thus:—at the year 975 (which ought to be 977 or 978, as in Ann. Ult.) "Muirchertach, son of Domhnall Ua Neill, and Congalach, son of Domhnall, son of Congalach, two heirs of Ireland (σα ριοσοαίμα Ερηνν), were slain by Amlaoibh, son of Sitricc." B. reads instead of "and the son of Domhnall, son of Congalach, &c.," οσυρ mac Μυρρεμταξ μοc Όσίνουλλ. Οσυρ οcτ mβλασθα ιαρ ρη

τuccaó cañ Feñann: "and the son of Muirchertach, son of Domhnall. And eight years after this, the battle of Femhann was fought." The Four M. place the death of the two presumptive heirs of the crown in the year *before* the battle of Kilmoon; there is therefore some error. It seems probable that for cañ ρemuro, "the aforesaid battle," in the text, we should read cañ Feñan, "the battle of Femhan." The plain of Femhann is in the county Tipperary. See *Book of Rights*, p. 18, n. Cathair Cuan is mentioned again, chap. lxiv.

<sup>16</sup> *It was*. Ιρ η βλασθαι ρη, B.

<sup>17</sup> *By Brian*. Ρια mβριαν, B.

Battle of  
Bithlann,  
A.D. 978.

XXXIX. 18 leo, dona, ro huped cat ic Dielann 1  
Muis Lagen, for ugarpe mac Tuatail for ni Lagen  
du inrocar ugarpe rein aroru Lagen, ocuy Mureadac  
mac Riann ni ua Cenorelais, ocuy Congalac mac Flann

Victory  
over the Ce-  
nel Conaill,  
A.D. 978.

ni Luge ocuy Rebet. 17 leo, dona, da roned cat ele for  
Cenel Conaill yru bliadan cetna, du inrocar Miall  
ua Canannan ni Ceneil Conaill, ocuy mac meic Conga-  
lais mic Maicmichis puomna Tempac, ocuy mac mic

Battle of  
Tara,  
A.D. 980.

Muradada Glun-fri-lar puomna Elic. 17 leo, tra,  
da cuped cat Tempac pe Maicreclann mac Donnall  
pe nis Erend 1 eint da bliadan iargiu. Da fae do  
cectar de comraectan ant, aet ba meiru do na  
gallach; du 1 inrocar Ragnall mac Amleab ni gall  
ant, ocuy Conmael mac Silli, aroru ele gall, ocuy  
maci gall Acta Cliaet ant uli, ocuy co noecta Amleab  
mac Sitruza aroru gall 1 naliethi co hi Colum Cilli.

Liberation  
of Domh-  
nall Claen,  
king of  
Leinster.

Iargiu rob ecen do gallach oflucard do Donnall Claen  
da nis Lagen, da bi bliadan illam accu ar fellad  
o Amleab rair.

<sup>1</sup> Was given. To ffaimead cat  
as Dielann 1 Muis Lagen, B.,  
a better reading.

<sup>2</sup> King of Leithin. Om., B.

<sup>3</sup> Himself. Dusein .i. ni Lagen, B.

<sup>4</sup> And Rebet. Om., B. The Ann.  
Ult. date this battle 977 or 978. The  
Four M. place it in 976, the same year  
in which they record the battle of Kil-  
moon.

<sup>5</sup> Gained. Ro ffaimead, B. The  
Four M. tell us (976), and Ann. Ult.  
(977, 978), that this battle was gained,  
not by the Norsemen of Dublin, but  
by the Airghialla (Oriel) over the  
Cinel Conaill; but it is probable that  
the Oriels had secured the aid of the  
Norsemen.

<sup>6</sup> In the same year. D. reads, 17  
yru bliadan cetna. The reading  
of B. has been substituted.

<sup>7</sup> Congalach. B. has mac Con-  
galach, "the son of Congalach."

<sup>8</sup> Son of the son. Mac Muradada,  
B., "son of Murchadh." The Four M.  
have the same reading.

<sup>9</sup> Murchad Glun-fri-lar. "Murchad  
of the Knee on the ground;" glunul-  
lar, Four M., which Dr. O'Conor  
translates as if it were Glun fuillair,  
*Genu aquila*, "Murchad of the Eagle  
Knee," *Rev. Hib. Script.* iii, p. 507;  
but this does not seem very intelli-  
gible.

<sup>10</sup> Erinn. Teinrac, B., "king of  
Tara."

<sup>11</sup> Woe. Ocuy ba ri, B. Ri is evil,  
opposed to ro, good. Fae, Lat. *vae*,  
is woe.

<sup>12</sup> There fell. Oois do tuic, B.

<sup>13</sup> King. Airoru, B., "chief king."

<sup>14</sup> Conmael. B. omits Mac Silli  
aroru ele gall.

<sup>15</sup> Gille. Gilli Aire, *Tigernach*. Gilli-  
airri, *Four M.* Conamhal Mac Air-  
rigall, *Ann. Ult.* "Conamhal, son of

XXXIX. It was by them, also, that a defeat in battle was given<sup>1</sup> at Bithlann, in Magh-Laighen, to Ugaire, son of Tuathal, king of Laighin,<sup>2</sup> where fell Ugaire himself,<sup>3</sup> chief king of Laighin, and Muiredach, son of Rian, king of the Ua-Cennselaigh, and Congalach, son of Flann, king of Lege and Rechet.<sup>4</sup> It was by them, too, another battle was gained<sup>5</sup> over the Cenel Conaill in the same year,<sup>6</sup> in which fell Niall, grandson of Canannan, king of the Cenel Conaill, and the son of the son of Congalach,<sup>7</sup> son of Maelmithigh, heir of Temhair, and the son of the son<sup>8</sup> of Murchad Glun-fri-lar,<sup>9</sup> heir of Ailech. It was by them, too, was fought the battle of Temhair against Malsechlainn, son of Domhnall, king of Erin,<sup>10</sup> two years after the above. It was woe<sup>11</sup> to each party to meet there; but it was worse for the foreigners; for there fell<sup>12</sup> Ragnall, son of Amlaibh, king<sup>13</sup> of the foreigners, and Conmael,<sup>14</sup> son of Gille,<sup>15</sup> another high king of the foreigners, and all<sup>16</sup> the nobles of the foreigners of Ath Cliath; and Amlaibh, son of Sitriuc, high king<sup>17</sup> of the foreigners, went on a pilgrimage to Hí of Colum Cille.<sup>18</sup> After this the foreigners were compelled to liberate Domhnall Claen, king of Laighin, who had been a year in their custody, after Amlaibh's treacherous conduct<sup>19</sup> towards him.

Battle of Bithlann, A.D. 978.

Victory over the Cenel Conaill, A.D. 978.

Battle of Tara, A.D. 980.

Liberation of Domhnall Claen, king of Leinster.

Arregal," or rather "son of the Air-ri [sub-king] of the foreigners." This latter reading is probably correct, and was easily corrupted into *Ardri gall*, "high king of foreigners." The names. *Conmael* [the old Gaulish *Cunomaglos*] and *Gille* are decidedly Celtic.

<sup>16</sup> *All.* B. omits *aró uli ocuy*.

<sup>17</sup> *High king.* B. omits *aróru zall*.

<sup>18</sup> *To Hí Colum Cille.* B. reads, co

hí Coluim Cille iar fion; ocuy sob éccin so zalluib, 7c.: "To Hí Coluim Cille after that; and the foreigners were compelled," &c. In the margin of B. a hand coeval with the MS. has written "Amlaus peregrinatur ad in-

snlam Hiensem." Keating (*Reign of Malsechlainn*) represents Amlaif's retirement to Hy as the result of compulsion, not of religious penitence, which the word pilgrimage (*atlitru*) implies. The Four M. say, that he died at Hy "after penance and a good life;" and, so also says Tigernach, so söl co hí an atlitre, "he went to Hy in penance," A.D. 980.

<sup>19</sup> *Treacherous conduct.* *Ar fionn*, B. The liberation of Domhnall Claen, king of Leinster, is dated by the Four M. the year after the battle of Temhair, or Tara; but Tigernach places it in the same year, 980.

The immense fleet of Imar, grandson of Imar, and his sons.

They encamp at Inis-Sibtonn.

The extent of their oppression.

XL. Tame iariu ruḡ longep acubul moḡ, bamuruiñi na ḡac longep; uar in t̄ame a himnamal cormailliu in Eḡinn ruam, la h̄lmar ua n̄lmar aroru ḡall, ocuḡ la t̄u maccaab .i. la Tuibcend ocuḡ Cúallard ocuḡ Aralt meic Imair. Ro ḡab foḡrad ocuḡ foḡlongepoḡ leoḡin in Inis Sibtonn ar euan Lammḡ. Ro epeac̄ad, ocuḡ ro himped Mumu foḡ ḡac leḡ uada ru, eper cella ocuḡ tuac̄a, ocuḡ ḡabaiḡ b̄raḡci, ocuḡ etiu, de fepiab Mumai uli eper ḡall ocuḡ ḡoedel, ocuḡ ro taribur fo ruac̄t̄ ḡcuḡ fo ḡeilru d̄iarieti do ḡallac ocuḡ do ammaricab iariu. Do op̄ac̄, imoḡro, ruḡu ocuḡ tar̄eḡu, maeru ocuḡ reac̄tar̄edu, in caḡ t̄u ocuḡ in caḡ t̄uac̄t̄ iariu, ocuḡ da t̄oḡab in eḡ ruḡda. Da he ru, d̄na, t̄ruḡa canac̄ ocuḡ eḡa naḡall foḡ Eḡinn uli co foḡleḡam ocuḡ co cotcend .i. ru foḡ caḡ t̄u uac̄ib, ocuḡ toḡeac̄ foḡ caḡ tuac̄t̄, ocuḡ abb foḡ caḡ eill, ocuḡ maeru foḡ caḡ mbali, ocuḡ ruar̄tleac̄ caḡ t̄iḡi, conac̄ ruabi commuḡ ic d̄un deḡiab Eḡend cet b̄leḡon a b̄o, na comeḡ L̄m oen c̄ru d̄uḡab do d̄m, no do d̄iḡru d̄a ruḡep no d̄onac̄ar̄t, ac̄t̄ a mar̄t̄am do maeru, no do

<sup>1</sup> *Wonderful.* Da muruḡe, B., "more numerous."

<sup>2</sup> *Its likeness.* Oḡu ni t̄ame a ionuḡaiac̄ no a cormaḡep, B.

<sup>3</sup> *Imar, grandson of Imar.* La h̄C̄in-lac̄ moḡ ua n̄lmar, B., "with Amhlaibh the Great, grandson of Imar."

<sup>4</sup> *With three sons.* La a t̄u maccaab̄ep, B., "with his three sons."

<sup>5</sup> *Dubhcend.* La Tuibcend, ocuḡ Cu-allaḡ, ocuḡ Aralt, B.: "With Dubhginn [Black head], and Cu-allaigh [Wild dog], and Aralt [Harold]."

<sup>6</sup> *Sons of Imar.* Om., B.

<sup>7</sup> *Landed.* Ro ḡabac̄o foḡac̄o, B., "they took rest," or "stopped." It is remarkable that this great fleet is not mentioned in the Annals.

<sup>8</sup> *Sibtonn.* Siḡtonn, B.

<sup>9</sup> *Mumhain.* In t̄u leo, ocuḡ Mum̄a uḡe ar ḡac̄ leḡ, B.: "The country was ravaged and plundered

by them, and all Mumhain on every side." Uada ru. Om., B.

<sup>10</sup> *Levied.* Ro ḡabrac̄ eḡoḡeḡa fep Mum̄an iḡe ḡalla ocuḡ ḡaḡeac̄a, B.: "They took hostages from the men of Munster, whether Gaill or Gaedhil." Meaning by *Gaill* the foreigners who had previously settled in Munster, and had come to be regarded as "men of Munster," so that the new invaders did not distinguish between them and the native Irish. The next clause ocuḡ ro taribur . . . iariu, is omitted in B. C̄nmaricab̄, is for Tuammaricab̄ (the aspirated initial T̄ omitted), Denmarkians or Danes.

<sup>11</sup> *He ordained.* B. adds C̄mlaib̄h, "Amlaff ordained." D. had made no mention of Amlaff, but of "Imar, grandson of Imar;" and, therefore, in the text, "he" must mean Imar, the leader of the expedition.

XL. There came after that an immensely great fleet, more wonderful<sup>1</sup> than all the other fleets, (for its equal or its likeness<sup>2</sup> never before came to Erin,) with Imar, grandson of Imar,<sup>3</sup> chief king of the foreigners, and with three sons,<sup>4</sup> viz., Dubhcenn,<sup>5</sup> and Cu-allaidh, and Aralt, sons of Imar.<sup>6</sup> These landed<sup>7</sup> and encamped in Inis-Sibtond,<sup>8</sup> in the harbour of Luimnech. Mumhain<sup>9</sup> was plundered and ravaged on all sides by them, both churches and chieftainries, and they levied<sup>10</sup> pledges and hostages from all the men of Mumhain, both Gaill and Gaedhil; and they afterwards brought them under indescribable oppression and servitude to the foreigners and the Danes. Moreover, he ordained<sup>11</sup> kings and chiefs, stewards and bailiffs, in every territory, and in every chieftainry after that, and he levied the royal rent.<sup>12</sup> And such was<sup>13</sup> the oppressiveness of the tribute and rent of the foreigners over all Erin at large, and generally, that there was a king from them<sup>14</sup> over every territory, and a chief over every chieftainry, and an abbot over every church, and a steward over every village,<sup>15</sup> and a soldier in every house, so that none of the men of Erin had power<sup>16</sup> to give even the milk of his cow, nor as much as the clutch of eggs of one hen in succour or in kindness to an aged man, or to a friend, but *was forced* to preserve them for the foreign

The immense fleet of Imar, grandson of Imar, and his sons.

They encamp at Inis-Sibtond.

The extent of their oppression.

<sup>12</sup> *Royal rent.* Ἰν καὶ τιμαὶ, οὐρα το ἔοκαυβ ἰν εἰορ μίονζόα μοζόα, B., "the royal rent of slavery."

<sup>13</sup> *Such was.* Οὐρα βα ἡε ῖο τρια να εἰορα ῖο, B.: "And this tax of the foreigners was over all Ireland," &c.

<sup>14</sup> *From them.* B. omits υαεἰβ. Bnt the word is necessary to the sense, for this was the gravamen, that a king, a chieftain, an abbot, &c., were appointed from the race of the foreigners, to supersede the lawful native king, chieftain, abbot, &c.

<sup>15</sup> *Over every village.* Μαέρ. καὰ βαἰλε, οὐρα ῖουατρεῖ, B.: "A

steward of every village, and a soldier," &c.

<sup>16</sup> *Power.* B. reads Co ναὶ ραἰβε α comar αζ αεν ουνε ορεαυβ Ερενν εὐο βλεοζαν α βό, no ουβειρ ἕνε αεν εἰρεε το υζἰβ το ταβ-ηαυε το αιοζραυρ no να ανηα-ραυε, αετ α μαρταν υλε τον μαεϋ, no τον τριατρεῖ Αλμαρ-όα, B.: "So that not one of the men of Ireland had power to give even the milk of his cow, nor as much as the clutch of eggs of one hen from kindness or friendship, but [was compelled] to preserve all for the steward or for the soldier of the pirates."



steward, or bailiff, or soldier. And<sup>1</sup> though there were but one milk-giving cow in the house,<sup>2</sup> she durst not be milked for an infant of one night, nor for a sick person, but must be kept<sup>3</sup> for the steward, or bailiff, or soldier of the foreigners. And, however long he might be absent from the house, his share or his supply durst not be lessened,<sup>4</sup> although there was in the house but one cow, it must<sup>5</sup> be killed for the meal<sup>6</sup> of one night, if the means of a supply could not be otherwise procured.<sup>7</sup> And the most fit<sup>8</sup> person of the family was obliged to take wages, the day<sup>9</sup> on which he embarked on board ship with his lord, [and] he must be supplied with provision, as if he was at home.<sup>10</sup> And an ounce of silver Findrumi<sup>11</sup> for every nose,<sup>12</sup> besides the royal tribute afterwards every year; and he who had not the means of paying it had himself to go into slavery<sup>13</sup> for it.

In a word, although there were an hundred hard<sup>14</sup> steeled iron heads on one neck,<sup>15</sup> and an hundred sharp, ready, cool,<sup>16</sup> never-rusting, brazen<sup>17</sup> tongues in each head, and an hundred garrulous,<sup>18</sup> loud, unceasing voices from each tongue, they could not recount, or narrate, or enumerate, or tell, what all the Gaedhil suffered in common, both men and women, laity and clergy, old and young, noble and ignoble, of hardship, and of injury, and of oppression,<sup>19</sup> in every house, from these valiant, wrathful, foreign, purely-pagan people.<sup>20</sup> Even<sup>21</sup> though great were this cruelty,

The oppression suffered by the Irish indescribable.

the means of paying it, he was himself compelled to go into slavery, or else his nose was cut off."

<sup>14</sup> *Hard.* *Carat comoanzen com-ēruarō*, B.: "Hard, strong, steely."

<sup>15</sup> *On one neck.* *Cū zāc aen brá-ξat*, B., "on every neck."

<sup>16</sup> *Cool.* *Innuar*, for *īnuīuar*, "very cold." *Inuīuar*, B.

<sup>17</sup> *Brazen.* B. omits *nemeiξoi*.

<sup>18</sup> *Garrulous.* B. reads *ξleoīrōa ξlanīrōe nemīrēraoāc m zāc aen tēzārō, nī tarīrōō a tarīrem nō*

*α φαρνείρ [αρνεір, D.], nō a arneī, nō a mōrīm m rō rō-ōnīrōt [ōmīret, D.]*

<sup>19</sup> *Oppression.* *Θarīorārān mgar-tāc*, B.

<sup>20</sup> *Purely-pagan people.* For *αλλ-μαρνα ξlan zentlīξ, rīm*, B. reads, *αλλμαρνα rīm*. "From these foreign people."

<sup>21</sup> *Even.* *ξer nōr trā an rōō-ρατε rīm, ocyr an tarīrōārān, ocyr an tarīrāteīur; ξerīrat lē iomōa ilēlanōa*, B.

φοραν οκυρ in αναπλαῖ ριν ; ειαρρατ αλιμωα α clanna  
 ιλβαωααα na hereno ιlcenelaiγῆι ; ειαρρατ λιμμαρ α  
 ρυζ οκυρ ρυζπλαῖ οκυρ α ρυζωμνα ; ειαρρατ ιμωα α  
 τρειτ οκυρ τρειτ ι οκυρ α οπενμιλιω, α λαῖ ζαλι, οκυρ  
 ζαριω, οκυρ ζυμμαρῆα ; ιι ταρω νεῖ οοιβρην ιμαναρ  
 ρυρταῖτ no uar-laiγῆι no hoppana, no ιι necomnerτ ρην  
 ρε ροῖαοεῖτ οκυρ ρε λιμμαρῆετ οκυρ ρε hanzbaroεῖτ  
 [οκυρ] ρε hammaρραῖτ ιι τι-luaiγῆι buipb βαοβαοι οιcel-  
 λιω οοοιρε οοῶμμαιιω ο ρο hιnοpῆω ιι tanboρpian ρην,  
 ρε ρεβαρ α λιρῆῖ λαηθερωα λιῖτμαρα τρεδualαῖ τpom  
 τρεβpιαω ταιτνεμαῖ ; οκυρ claiοium epuaο comnerτ  
 comῆalma ; οκυρ α ρλεαζ ρεμνεῖ ρῖτλεbur ; οκυρ na napm  
 ναιζ naῖlom επρῶτ epamial apcena, οκυρ ap μετ α  
 αναγλωη οκυρ αιγμμpιαω αιγῆαλι οκυρ anzarciω, α  
 νειρτ, οκυρ α nemi, οκυρ α mbaωamlaῖτ, ρε ρο μετ α  
 ιιταω οκυρ α noncobair mon τηρ ταιλε τορῆῖ τονοτρεβ-  
 ζλαν, ειρραῖ, abuῖ, ιnberaiῖ, moρzlan ιιαοpειω ιιι-  
 ροῖαῖ Ἐpeno.

Superiority  
 of the  
 Danish  
 armour and  
 arms.

Praises of  
 the de-  
 scendants  
 of Lugh-  
 aid.

XLI. Ἐαι, ιμοppo, apali ciuuo ρυαρε ραρclannῆα  
 ροῖeneoiλ ρεζαιιω ιι ηθpινω ναpο οδαιι ecomnerτ  
 na αιpοpρian no οοῖρατι ιγζανταιζ ο ciuuo ele ιρ ιι  
 ωomun ρiam .ι. clanna λιrdech ιιic Oenzupa Τιpυῖ,  
 ρpυαρατερ Ὅαιλ Cap Ἰοpuma, ιι παρα huatn αιpε-  
 ῖαιρ, οκυρ ιι παρα τεζλλαῖ congβαλα ρollannaρ οκυρ

<sup>1</sup> *Their kings.* Ειαρρατ λιρ α ρυζ-  
 πλαῖα, οκυρ α ρυζα, οκυρ ριδαιη-  
 ναῖα, B.

<sup>2</sup> *Heroes.* Ἐ τpεpῶιι, B.

<sup>3</sup> *Not one of them.* Ηι ταρω νεαῖ  
 οιβpem ρυρταῖτ no ρυαpυccaῖο  
 na hanzpρpiana ρην, no an eccoιι-  
 ηαρτ ρην λε hιμαω, οκυρ ρε λι-  
 ηιαρῆετ, 7c., B.

<sup>4</sup> *Wrath.* Re hαιητιαρpῆαῖτ ιι  
 τpῶιγῆι buipb βαδῶα βαpβαpῶα  
 ρην ορ hιmpeαω an tanpρpiana,  
 ρε ρεβαρ, 7c., B.

<sup>5</sup> *Corslets.* Ἐ λιρῆαῖ λαηθε-  
 αρpῶα, τpεαβpιαω, τpεδualαῖ,  
 ταιτνεμαῖ, B. : "Their polished,  
 trusty, treble-plaited, beautiful cors-

lets." The Irish reader will remark  
 the alliteration in the adjectives, which  
 cannot of course be preserved in trans-  
 lation.

<sup>6</sup> *Ready, brilliant.* Νετpρῶτ, nec-  
 pamaλ, B.

<sup>7</sup> *Valour.* Ηαῖτ, B.

<sup>8</sup> *Ferocity.* Ἐ ναηθεpηλαῖτ, B.

<sup>9</sup> *Their thirst and their hunger.* Οκυρ  
 ρε μεδ α ιιοταῖ, οκυρ α nacco-  
 βαρ, B.

<sup>10</sup> *Nobly-inhabited.* Tonnppebzlan,  
 omitted in B. B. has mon τηρ  
 τταλλε, ττοιpῶιγῆι, εαραιγῆι, αῖιηγῆι,  
 ιnῆεαραιγῆι, ιῶpυzlan, μαζpυγῆι,  
 moιγpῆpῶη, ιιιpρoθαιγῆι ρην ιιpε  
 ιαῖzλωιe Ἐpenn : "For that brave,

oppression, and tyranny; though numerous were the off-victorious clans of the many-familied Erinn; though numerous their kings,<sup>1</sup> and their royal chiefs, and their princes; though numerous their heroes<sup>2</sup> and champions, and their brave soldiers, their chiefs of valour and renown, and deeds of arms; yet not one of them<sup>3</sup> was able to give relief, alleviation, or deliverance from that oppression and tyranny, from the numbers and multitudes, and the cruelty, and the wrath<sup>4</sup> of the brutal, ferocious, furious, untamed, implacable hordes, by whom that oppression was inflicted, because of the excellence of their polished, ample, treble, heavy, trusty, glittering corslets<sup>5</sup>; and their hard, strong, valiant swords; and their well-rivettted long spears; and their ready, brilliant<sup>6</sup> arms of valour<sup>7</sup> besides; and because of the greatness of their achievements and of their deeds, their bravery and their valour, their strength, and their venom, and their ferocity<sup>8</sup>; and because of the excess of their thirst and their hunger<sup>9</sup> for the brave, fruitful, nobly-inhabited,<sup>10</sup> full of cataracts, rivers, bays, pure, smooth-plained, sweet-grassy land of Erinn.

Superiority of the Danish armour and arms.

XLI. There was, however,<sup>11</sup> a certain gracious, noble, high-born, beautiful tribe in Erinn, who never submitted<sup>12</sup> to tyranny or oppression, or unwonted<sup>13</sup> injury, from any other tribe in the world, namely, the descendants of Lughaid,<sup>14</sup> son of Oengus Tirech, who are called Dal Cais Borumha, one of the two pillars<sup>15</sup> of the nobility, and one of the two houses<sup>16</sup> that always sustained

Praises of the descendants of Lughaid.

fruitful, full of cascades, rivers, bays, the pure, salmon-abounding, smooth-plained, sweet-grassy country of the bright swaced island of Erinn."

<sup>11</sup> *However.* B. omits ἰμοῦρο. The reader will observe that all the following pleonastic epithets begin with the letter *s* in the original. B. adds after ῥεγαῖο, "beautiful," ῥοῦμανν, ῥαερεβαῖ, "bountiful, accomplished."

<sup>12</sup> *Submitted.* Ῥο ῥοδοῖν, eccorin-

ναῖτ πο ἰομαρεβαῖο, να ἀνοῖραν, B.

<sup>13</sup> *Unwonted.* Ἰνζανταῖς. *Om.* B.

<sup>14</sup> *Lughaid.* Ἰνζοεῖ, B. Ἰνροεῖ, D., see p. 54, line 16. *Lwighdech* is the gen. of *Lughaid*, a *c* stem. It has already been observed that D. frequently omits the aspirated letters ῑ, ῑ̄, ῑ̅, ῑ̆, &c., as here *Luideach* for *Lwighdech*.

<sup>15</sup> *The two pillars.* The Eoghanachts of Cashel being the other.

<sup>16</sup> *Houses.* Τεγλαῖ, D. Τεαλαῖ, B.

πλατέμμαρ Θρενο μιαμ; in top ταυθεαχ τατνεμναε̃  
 ορ κανλιβ τοςαοι in τρωμταλμαν, οσυρ in τoubυρ  
 αεβθα in τεμ λαγθεαε̃ ορ λεγαβ λαινοεργα λογμαρ,  
 οσυρ in ζυαν ζλαιμυθε̃ε̃ ορ αιρθερνεαε̃αιβ αεοιρ,  
 οσυρ μυρναμιντι in εμυο ριν ορ εαε̃ εμυο in Θρυνο.

Their pre-  
rogatives  
and privi-  
leges.

Εμυο ριν δοναε̃ ολεγαρ ορ no καμ no τοβαε̃, no  
 γελλ, no εοιρ, no ιρραοαρ, δενεοε̃ ιρην δομυν μιαε̃,  
 in τραε̃ ναε̃ βιαο Θρυν accυρεμ, αε̃τ ατιτιυ nama, οσυρ  
 οορ φογλα, οσυρ ροεραοι ρλυαζ ρμ κορμυμ ραιρδαε̃τα  
 Καρυλ ρμ λειε̃ Cυινο. Τορεαε̃ accu dul ι τυρ namατ,  
 οσυρ δερεο ic τοε̃τ οαρ αιρ, οσυρ κομδυε̃ουρ οιρτ Καρυλ  
 εαε̃ αρρεε̃τ διοιρην ιαρην, .i. εαε̃ ρε ρι ι Καρυλ.  
 In ταν ναε̃ δε̃μτα κορδυρ διοιβ υμυ ριν, ηι ολιζ μυζ  
 Καρυλ ναε̃ ηι διοιβ. Κομαο αιρην ρο ε̃αν in μυζ ριλο,  
 οσυρ in ραι ρενε̃αιρ .i. Κορμαε̃ μαε̃ Cυλεννα̃ν :

Celebrated  
by Cormac,  
son of  
Culennan.

Ολεγαρ το ρλοζ σιλ λυρεαε̃  
 Ρε̃μτυρ εαε̃τα ρλυαζ Μυμνεαε̃,  
 Οσυρ βειε̃ ιλλυρζ ροδε̃οιυ  
 Ic τιαε̃ταμ α τυρ ανε̃οιυ.  
 Ηι heterυρ ολεγαρ δε,  
 Αε̃τ Καρελ το ραιρθε  
 Ηι ε̃ιρ, ηι κάμ, μαρ ατ ε̃οιρ,  
 Ηι halτρυμ, ηι ηιαρραε̃ιυρ.

And by  
Cuan  
O'Lochan.

XLII. Ιρ μα θαλα ραιρδαε̃τα in εμυο ριν ρορ ροεαν  
 in ριλο οσυρ ινταρο ολλυμ Θρενο οσυρ Αλβαν .i. Cυαν  
 O'Lochan :

<sup>1</sup> *The shining.* B. omits the passage beginning in top ταυθεαχ, line 1, and ending εμυο ριν, line 5. Also the words no γελλ, no εοιρ, no ιρραοαρ, lines 6, 7.

<sup>2</sup> *So long as.* Ασυρ αν τραε̃, B. The meaning is, that they were bound as equals, not as subjects, to recognise the right of the existing sovereign, and to defend him from aggression. Ατιτιυ is *recognition*; the modern Irish equivalent would be *αοιθαε̃*.

<sup>3</sup> *Not theirs:* i. e., when the supreme

king of Ireland was not of their family. B. reads Ασυρ αν τραε̃ ναε̃ βια ε̃ιρε αα ρε̃ιν, ζαν υαε̃τα αε̃τ κορκε ρογλα, οσυρ ροερατε ρλοζ, 7c.

<sup>4</sup> *Returning.* Αε̃ζ τοε̃τ οιρτε ταρ-αιρ, B.

<sup>5</sup> *Alternate right.* Κομδυε̃ουρ οειρτ Καρυλ ζαε̃ ρε ρεαε̃τ διοιβ ιαρην ο ριζ Καρυλ; οσυρ αν ταν ναε̃ δε̃μ-ε̃αιρ, 7c., B.

<sup>6</sup> *It was of this.* Κομυο αιρε ριν, B.

<sup>7</sup> *Sage historian.* Αη τραοι τρεαν-

the rule and sovereignty of Erin; the shining<sup>1</sup> splendid tower above the choice lights of the ponderous earth; and the clear fountain, the sparkling fire, above the most brilliant precious gems; and the bright radiating sun, above the noble stars of the sky and the firmament, was this tribe above all other tribes in Erin.

This is a tribe from whom it was never lawful to levy rent or tribute, or pledge, or hostage, or fostership fee, by any one in the world ever, so long as<sup>2</sup> Erin was not theirs<sup>3</sup>; but they were bound to give recognition only, and to check aggression, and supply numerous forces to maintain the freedom of Caisel against Leth Cuinn. To them belonged the lead in entering an enemy's country, and the rere on returning<sup>4</sup>; and besides this they had an equal alternate right<sup>5</sup> to Caisel, viz., an alternate king in Caisel. Whenever these conditions were not justly observed to them the king of Caisel had no legal claim to anything from them. And it was of this<sup>6</sup> the royal poet and sage historian<sup>7</sup> Cormac, son of Culennan, said :

Their prerogatives and privileges.

Celebrated by Cormac, son of Culennan.

It is the privilege of the host of Lughaid's race,  
To lead<sup>8</sup> the battalions of the hosts of Mumhain,  
And afterwards to be<sup>9</sup> in the rere  
In coming<sup>10</sup> from a hostile land.

It is not fealty<sup>11</sup> that is required of them,  
But to preserve the freedom<sup>12</sup> of Caisel ;  
It is not<sup>13</sup> rent, it is not tribute, as hath been heard ;  
It is not fosterage nor fostership fees.

XLII. It was on<sup>14</sup> the noble career of that tribe also that the poet and chief sage of Erin and Alba, Cuan O'Lochan, said :

And by Cuan O'Lochan.

ἄνωα, B. The first quatrain of the following verses is quoted by Keating, (p. 608, *Curry's MS.*), but they are not by him attributed to Cormac.

<sup>8</sup> *To lead.* Keating reads γρεατ-  
νουζαῶ κατ, "to array the battle."

<sup>9</sup> *And to be.* Οκυρ α θεῖτ, B.

<sup>10</sup> *In coming.* Ἄσ τοῖδετ α τῖρ

ανεῶτ, B. Ἄσ κρηῖοαῖσ ἀσ ανεῶτ, K.

<sup>11</sup> *Fealty.* Lit. Hostageship.

<sup>12</sup> *Freedom.* Ὅσ ἴδεῖσαστε, B.

<sup>13</sup> *It is not.* Ἴδῶ εἶγ νό κάιν, B.; and in the next verse also B. has νό for νῖ, "or" for "nor."

<sup>14</sup> *On.* For μα B. reads ἴμ.



O Dal Cais! This is brave!  
 You have bound Banba the illustrious!<sup>1</sup>  
 Pity<sup>2</sup> that your lakes are not seas!  
 Other men are small in your presence.<sup>3</sup>  
 Long have they been<sup>4</sup> subjngating all others,  
 The distant district, which is not smooth,  
 For there are none born under the sun,<sup>5</sup>  
 Whose hostages they would not take, except women hostages.<sup>6</sup>  
 And even when there is not a king  
 Out of you over Erinn of hosts,  
 Only that you would not infringe on right  
 No human power could prevail over you.

It was not, therefore,<sup>7</sup> honourable to the mind or to the courage, or to the nature of these vehement, insupportable, irresistible nobles, and of those sharp,<sup>8</sup> crafty, brave, active, fierce champions (those animated, high-minded ones, who never brooked<sup>9</sup> injustice or tyranny from any king of the kings of Erinn, and not only that, but who never gave them pledges or hostages in token of obedience),—to submit of their own accord to cruel slavery from Danars and from fierce, hard-hearted Pirates.

XLIII. There were then governing and ruling this tribe two stout, able, valiant pillars,<sup>10</sup> two fierce, lacerating, magnificent heroes, two gates of battle, two poles of combat, two spreading trees of shelter, two spears of victory and readiness, of hospitality and munificence, of heart and strength, of friendship and liveliness, the most emi-

Genealogy of Mathgamhain and Brian, sons of Cennedigh.

λων, οηρετρα, more correctly written in B. νοιφλων, νοιφρετρα, with the transported η. The reader will also notice the alliteration, which is characteristic of the Irish bardic style, οέμ, ουλων, οηρετρα, all beginning with *d*, and agreeing with οαμμωτω; and again the adjectives connected with γαμωτω, all begin with *g*, (the transported η occurs in B.)

<sup>8</sup> Sharp. B. reads ηγλων, "bright."

<sup>9</sup> Brooked. There are here considerable differences between the two MSS. Immediately after the words γαιη-

βεωα γην, to the end of this chapter, B. reads, να πο φυλων ανρωραν νο εκκομηατ ο νεοσ μαθη, οσυρ νί μο πο φασηρατ οαηρε να το-εταρ ο ανααησ οηρα τοιζε οηρηραοεαα οα πανοεομ: "Who never would endure oppression or tyranny from any one; and who no more submitted to slavery or oppression from hard, fierce, hard-hearted Danars, against their will." It is evident that this is corrupt, and that the reading of the text is more correct.

<sup>10</sup> Pillars. Όα εηρ ερωδα εομ-

ḡaḡta iapṡar ʒorpa .i. Mathḡaman ocuy ʒrian, ḡa meic Cenḡetiḡ, mic Lopcan, mic Laḡṡna, mic Cuipc, mic Anluain, mic Mathḡamna, mic Taiṡdelbas, mic Caḡail, mic Aḡda, mic Conaill, mic Eḡaḡ ʒalleipḡ, mic Caṡṡino ʒino, mic ʒlaiḡ, mic Cair, mic Conaill Eaḡluaiḡ, mic Luḡeaḡ Minḡ, mic Oenḡura Tiṡḡ, mic ʒiṡcorb, mic Moḡa Corb, mic Cair, mic Ailella Oloim, mic Moḡa Nuadac, po poino ʒino pe Conḡ cet cathaḡ. In ḡarṡa tellaḡ conḡbala ʒollannaṡ ocuy ʒlaiḡura ʒrendo ʒin, o pe ʒremom mic Mileḡ ocuy ʒbir a bṡaḡar, ocuy o tuṡ ḡoman.

Their confederacy against the foreigners.

XLIV. Oṡ concaṡar, ḡna, in ḡarṡino ocuy in tanpoṡṡan, ocuy in nanṡlaiḡur ḡo hinṡeḡo ʒor Muman, ocuy ʒor ʒeṡab ʒrendo co coitceno, ʒi comarṡi ḡa ʒonṡac a hinḡabail, ocuy can a hoḡmaḡṡan iṡi. Ruṡṡat iapṡin a munṡeṡa, ocuy a ʒoṡṡala uli ḡar Sinainḡo ʒiṡar, ocuy po ʒcaṡṡeṡ ʒo ʒoṡṡib, ocuy ʒo ʒeḡab na ṡi maḡni iṡac. Ro ḡabṡac ic ʒoḡail, ocuy ic ʒoṡṡuin ʒoṡ ḡallaib ʒoḡeṡoṡi iapṡin. Ni po ʒermunḡo na hanacul ḡoibṡum, ḡna, o ḡallaib, aḡṡ ba ʒae ḡoḡeḡṡa ḡe a comṡaḡṡan, ocuy a comacṡeṡ, ḡo ʒṡeḡaib, ocuy conḡalaib, ocuy ḡo caḡaib, ocuy ḡo cliaḡḡeḡaib ḡo ʒoḡlaib, ocuy ḡo iṡḡalaib ʒa cloemcloṡeṡ eṡuri ʒi ʒemiy cian. Aṡi toṡṡeḡuḡo, ḡna, ceṡṡarṡai ḡarṡaile, ḡarḡonṡac ʒiḡ ocuy comṡoṡuḡo eṡoro ʒi heḡo .i. Mathḡaman mac Cenḡetiḡ ʒiḡ ʒailcaṡiṡ, ocuy maḡi ḡall Muman aṡcena.

Mathgamhain makes a truce with the foreigners.

ḡalma, ḡomneṡarṡa, ocuy ḡa laeḡ lonḡa, 7c., B. This MS. also reads ocuy ḡa ḡomila caḡa, ocuy ḡa ḡleṡeṡ uḡhṡae, ocuy ḡa ḡor ḡiṡṡin, ocuy ḡa ʒunḡ aḡṡa, 7c.

<sup>1</sup> *Anluan.* All the remainder of this genealogy after Anluan is omitted in B.

<sup>2</sup> *Of the two.* See note 15, p. 53. ʒin ḡarṡa, B.

<sup>3</sup> *Sovereignty.* B. reads ocuy ʒlaiṡeṡinṡar ʒrendo ḡ ʒeṡemom mic Mileaḡ, ocuy ʒinṡiṡ a bṡaḡar; omitting ocuy o tuṡ ḡoman.

<sup>4</sup> *When these saw.* Cṡo ṡṡa aḡṡ

oṡ concaṡar an ḡar ʒin an ḡaeṡi, B., "when these two saw," &c.

<sup>5</sup> *Men of Erin.* Aṡi ʒeṡarṡab Muṡian ocuy ʒrendo, B. "On the men of Munster and of Erin."

<sup>6</sup> *And not submit.* Ocuy ḡan a ʒaṡinac, B.

<sup>7</sup> *Their chattels.* Om. B.

<sup>8</sup> *Westwards.* Saṡi, B.

<sup>9</sup> *Tribes.* Na ṡṡi nuaiṡne iac, ocuy po ḡabṡac, B. "Of the three Uaiṡne that were there, and they began," &c.

<sup>10</sup> *After that.* Om. B.

ment of the west of Europe, viz., Mathgamhain and Brian, the two sons of Cennedigh, son of Lorcan, son of Lachtna, son of Corc, son of Anluan,<sup>1</sup> son of Mathgamhain, son of Tordhelbhach, son of Cathal, son of Aedh, son of Conall, son of Eochaidh Ball-derg, son of Cairthinn Finn, son of Blath, son of Cas, son of Conall Eachluaith, son of Lughaidh Menn, son of Oengus Tirech, son of Fercorb, son of Mogh Corb, son of Cas, son of Ailell Oloim, son of Mogh Nuadhat who divided Erin with Conn of the hundred battles. This was one of the two<sup>2</sup> houses that sustained the rule and sovereignty<sup>3</sup> of Erin, from the time of Eremon, son of Miledh, and Ebher, his brother, and from the beginning of the world.

XLIV. Now, when these saw<sup>4</sup> the bondage, and the oppression, and the misrule, that was inflicted on Mumhain, and on the men of Erin<sup>5</sup> in general, the advice they acted on was to avoid it, and not submit<sup>6</sup> to it at all. They therefore carried off their people, and all their chattels,<sup>7</sup> over the Sinann westwards<sup>8</sup>; and they dispersed themselves among the forests and woods of the three tribes<sup>9</sup> that were there. They began to plunder and kill the foreigners immediately after that.<sup>10</sup> Neither had they<sup>11</sup> any termonn or protection<sup>12</sup> from the foreigners; but it was woe to either party<sup>13</sup> to meet the other, or come together, owing to the plunders, and conflicts, and battles, and skirmishes, and trespasses, and combats, that were interchanged between them during a long period. When at length,<sup>14</sup> each party of them became tired of the other, they made peace and truce between them for some time, viz., Mathgamhain, son of Cennedigh, king of the Dal Cais,<sup>15</sup> and the chieftains of the foreigners of Mumhain in general.

Their confederacy against the foreigners.

Mathgamhain makes a truce with the foreigners.

<sup>11</sup>Neither had they. *Νηρο* for *νηρ* bo.

<sup>12</sup>Protection. *Οκυρ ηηρ βο τερμονν, οκυρ ηηρ βο ηανακαλ ρδιβριμ ο ξαλλαιβ μαρ αν σεσνα*, B., omitting the next three lines of the text to *εην ηεμυη αν, inclusive*.

<sup>13</sup>Either party. *Ώσεετα D.*, for *σοσεεταρ*.

<sup>14</sup>When at length. *Αη τοιηηριυ-εααδ σεεταρ δε ραροιλε*, B.

<sup>15</sup>Dal Cais. After this word B. inserts *οκυρ ματε* *Ώαλκαρ*, "and the chieftains of the Dal Cais."

Brian refuses all truce or peace with the foreigners.

XLV. Imturya, imorpo, Driann mic Cennoisig nyr baal leiryioe ryē pe gallaib, or zi bec rosla do tigrad de pa gallaib, ba pery leir na ryē; cto caē no beīē na toyr ni he no biaō. Da luno, imorpo, iaryin Driann ocuy glarylaē Dailcary leir i potryb, ocuy i podayb ocuy i paryayib Tuadmmuan daryahay. Ro zas ic rozal, ocuy ic potryun, ocuy ic ppyēpeēt potry gallaib po ceyoyr. In la naē denao olc pe gallaib do niao ranaochoi bas nery, ocuy in nadoach naē dygno do mo in la arnambarāē. Do gnytyr imorpo rianboēa polaēta potryonryryt acci moaryb, ocuy in niampayb, ocuy i noērymuyb, ocuy i noicelayb Ua Dlayt. Ro paryayeo leir o Deyrc co Potryur, ocuy o Eēti co Tpatryay. Ro ēimaryryet, oia, zail Tuadmmuan uli in Tpatryay, ocuy do ronao duncelay timēil Tpatryay acu, ocuy po ēnyallpat [en dūnāryur do denam] do Tpatryay uli, ocuy Tuadmmuan ocuy Ui Conail do zabail aryoe, ocuy do beīē rrya potryun. Cto tpa aēt cto no pety, in bas mo do aryun, ni horpa a ēryun inā mooryn, ar mayb Driann do gallaib donorybarin .i. inā dēryib, ocuy inā tmaryb, ocuy inā cuiceryb, ocuy inā ryētyb, ocuy inā ceday, ocuy an poēuyr do conzalayb, ocuy do zalayb inā menoi rryu. Mor, am, do duao ocuy do doary ocuy do droyuoc ocuy do droyēlebar, tuc potryun doym,

His slaughter of the foreigners.

<sup>1</sup> But. B. omits imorpo.

<sup>2</sup> Not willing. Nyr bāil ley, B. Lit. "Peace with the foreigners was not pleasing to him."

<sup>3</sup> However small. Aēt zybe ofozlayb do tigrad de do dēamān ar gallaib do bēary leir na ryō. Sio iao cāe po biaō inā toyr noē an ē Driann no biaō, B.

<sup>4</sup> However. B. omits imorpo.

<sup>5</sup> Retaliatē. Ryēberc, B.: "contradict."

<sup>6</sup> And when. B. omits from ocuy in nadoach to la arnambarāē.

<sup>7</sup> Moreover they. B. omits imorpo,

and for acci, reads in modern orthography, acca.

<sup>8</sup> Solitudes and deserts. Inoiamryb ocuy moēryebhāib, B.

<sup>9</sup> Uī Blait. O mōloyo, B.

<sup>10</sup> From Derc. O Deyrs Deyrc, B., [i. e., from Loch Derg].

<sup>11</sup> Ecti. Eētze, B.; now Sliabh Echtghe, or Baughty, a mountainous district on the borders of the counties of Galway and Clare.

<sup>12</sup> One garrison. En aryur do Tpatryay, D. En dūnāryur do denam Tpatryay, B. From this latter MS. the words in brackets have been inserted.

XLV. But<sup>1</sup> as regards Brian, son of Cennedigh, he was not willing<sup>2</sup> to make peace with the foreigners, because however small<sup>3</sup> the injury he might be able to do to the foreigners, he preferred it to peace; and though all others were silent on that head he would not beso. Brian, however,<sup>4</sup> after that, and with him the young champions of the Dal Cais, went back again into the forests and woods and deserts of north Mumhain. He began then immediately to plunder and kill, and retaliate<sup>5</sup> on the foreigners. When he inflicted not evil on the foreigners in the day time, he was sure to do so in the next night; and when<sup>6</sup> he did it not in the night he was sure to do it on the following day. Moreover they,<sup>7</sup> with him, used to set up rude huts instead of encampments, in the woods and solitudes and deserts<sup>8</sup> and caves of Ui Blait.<sup>9</sup> The country was wasted by him from Dere<sup>10</sup> to the Forgas, and from Echi<sup>11</sup> to Tratraighe. Then the foreigners of all north Mumhain assembled around Tra-traighe, and they raised a fortifying bank all round Tra-traighe; and they proposed to render all Tra-traighe one garrison,<sup>12</sup> and from it to conquer the whole of north Mumhain and Ui Conaill, and make them subject to them.<sup>13</sup> But although it is possible to count<sup>14</sup> a greater number, it is not easy to enumerate, or tell, all that Brian killed of the foreigners of that garrison<sup>15</sup> in twos,<sup>16</sup> and in threes, and in fives, and in scores, and in hundreds; or the number of conflicts and combats<sup>17</sup> that he frequently and constantly gave them. Great, on the other hand, were the hardship

Brian refuses all truce or peace with the foreigners.

His slaughter of the foreigners.

<sup>13</sup> *Subject to them.* Το ζαβαλ αρ, οσυρ αμβερετ οκ φοζηανη τοις, B.

<sup>14</sup> *To count.* B. has Κυθ τρα αετ ξε πο πεθα α μαρβαδ, η ηυρυρα α ρυσιη ναδ α αρηραη ναδ α μουρην, γc. : "although it was possible to kill, it is not easy to reckon or count, or tell," &c.

<sup>15</sup> *Garrison.* Ορβαρ for φορβαρ. Οον φορβαρ ρην, B., more correctly.

Φορβαρ is, properly, a seige; a garrison for the purpose of a seige.

<sup>16</sup> *In twos.* Ινα μβυροηβ, οσυρ ινα οσυρβ, οσυρ ινα ριετιβ, οσυρ ινα οσεσβαβ, οσυρ ινα οσειτερναβ, οσυρ αρ αρ κυρ, γc., B. "In companies, and in troops, and in scores, and in hundreds, and in quaternions."

<sup>17</sup> *Combats.* For ζαλαβ μονα μεναι ρρη, B. reads κιαεταβ μονα μονα ρια.

1 prianboctab páraig porpuiaro ppeமானab corpača  
 pliučta, a tigu duitiasu pdein, ar marbad a muinntir,  
 ocup aepira gpaota, ocup a comalta, co dub, domennnac,  
 tpuas, nemelač, toipeč. <sup>His followers cut off to fifteen.</sup> <sup>Math-gamhain sends to condole with Brian.</sup> <sup>XLVI.</sup> Oaia tpa Mathgamain abeič amlaio  
 riu, paioi tečta ar a cenio, uar ba heccal ler a čoiim  
 pu gallab in uati pluas ocup porpuiaro. O paucatar,  
 oia, oen inao ħpian ocup Mathgahian, [atberp Mač-  
 zahian aš acane pe ħpian an oič puar muinntir  
 ħpian, ocup aoubairt an laioh :

His poetical  
 lament on  
 the occa-  
 sion.

Uathač rin a ħpian ħanba,  
<sup>1</sup>Do čumnecléo ní héccalma,  
 Ní líonihar tángair oar tiz,  
 Čát ar fáccbair do muinntir.  
 Do fáccbur iao aš gallaib  
 Iar na plaoe a Mačzahian,  
 Cpuaró nomlenpat tar gač lear,  
 Ní hionann ir do inuinntir.  
 Čarpet na coihraia a ħir,  
 Čš ar fáccbair do inuinntir,  
 ħar ngléo mara calma amuis,  
 Ní héccen toibém orab.  
 Ro fáccbur iao icCpiao Léit,  
 I mbernaró nar pcoitit pceit,  
 ħpino, žer oisiz cloč an ħir,  
 Do čuit araei pe a inuinntir.  
 Čr tpep iru mħpémntir mbuian  
 Robač tpeap calma coihpuiaro,

<sup>1</sup> *Bad food.* More correctly in B. <sup>2</sup> *Inflicted on him.* For tuc porpuiaro

porpuiaro i prianboctab, B. reads, tuc-  
 paccapuiaro do ħpian hi prianbo-  
 ctab: "Did they occasion to Brian in  
 the wild huts," &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Country.* Č tpep duitéce pem, B.

<sup>4</sup> *Dispirited.* Šo oubac tpeap

domennmac toipepae tpuas  
 nemelac, B.

<sup>5</sup> *Historians.* Oisiz atao pen-  
 chaioe ga mara žur oiaizettar  
 žoil a inuinntir conac paibe ma  
 lenman ppoioiz acč cince ppe  
 oec, B.: "But there are historians  
 that say," &c.

<sup>6</sup> *Of his being.* ħpian do beich

and the ruin, the bad food<sup>1</sup> and bad bedding which they inflicted on him<sup>2</sup> in the wild huts of the desert, on the hard knotty wet roots of his own native country<sup>3</sup>; whilst they killed his people and his trusty officers and his comrades; sorrowful, dispirited,<sup>4</sup> wretched, unpitied, weary. For historians<sup>5</sup> say that the foreigners cut off his people, so that he had at last no more than fifteen followers.

His followers cut off to fifteen.

XLVI. But when Mathgamhain heard of his being<sup>6</sup> in this condition, he sent a messenger to him, for he dreaded<sup>7</sup> his fall by the foreigners for want of troops and forces. When Brian and Mathgamhain met in one place,<sup>8</sup> [Mathgamhain condoled with Brian on the destruction which had befallen Brian's followers, and he spake this poem:—

Mathgamhain sends to condole with Brian.

[M.] Alone art thou, O Brian of Banba!

Thy warfare was not without valour,  
Not numerous hast thou come to our house,  
Where hast thou left thy followers?

His poetical lament on the occasion.

[B.] I have left them with the foreigners

After having been cut down, O Mathgamhain!  
In hardship they followed me over every plain,  
Not the same as thy people.

[M.] In what battles, O man,

Hast thou left thy people?  
If your fighting was brave on the plain,  
No reproach shall be cast upon you!

[B.] I have left them on Craig Liath,

In that breach where shields were cleft,  
Birnn, (it was difficult to cut off the man),—  
Fell there with his people.

Our combat in the everlasting Bréintir

Was a brave and exceedingly hard combat.

ἦν υατε ῥλυαξ, οσυ ροβανθε ρη, B., "of Brian being in this want of troops and of forces."

<sup>7</sup> He dreaded. Ρορ εσσαλ λαι, B.

<sup>8</sup> In one place. D. reads O ρανκα-  
ταρ [ρανσατταρ, B.] οηα οεν ιασ, [ξο ηαεν ιασ, B.] ὕριαν οσυ  
Ματςγαιαν, ρο βι ὕριαν ια κυρ-

ρσο, γc., "when Brian and Mathgamhain met together, Brian reproached Mathgamhain," &c. (as in c. xlvii.), omitting the whole passage which is put within brackets in the text, including the poem. It will be seen that the poem is a dialogue between Mathgamhain (*pron.* Mahoun) and Brian; and to as-

Մարմբան ԵօժօնԹ,—Շարձ ա չալ,  
 Ընա Եժրաճաժ Երեմբեր,  
 Ար րղեժ շոն բթօրշար ուր մաժ,  
 Կօրրրբաժ բոն յԵ ԼԵժ ար ԼԵժ,  
 Ար րղեժ բա Երբ ուր Երբ ԼաՇ.  
 Կրօճա իմ Ելար յօ Կարրոժ,  
 Ըժօ իմ Ելշոմ—նի բաժ յՅ !  
 Շարձ իմ Երբ—իրոն Են ԼՅ,  
 Ա Մաժշաիան, ար բր ծան,  
 Ոճա մին ար ուոմբարաժ.  
 Բարամար ուր ծալ ար բոն,  
 Կօ չրբան յօ չրբալալիւն,  
 Ար բժօ ուճար բժօ բաժալ.  
 Իր ուր Եժժ բԵ ա Եժիարուի.  
 Բօ իոնարԵար, նի ԵրբԵ բօ,  
 Շօլլ յՅ ԿօրբԵ-ԿօրբԵ յՅ Բօրշօ,  
 Կօ Եարրոմ ան Լաժ ԵԼԵ,  
 Օ ԵժժԵ յՅ ԿրաԵրալժԵ.  
 Ար Եժրոն ար բԵժԵԼ, ա բր,  
 Ա ուԵր ԸննԵրԵրալժ Եարշլ,  
 ՄԵմԵ ԿաԵրան բոն Եօ Եժժ  
 Եալ ար ուր յօլժ Լոն ուժԵժ.  
 Ոճա Երաժ ԸննԵրԵրալժ ար Երաժ,  
 Ոճա Երաժ ԼօրԵան Լոննար,  
 Ար ՇալԼան նա Երօժ մարրոմ,  
 Մար Երաժօրր ա Մաժշաիան.  
 Ար օղա բոն ա Երան Երբշի,  
 Ոճա մարմարԵաժ ԵարշնԵաժ,  
 Իի բուժ Երաժի նա ԵրմնԵ Լի Երաժ,  
 ԿարմնԵ յԵ Եաժի յՅ Լաժաժ.

սաժԵաժԻ.]

Brian re-  
 proaches  
 Mathgam-  
 hain for  
 his peace  
 with the  
 foreigners.

XLVII. Բօ Եր Երան Երա Եարբաժ Մաժշաիան Եօ ուր,  
 օԵր արԵրբ բրբ ԵօԵա ուլար մԵնման, օԵր ԵօրԵա  
 ԼալԵր Եժժար ԵոնուԵա յօ բիժ նա Եոմրօրրոժ յօ Եանժան  
 յօ ՇալԼան, օԵր բրաժ բօր ա բԵրմնԵ, օԵր բօր ա ԼԵրԵ

sist the reader, the Editor, in the trans-  
 lation, has prefixed the letters M. and  
 B. to the words intended to be spoken  
 by Mahoun and Brian, respectively.

<sup>1</sup> Alone. It is a custom of Irish

scribes to repeat the first word of a  
 poem at the end, as a mode of marking  
 its conclusion; and it was a rule to  
 make the poem begin and end with  
 the same word or syllable.

We killed Edonn,—fierce his valour,  
 With his forty heroes.  
 Our fight at the Forcus was not soft ;  
 Weary of it were we on both sides ;  
 Our fight in the combat was no weak combat ;  
 Thirty, with Elius fell.  
 An hundred with Elgim,—no falsehood !  
 Fierce was the combat,—in one day.  
 O ! Mathgamhain, I speak but truth,  
 Not mild was our parting with them.  
 We suffered much of evil after that,  
 From the attacks of fierce champions,  
 Our path was not a path of ease.  
 Many were their hundreds when counted.  
 I banished—this is no falsehood—  
 The foreigners from Deirg-Deire to the Forcus ;  
 We drove the other party  
 From Echtge to Tradraighe.  
 These are our adventures, O man,  
 O son of Cennedigh, the fair-skinned ;  
 Often did we deliver ourselves with success,  
 From positions in which we despaired of escape.  
 Cennedigh for wealth would not have been,  
 Nor would Lorcan, the fruitful, have been,  
 So quiescent towards the foreigners,  
 As thou art, O Mathgamhain !  
 [M.] This is pride, O brave Brian ;  
 Thy mind is not considerate,  
 Thy care and thy thoughts are not on wealth,  
 Methinks, even though thou art alone !

ALONE.<sup>1</sup>]

XLVII. Brian reproached<sup>2</sup> Mathgamhain greatly, and he said that it was from cowardice<sup>3</sup> of mind, and from the weakness of a stranger tribe,<sup>4</sup> that he conceded<sup>5</sup> peace or truce to the foreigners while they occupied his territory.

<sup>2</sup> *Reproached.* Ἄξ συρραχᾶδ, B.  
 Lit. was reproaching.

<sup>3</sup> *That it was cowardice.* Συρ βο  
 τλάρ ουρ συρ βο λαισε νό, γρό  
 no κοιοργαδ, 7c., B.

<sup>4</sup> *Stranger tribe:* i.e., that had no  
 fatherland to defend.

<sup>5</sup> *Conceded.* Ὀσίαιεταν, B.



tory and his rightful inheritance, the patrimony of his father and of his grandfather; and he said to him that his grandfather Lorcan, son of Lachtna, would never<sup>1</sup> have made a truce<sup>2</sup> such as that; he who gave not submission or tribute to Maelsechlainn, son of Maelruanaidh, king of Erinn, or to the five provinces of Erinn, for as much time as that in which he could have played one game of chess, on the green of Magh Adhair<sup>3</sup>; and he who would not permit the seven great battalions to burn Ath U Doghair for four days<sup>4</sup> and four nights. He said, also,<sup>5</sup> that neither would Lughaidh Menn, son of Aenghus Tirech, another of his ancestors, have ever<sup>6</sup> done such a thing. The man who never yielded even the leveret of a hare to the tribe of Tlaman Tuathbil through contempt of the three great<sup>7</sup> battalions of Connacht, until he had gained seven battles<sup>8</sup> over them, and killed seven of their kings,<sup>9</sup> and until he had pursued them in their retreat from Carn Feradaich to Ath Lucait; and he had<sup>10</sup> no troops or followers, but only suttlers, and boys, and idlers. He said,<sup>11</sup> no more would Core, the man who first routed the foreigners, viz., Core, son of Cas, son of Ailioll Oluim, have been the man to brook such an insult; the man, also, who fought eight battles in defence of the freedom of Mumhain and of his patrimony, and of Leth Mogha in general.

Contrasts the conduct of his ancestors.

Mathgamhain said,<sup>12</sup> that all this<sup>13</sup> was true, and that although<sup>14</sup> it was true, he had not the power to meet the foreigners, because of the greatness of their followers, and the number of their army, and the greatness of their champions, and the excellence of their corslets, and of their

Mathgamhain's answer.

had fought eight battles in defence of Mumhain, &c." Core, son of Anluan, grandfather of Lorcan, is evidently intended. See chap. xliii., p. 59; and "son" in the text may, perhaps, be used in the sense of "descendant."

<sup>12</sup> *Said.* Ocuŕ aŕbeŕt, B., "and Mathgamhain said."

<sup>13</sup> *All this.* ˆOo ƒoim ƒim, B.

<sup>14</sup> *Although.* ˆSéŕ bo ƒŕŕ naŕ ŕaibe acŕŕaŕŕŕ ŕall ˆo ƒŕŕeŕtaŕ acce ŕe-meŕ a mŕleacŕ ocuŕ ŕe ŕeaŕbuŕ, ƒc., B.: "Although it was true that he had no power to meet the foreigners, because of the number of their champions and the excellence of their corslets, and of their swords," &c.; omitting all that intervenes in the text.

ocur anarim arcena, ocur arberc dona nurbal leir  
 Ṭalcair sacbal ina lurg, amial ro aciom urmor a  
 muinriu.

Brian's  
 reply.

Atberc, imorpo, Ḡrian nyr bo coir dorom in ní rin  
 [ro raḏa], uair ba tuḗas doéc, ocur ba tuḗas do  
 Ṭalcair uli, uair marb anaḗru, ocur a renaḗru, ocur  
 bar araceno doib reiu dáḡbal; ocur nyrbo dual,  
 imorpo, ocur nyrbo tuḗas doib tár natarcuiriu do  
 ḡabal, uair nyr ḡabrat anaḗru no řenaḗru rin o neoḗ  
 ar talmanu. Arberc, dona, nyr ba mias menman doib  
 in repano ro corairret anaḗru, ocur řenaḗru tre čaib  
 ocur tre cliaḗab re maḗib ḡoedel, a lecin can caḗ  
 can cliaḗas do ḡallaib ḡlaga, ocur do ḡentib ḡoruna  
 ḡurmapa.

Math-  
 gamhain  
 assembles  
 the Dal  
 Cais.

XLVIII. Ro timarḡit iairiu an Ṭalcair uli,  
 inat oentatdach oenbal co Mathḡaman, ocur ro  
 himcomare cia comarib bat ail doib do denab .i. in  
 riḗ no coccat řiu ḡallaib ocur řiu danarab. Arber-  
 tatdar uli imorpo, eteri ren ocur oc, ba reairi leo bar,  
 ocur éc ocur aedeo ir inḗim do aḡbal, iccoinum rairi  
 anatarḡa, ocur aceneoil, na řoḡmaḗtan řorpana, ocur  
 řormarc allmarāḗ no cniḗ no a repano do oirreḡuo  
 doib, ocur ba ḡuḗ cet ar bel oenriu rin.

They  
 decide on  
 war;

Arberc Mathḡaman, imorpo, ba hi comarib ba coir

and to  
 expel the

<sup>1</sup> *He said.* Ocur atberc, omitting  
 dona, B.

<sup>2</sup> *To leave.* Ṭo řaccbal, B.

<sup>3</sup> *Had left.* Ro řaccpoḗ, B. The  
 frequent omission of the aspirated ř in  
 D., has often been noticed.

<sup>4</sup> *Brian said.* This speech is given  
 somewhat differently in B., thus:—  
 ocur atberc Ḡrian nyr bo cōir  
 dořoiḗ an in řiu do raḏa, uair do  
 éccrat an aḗre ocur a renaḗre,  
 ocur ba tuḗas doib reiu ecc  
 do raḡbal, oir nyr ḡabratari a  
 naḗre, ocur a renaḗre ó neaḗ  
 ruḗ ar talmanu doiman écca:  
 “And Brian said, that it was not right  
 in him to say that thing, for their

fathers and their grandfathers had died,  
 and it was hereditary also to themselves  
 to suffer death, for their fathers and  
 their grandfathers never submitted to it  
 [insult] from any person in the wide  
 world.”

<sup>5</sup> *He said.* B. reads, ocur atberc  
 nar. It may be observed here, to  
 avoid repetition, that for arberc, “he  
 said,” as it is written in D., the MS. B.  
 always reads atberc.

<sup>6</sup> *To abandon.* Cc leḡaḗ, B.

<sup>7</sup> *Defended.* Cornatat, B.

<sup>8</sup> *Battles.* For čaib, which is wrong,  
 B. reads, čaḗab.

<sup>9</sup> *After this.* Arriu Ṭal cCair, B

<sup>10</sup> *Before Mathgamhain.* Inat na-

swords, and their other arms in general. And he said<sup>1</sup> also that he would not like to leave<sup>2</sup> the Dal Cais *dead* in following him, as he [Brian] had left<sup>3</sup> the most of his people.

Brian said<sup>4</sup> that that was not a right thing for him [Mathgamhain] *to say*, because it was hereditary for him to die, and hereditary for all the Dal Cais, for their fathers and grandfathers had died, and death was certain to come upon themselves; but it was not natural or hereditary to them to submit to insult or contempt, because their fathers or their grandfathers submitted not to it from any one on earth. He said<sup>5</sup> also that it was no honour to their courage to abandon,<sup>6</sup> without battle or conflicts, to dark foreigners, and black grim Gentiles, the inheritance which their fathers and grandfathers had defended<sup>7</sup> in battles<sup>8</sup> and conflicts against the chiefs of the Gaedhil.

XLVIII. After this<sup>9</sup> all the Dal Cais were assembled to one appointed place before Mathgamhain,<sup>10</sup> and he asked them what decision they wished to come to, namely, whether they would have peace or war with the foreigners, and with the Danars. Then<sup>11</sup> they all answered, both old and young, that they preferred<sup>12</sup> meeting death and destruction and annihilation and violence in defending the freedom<sup>13</sup> of their patrimony, and of their race, rather than submit to the tyranny and oppression<sup>14</sup> of the pirates, or abandon<sup>15</sup> their country and their lands to them. And this was the voice of hundreds,<sup>16</sup> as the voice of one man.<sup>17</sup>

Mathgamhain then said, that this was<sup>18</sup> the decision and to expel the

επταδαιξ νάνεβαλε κο Ματσα-  
νιαν, οσυρ κο θριαν, οσυρ πο ιοι-  
δομαριε Ματσανιαν, οσυρ θριαν  
οις εια κομαριε το θεντοσσιρ, αν  
ριε, no an coccas me zallan, [omit-  
ting οσυρ ηυ θαναριας,] B.: "To  
one appointed place, before Mathgam-  
hain and before Brian, and Mathgam-  
hain and Brian asked them, what  
decision they would make, peace or war  
with the foreigners."

<sup>11</sup> Then. B. omits ιοιορηο.

<sup>12</sup> Preferred. Ροβαο ρερι λεο εεο  
οσυρ οιδεαο θραξβαν, B.

<sup>13</sup> Freedom. Σωιρη. B.

<sup>14</sup> Tyranny and oppression. Ρορ-  
ραν οσυρ πορηνηε, B.

<sup>15</sup> To abandon. Ινα οσυρ, οσυρ  
ινα ηρηουνη ρειν, οσυρ α οσυρ οχ  
το οιλγιουκαο οοις, B.

<sup>16</sup> Hundreds: .c. ται, B.

<sup>17</sup> One man. Κοιρη η αα, B.

<sup>18</sup> This was. For ιοιορηο βα η, B.  
reads, ηρ.

Danes from the Eogh-anacht country, and from Cashel.

τοισ το δεναιβ .ι. τεαετ ι Καριυλ να ριζ οκυρ ινθεζαναετ αρκενα, υαυρ βα ηε ριν ρρμπορτ Μυμαν, οκυρ ρρμυ-εζελαετ κλαινου Αεελλα; δεγβιρ ον αρ βα ηε Αεελαε Μυμαν, οκυρ Τεμαρ λετι Μοζα. Οα ηε ονα α μυν-αουρ οκυρ α ρενδουκυρ βαδειν. Αγβερτ βα ρεαρρ α ριρ καεα οκυρ κομλανο ριν ινναουεταξ, οκυρ ιμμα λειρελαμα βυναο ινναρ ιν αν ρερανο ρορζαβαλα οκυρ κλαοιμ, οκυρ ειο οιαο νο οοκαρ ροζαβουαρ ιε κορ-νυμ ραρι ρρμυεζελλαε Μυμαν, οκυρ ιμ οα υατιν κοηβαλα ρολλαμναρ οκυρ ρλαεαμναρ Ερενο; ιρε βα κορυ ραριρ το κορνυμ οκυρ ιαρυαο ανο.

Invasion of the Eogh-anacht country and Cashel, then in the power of the Danes, A.D. 964.

XLIX. Ρο δελλιζ, ονα, ρορρην κομαρλι ριν αεκο, οκυρ αγβερταδαρ ιλι βα κομαρλι κοιρ, βα ηαειυρε ραζ-βαλα, [οκυρ] βα βυαο αρπλαβρα. Οο λοταρ ιαριρ ινθεζαναετ, οκυρ ρο ληνρατ Εοζαναετ, οκυρ Μυρεραεζι αεκο ο Ούν να Σειαθ εο Δελυε Αεεαλλι. Οα λυο, ιμορρο, Μαθηζαμαν ιαριρ ι Καρελναυζ, οκυρ ρο ζαβαο ρορραο, οκυρ λοηγορτ αεο ι η Ούν Κυριε ιν βλιαοαν ιαρ νεε Οονεαοα ιμκ Αελλαεαν ρι Καριλ. Οο ροναο, ιμορρο, ερεεα μορα οκυρ αρζυο, οκυρ ιρζαλα υαειβ αρ καε λεε ρο Μυμαν ου ι ραβαοαρ ζαλλ οκυρ α μυντερα.

Imar, of Limerick, musters his vassals.

Ο ρο ευαλα, ιμορρο, ιμαρ υα ηιμαρ αρορυ ζαλλ Μυμαν οκυρ ζοεδελ ιν ταη ριν, ιν μειρνεαε μορ

<sup>1</sup> For that was. Οιρ βα ηε, B. The meaning is the same. "For that [viz., Cashel] was the chief [royal] residence of Mumhain, [or Munster], and the Eogh-anacht, [viz., the country around Killarney] was the principal seat of the descendants of Ailioll, [or Oilioll Oluim.]" For ρρμυ εζελαετ, B. reads, ρρμυεαελαεαρεαεααρ, "the principal seat of the supremacy of the descendants of Oilioll."

<sup>2</sup> For it was. Οόγζ βα ηε, B. The meaning is, that Cashel was to Munster, what Ailech [the old royal seat of the O'Neills] was to the north of Ireland; and to Legh Mogha or the

southern half of Ireland, what Tara [the royal seat of the chief king] was to the whole kingdom.

<sup>3</sup> Their origin. B. omits α μυν-αουρ [which in correct orthography ought to be α μβυναοουρ], and reads, οκυρ βα ηε α ρεν νουεεαρ βυδειμ.

<sup>4</sup> And combat. B. omits οκυρ κομ-λανο ριν.

<sup>5</sup> For their inheritance. B. reads, ιμο ουεθαεζ 7 μα ερμκ βυναο, ιμαρ μα ρερονν: "For their inheritance and for their native country, than for land acquired," &c.

<sup>6</sup> Freedom. B. omits ραριρ.

<sup>7</sup> Pillars. Αβι οαρα ηυαενε, B.

that it was right for them to come to, to go to Caisel of the kings, and to the Eoghanacht also, for that was<sup>1</sup> the chief residence of Mumhain, and the principal seat of the descendants of Ailioll; very properly too, for it was<sup>2</sup> the Ailech of Mumhain and the Temhair of Leth Mogha. It was also the place of their origin<sup>3</sup> and their ancient birth-right. He said that it was better and more righteous to do battle and combat<sup>4</sup> for their inheritance,<sup>5</sup> and for their native right, than for land acquired by conquest and the sword; and that though they must necessarily sustain labour or loss in defence of the freedom<sup>6</sup> of the chief seat of Mumhain, and the two sustaining pillars<sup>7</sup> of the government<sup>8</sup> and sovereignty of Erin, it was for that<sup>9</sup> they ought to contend and seek.

Danes from the Eoghanacht country, and from Cashel.

XLIX. Accordingly this advice<sup>10</sup> was adopted; and they all said that it was prudent advice, and that it was gifted<sup>11</sup> counsel, and a victory of eloquence. They marched then into the *country of the Eoghanacht*, and the Eoghanacht and the *people of Muscraige* gathered unto them<sup>12</sup> from Dún na Sciath<sup>13</sup> to Belach Accailli. Mathgamhain went<sup>14</sup> after this to Caisel of the kings; and he halted and encamped<sup>15</sup> at Dún Cuire, the year after the death of Donnchadh, son of Cellachan, king of Caisel. Great plunders<sup>16</sup> and ravages and conflicts were effected by them on all sides throughout Mumhain, wherever the foreigners and their people were settled.

Invasion of the Eoghanacht country and Cashel, then in the power of the Danes, A.D. 964.

But when Imar, grandson of Imar, chief king of the foreigners of Mumhain, and of the Gaedhil at that time,

Imar, of Limerick, musters his vassals.

<sup>8</sup> *Government.* B. omits πολλα-  
ναιρ.

<sup>9</sup> *It was for that.* Αρ γε βα κόρα  
το έορμαίν γε σαναραιβ, B., "this  
was what they ought to defend from  
the Danars."

<sup>10</sup> *This advice.* B. gives this passage  
thus: Ρο αενταξριου υλε αν  
κοιηρηι ριν, ουρ αβερταταρ βα  
κόρη ι, ουρ βα ηατερεε ραββαλα,  
ουρ βα βιαρό νυρλαβρια ρο έαν.

Το λοταρ υλε ιν Εογαναετ ιαρ-  
ριν.

<sup>11</sup> *Gifted.* Αετερεε, B. Αετιρξ  
ραββαλα, "a message communicated  
or inspired by God or the Saints."

<sup>12</sup> *Unto them.* Οcco, om. B.

<sup>13</sup> *Dún na Sciath,* so B. Dún nas-  
lath, D.

<sup>14</sup> *Mathgamhain went.* Το λυρο

Μαεξαιηαν εο Καρρολ να ρίοξ, B.

<sup>15</sup> *Encamped.* B. omits acci.

<sup>16</sup> *Great plunders.* B. omits ιμορηρο.

αοβυλ, ocuy in menmanriao niybuloa raponriatay  
meic Cendetiz ocuy Oailcaiy apcena, ba peēt acno  
Leo ym, ba peyγ pīr peōcaiy, ocuy ba gal cyoi, ay  
tabaiyē iayum na Mumai doptom uli po can, ocuy po  
zeillym gal; iy amay bay bic a nm. Oo ponneyay  
cocao, ocuy cenōabaē do denam a cūl bic don Mumain  
yiy iayiy. Oognoēy, oia, moyēnoy ocuy moyēlyāyao  
pey Mumai uli cūcy, eiy gal ocuy zoedel, co haiy  
oentaoāē oenbaly, dnyey ocuy do delayyay Oailcaiy,  
cūnāē beīē pey congbyala cno capayll ay peēy, dab  
na rapoyāēmet, po ceētay ayro na Mumai can may-  
bay ocuy can ayayy, no daēbayy po can, ocuy po  
zeilym do galayb amay caē.

A muster of  
Danes and  
Irish to  
ravage Dal  
Cais.

Three  
Munster  
chieftains  
refuse to  
join Imar,  
and are  
murdered.

L. Bayay moyoy ym Mumain flayē pīyenaā, ocuy  
yiyēy pōēnelayā ay naybal in ylyayao ym. Lyēy  
iyayoye nay yaby dāneyo po mayy gal, ocuy donay-  
yay bayoyay bynayo Oailcaiy .i. Paelan mac Coyay  
y nāyOey, ocuy flayēy mac Almayay y Rēyay,  
ocuy Sioēay mac Seyy y Tyll. Ocuy romaybay  
tya in tyay ym la h-Imay Lūmyy ocuy pe galayb  
apcena, uay tabayay ic tayyey in ylyayao; ocuy  
po pey oyēy co bay yayy Leo beīē ac Mathyaym  
oyay beīē ic galayb ocuy ic mac Oyan. Bayay oia  
oyoy ele ym Mumai, ocuy cen cob ay ay gal, ba

Others join  
the foreign-  
ers from  
enmity to  
the Dal  
Cais.

<sup>1</sup> Tremendous. Cōbal ym, B.

<sup>2</sup> To him. Bay peēt acneyō leyoy ym, ocuy ba peyē pīyēō-  
caiy, B.

<sup>3</sup> His having made. Ay tabayyē  
Mūhān ule po cān, ocuy po  
zeilyyē gal, cocao ocuy com-  
fayāē do dēnyū h cūl byc don  
Mūhān yuyy. B. The transcriber  
most probably omitted a line.

<sup>4</sup> Spite. C nm, "his venom," or  
"poison." The words iy amay bay  
bic a nm are omitted in B.

<sup>5</sup> Muster. Oo znyēy moyē yly-  
ayāē ocuy moyē tyonōl, B.

<sup>6</sup> To one appointed place. Co hayē  
nāybayē, B.

<sup>7</sup> Depopulate. Tyēlayyayā, B.

<sup>8</sup> Should not be. Cona beīē pey  
congnyāa cno capayll ay peīy  
po ceīyē hayoyē na Mūhān ule,  
zan maybay ocuy zan bayyayā,  
no a tabayyē pō cān, ocuy po  
zeilyyē gal, B.: "That there  
should not be a man to guide a horse's  
head over a channel, within the four  
points of Munster, who should not  
be killed and put to death, or made  
to give tribute and hostages to the  
foreigners." The words "a man to  
guide a horse's head over a channel,"  
were probably proverbial.

<sup>9</sup> Righteous. Pīybayyā, B.

<sup>10</sup> Did not approve. Lit., "to whom

heard of the great, tremendous<sup>1</sup> courage, and the marvellous determination which the sons of Cennedigh displayed, and the Dal Cais also, it was to him<sup>2</sup> frenzy of mind, and raging fury, and aching of heart, after his having made<sup>3</sup> all Mumhain to be tributary and bound to give hostages to the foreigners. His spite<sup>4</sup> was little short of death *to him*. He then determined on making a small angle of Mumhain the seat of war and conflict; and the great muster<sup>5</sup> and great hosting of all the men of Mumhain was accordingly made unto him, both of Gaill, and Gaedhil, to one appointed place,<sup>6</sup> to ravage and depopulate<sup>7</sup> Dal Cais, so that there should not be<sup>8</sup> *left of them* a man to guide a horse's head over a channel, an abbot, or venerable person, within the four points of Mumhain, who should not be murdered or put to death, or brought under tribute and subjection to the foreigners like all others.

A muster of Danes and Irish to ravage Dal Cais.

L. But there were in Mumhain righteous<sup>9</sup> princes, and noble chiefs, who did not approve<sup>10</sup> of this hosting. These were people who were not in voluntary subjection to the foreigners, and who were not the natural foes of the Dal Cais, viz., Faelan, son of Cornac, king of the Desi, and Flathri, son of Allamara, king of Ressad, and Sidechad,<sup>12</sup> son of Segni, king of Titill. And these three were killed<sup>13</sup> by Imar of Luimnech and the foreigners who were with him, because<sup>14</sup> they were endeavouring to hinder the expedition; and it was known of them<sup>15</sup> that they preferred being allied to Mathgamhain rather than to the foreigners and the son of Bran. There were others also in Mumhain, and, although it was not for the sake<sup>16</sup> of the foreigners, they were ready to go and plunder Dal Cais,

Three Munster chieftains refuse to join Imar, and are murdered.

Others join the foreigners from enmity to the Dal Cais.

this expedition was not pleasing."

Όαναρ βάλ αν ρλυαζεαδ ρηη οο  
 οεναη .ι. λυετ ιαορθε ναε ραβε  
 οα ηοεοηη ρο ρμαετ ζαλλ, οορ  
 οαναρ βιοδβαδα ιορη οάλ οοαρ, B.

<sup>11</sup> *Allamara.* Son of Allmoran, king of Resad, B.

<sup>12</sup> *Sidechad.* Sidichan, son of Segin, king of Ticcill, or Tigill, B.

<sup>13</sup> *Were killed.* B. omits τρηα.

<sup>14</sup> *Because.* Λε ζαλλαν αρενα ο  
 ροβατταρ acc τοημερεοο αν τρη-  
 αζο, B.

<sup>15</sup> *Of them.* Οορ οητο ρο ρερ  
 ρορηυ ζυρ βο ρερρ λεδ βερη  
 αζ Ματζαηαν μα βερδ αζ μαο  
 θρηαν, οορ αζ ζαλλαν, B.

<sup>16</sup> *Not for the sake.* Οορ ζοηη ζυδ  
 αρ οαζ ζαλλ, B., a difference of  
 spelling only.

hercaō leo tēct dnrpuō Dalcay .i. Moelmuat mac  
 ōran nī Derrmuman, ocuy Dornnāban mac Caēal nīg  
 ūa Caphru. Ar macbat na maēi nīn dna, amal nō  
 naitpūmāq, dāluō Imar Lunnōg co rluag Muman umi  
 eter gal ocuy soedel dā nīragi Dalcay.

A council  
 of war of  
 the chiefs  
 of the Dal  
 Cais sum-  
 moned.

LI. Ro nīaēt in rcel nīn co ōran ocuy co Math-  
 gaman, ocuy co maēib Dalcay arēna, at nīgabatar  
 i Caphel na nīg. Ro docuyat imorpo Dalcay uli cucu  
 co rogan. Ro imcomāq Mathgamān eīd dō zentay  
 na curaw. Arberatar, imorpo, na tpetil ocuy tpen-  
 mlīd ba comānī leo toēt co Cnamēall in nātaw na  
 rluag, ocuy na rocraw, co rāgīr tūr in bat nīcāta  
 doib iat, ocuy membaw ed cotuctay amuy calla,  
 ocuy ropāzēctā ropēō in Cnamēall. Ocuy nī anōrīn  
 dō roēt Caēal mac Pēratāg dō ōelbna Moir, cet  
 pēr nāqmaē imcomlanō, dō neoē ropā rabi rīaēt mor  
 mlēta ar elī caē oen nīr, i rūrtaēt ocuy i ropūēu  
 Dalcay tīa comānīb, ocuy tīr nīal capōuy ar ba  
 dō nīl lūrdeāē mīc Oengurā na .u. ōelbna. Dā he in  
 Caēal nīn, tīa, nī amīaē ocuy zārceōāē Epenō mā  
 pemīr in amīr rōdem. Caē dū i rabi zārceōāē nō  
 amīaē dō Dalcay rō Eīnō etīr Maelreclanō ocuy  
 Cēd ūa Heill, dā roētay uli dō rēgīa na bāgī nīn,  
 ocuy in nānropīan, ocuy dō tabawt a pēdma caēa  
 ocuy comlunō leo. ūay nīaētatar nīn uli oen  
 māō nīr comānī dāronā leo tēct in atāg na gal

<sup>1</sup> *King of Desmumhain.* Rī Mūnān, B., "king of Munster," a mistake. Maolmuad, or Molloy, son of Bran, was king or lord of Desmumhain, (south Munster, now Desmond).

<sup>2</sup> *Killed.* After macbat, B. inserts tīa, and omits dna after maēi nīn.

<sup>3</sup> *Related.* Cōubīramāy rōīnān, B., "as we have said above."

<sup>4</sup> *Army.* So rluagān, B., "armies."

<sup>5</sup> *To meet.* ōionīrāde, B.

<sup>6</sup> *As well as.* B. omits nīn and arēna.

<sup>7</sup> *Summoned.* Ro toēnīrct, B.

<sup>8</sup> *Before them.* ōal cCay ulē in aen ionāō, B., "all the Dal Cais into one place."

<sup>9</sup> *Asked.* Here B. exhibits a different text. Ocuy nō atēōnīayc Maē-  
 gānān dīb eīd dō dēnōay. Ar-  
 beratatar rōb i a cōōnīaylē toēt  
 zo Cnāīōīll nā nāgāō dūy co  
 rācōīr iat, ocuy mībō ioncāta  
 dōīb iat iayīctān, ocuy mīnbō  
 eōī co tūccōāīr amāy cōīllēō  
 ropā hī cCnāīōīll: "And Math-  
 gamhain asked them what they would  
 do. They answered, that their advice

viz., Maelmuadh, son of Bran, king of Desmumhain,<sup>1</sup> and Donnabhan, son of Cathal, king of Uí Cairbri. After having killed<sup>2</sup> those nobles, as we have related,<sup>3</sup> Imar of Luimnech marched, attended by the army<sup>4</sup> of Mumhain, both Gaill and Gaedhil, to meet<sup>5</sup> the Dal Cais.

LI. This news reached Brian and Mathgamhain, as well as<sup>6</sup> the chiefs of the Dal Cais, when they were at Caisel of the kings; they summoned<sup>7</sup> immediately all the Dal Cais before them.<sup>8</sup> Mathgamhain asked<sup>9</sup> what the heroes wished to do. The chieftains and brave soldiers now said that their advice was to march to Cnamchoill against the army and its followers, that they might ascertain if they were able to give them battle; and if not, to make a wood and camp assault on them at Cnamchoill. And it was at that time came<sup>10</sup> Cathal, son of Feradach<sup>11</sup> of Delbna-mór, with an hundred armed men fit for battle,<sup>12</sup> (each man of them having a large warrior's shield at his side,<sup>13</sup>) to the assistance and relief<sup>14</sup> of the Dal Cais, through affection and generous friendship, because the five Delbhnas<sup>15</sup> are of the race of Lugaidh, son of Oengus. Now this Cathal<sup>16</sup> was the king-soldier and champion of Erin during his career, in his own time.<sup>17</sup> Wherever there was a soldier, or champion of the Dal Cais throughout Erin, whether *in the service of* Maelsechlainn<sup>18</sup> or of Aedh O'Neill, they all came to answer<sup>19</sup> *the summons* to that conflict and unequal warfare, and to give them their help in battle and combat. When these all had arrived at one place,

A council of war of the chiefs of the Dal Cais summoned.

was to go to Cnamhchoill, to reconnoitre them, and, if they were able, to give them battle there, and if not to make an assault upon them from the wood in Cnamhchoill."

<sup>10</sup> *Came.* Ro ríac̄t, B.

<sup>11</sup> *Son of Feradach.* Mac Fagartach-taiḡ, B., "son of Fagartach."

<sup>12</sup> *Fit for battle.* Fíon éoin̄lann, B.

<sup>13</sup> *At his side.* Foir̄ c̄i, B.

<sup>14</sup> *Relief.* Fí fferuac̄t, oc̄ur h̄i fferuac̄thm, B

<sup>15</sup> *The five Delbhnas.* See *Intro.*, p.

cxvii., n. 4, Table III., No. 9, p. 247.

<sup>16</sup> *This Cathal.* Oc̄ur ba Cat̄al r̄m, B.

<sup>17</sup> *In his own time.* In a r̄e, oc̄ur ma am̄r̄r̄. C̄īo t̄ra ac̄t zac̄ du h̄i raibe, 7c., B.

<sup>18</sup> *Maelsechlainn.* Maelsecl̄ann m̄óir, B.

<sup>19</sup> *To answer.* Do r̄iac̄tacc̄ar uile do f̄recc̄ra na báza r̄m, oc̄ur na f̄oir̄raua, oc̄ur do tabair̄t a f̄reðma cac̄ta, oc̄ur com̄lann leó. O ro r̄iac̄tacc̄ar r̄m uile co haoin̄ ionac̄,

co Sulcoit, ocyr caṣ ḡiṣa ḡorḡeipt ḡeramaḡl ḡo ṡabaipṡ ḡo ḡallaḡ ḡo ḡeipṡ in muiḡi. Oṡaṡṡeataḡ ṡaḡaile.

Battle of  
Sulcoit.  
A.D. 968.

The fo-  
reigners  
defeated.

Poetical  
dialogue  
between  
Mathgam-  
hain and  
Brian.

LII. O ṡa ḡiaṡṡataḡ ṡna, ṡailecaḡ co Sulcoit ṡa ḡoṡṡataḡ ḡall na comḡi, ocyr na comṡaḡl, ocyr ḡo ḡeraṡ caṣ ḡiṣṡa, ḡuileacṡ, ḡorṡṡerḡ, amḡin, aḡaḡb, am-  
aḡmaḡṡaṡṡ, eḡcaḡṡemaḡl, eṡḡḡḡo. ṡataḡ o ṡḡaṡ eipḡi  
co meṡaḡ la ic imḡuaḡlaṡ, ocyr ic imerḡaḡcaḡn eṡḡḡḡo.  
Romaṡ, imoḡḡḡo, ḡor ḡallaḡ iaḡḡḡn, ocyr ḡorḡeacḡ  
ḡo ḡlaṡaḡb, ocyr ḡo ḡḡenṡaḡḡiḡ, ocyr ḡo ṡiaḡḡaḡb in  
maṡcaḡḡ moḡḡi muiḡeṡṡaḡḡ ḡḡn iaḡḡḡn. Ro lencaṡ, imoḡ-  
ḡḡo, leoḡom co haṡṡ aṡlum imḡeṡḡḡum ḡiaḡḡaṡ in maḡi  
moḡḡi; ḡo maḡḡiṡ ocyr ḡo ṡicennaṡ o ḡḡn co haḡḡḡḡḡn.

[Ocyḡ ḡo ba Maṡḡamaḡn oc ḡiaḡḡaḡṡe ḡeḡḡ ḡo ṡḡiaḡn,  
ocyr ḡo bi ṡḡiaḡn acc imḡḡḡḡn ḡeḡḡ ṡó, ocyr a ṡuḡaḡḡḡ  
in laṡṡ:]

Cionḡaḡ ḡḡn a ṡḡiaḡn ḡo imḡloṡṡ,  
C ineic Ceimneipṡḡiḡ, coḡceḡiaḡḡ?

Cn ḡuccḡaḡbaḡ ḡiaṡaḡḡ tenḡ  
Cḡi ḡallaḡb muiḡi Eḡenn?

ṡo cuamaḡ o Caiḡol áam,  
ḡo Cnaḡiṡoill a Maṡḡaḡḡiam,  
Co ṡaḡḡa naḡ ceem am ḡḡn  
Caṡ maḡḡeḡḡaḡḡ co lúḡeaṡuḡb.

Cionḡaḡ aḡ ḡḡn baḡ ḡecaḡiaṡṡ,  
C ṡḡiaḡn ḡḡḡ in láḡḡ aṡlaḡḡi?  
Caṡṡe baḡ ḡecaḡṡṡam na ṡiaṡṡ,  
Inḡi ṡúḡḡn a ṡeipḡ ṡḡiaḡn.

B. The words in italics in the translation are added to complete the sense.

<sup>1</sup> *Against.* In acchaoṡ, B.

<sup>2</sup> *Fierce.* Caṡ ḡiṡṡa, ḡuileacṡ, ḡeaḡaḡḡaḡl, ḡorṡṡeapce, amḡin eapcaḡḡaḡṡeḡḡaḡl ṡo ṡaḡbaḡṡeṡḡḡḡa, B., omitting all between. This is evidently the conclusion of the next sentence (line 3 of ch. lii.), caught up from the similarity of the words.

<sup>3</sup> *Mid-day.* Muiṡmeṡoḡn lá occ imḡmbuaḡlaṡṡ, B.

<sup>4</sup> *Each other.* B. omits eṡḡḡḡo.

<sup>5</sup> *Were routed.* Ocyr ḡomuiṡṡorḡḡ na ḡallaḡb iaḡḡḡn, B.

<sup>6</sup> *Valleys.* Eo ḡḡeannṡaḡb, B.

<sup>7</sup> *Afterwards.* For ḡḡn iaḡḡḡn, B. reads, iaṡṡ.

<sup>8</sup> *Great plain.* Cn inṡaḡe muiḡḡi iaṡṡ, B.

<sup>9</sup> *From that time.* Ro maḡḡaṡ ocyr ḡo ṡicennaṡ iaṡṡ co haṡṡbuḡl oṡá ḡḡn ḡo haḡḡḡḡḡa, B., "they killed and beheaded them prodigiously from that time until evening."

the counsel they followed was to go against<sup>1</sup> the foreigners to Sulcoit, and to give the foreigners a fierce,<sup>2</sup> crushing, manly battle on the open part of the plain. *And in this* they agreed unanimously.

LII. When the Dal Cais, however, arrived at Sulcoit, the foreigners came against, and to meet them; and there was a fierce, bloody, crimsoned, violent, rough, unsparing, implacable battle fought between them. They were from sun-rise till mid-day<sup>3</sup> striking and slaughtering each other.<sup>4</sup> However, the foreigners were at length routed,<sup>5</sup> and they fled to the ditches, and to the valleys,<sup>6</sup> and to the solitudes of that great sweet-flowery plain afterwards.<sup>7</sup> They were followed, however, by the others quickly and rapidly throughout the great plain,<sup>8</sup> who killed and beheaded from that time<sup>9</sup> until evening.

[And Mathgamhain<sup>10</sup> asked Brian for an account of *the battle*, and Brian related the story to him; and he spoke this poem :

[M.] How is this,<sup>11</sup> O Brian, the renowned,  
 Thou son of Cennedigh, the victorious?  
 Did you give a mighty rout  
 Unto the Gaill of the Isle of Erin?

[B.] We went forth from Caisel the fair  
 To Cnam-choill, O Mathgamhain!  
 Until there came against us there  
 A battalion of horsemen in corslets.

[M.] How upon that did you part,  
 O Brian of the ready hand?  
 How did you separate afterwards?  
 Tell us, O noble Brian!

Battle of  
 Sulcoit,  
 A.D. 968.

The fo-  
 reigners  
 defeated.

Poetical  
 dialogue  
 between  
 Mathgam-  
 hain and  
 Brian.

<sup>10</sup> *Then Mathgamhain.* The passage within brackets from these words to the end of the following poem, is found only in B., and not in the older MS. It is evidently an interpolation; but its insertion is a curious evidence of the antiquity of the original work. For the poem was apparently written while the feelings necessarily generated by the fame of Mathgamhain and his brother,

Brian, were still recent; although O'Clery, the transcriber of B., has modernized the spelling, and perhaps also the language.

<sup>11</sup> *How is this.* This poem is in the form of a dialogue between Mathgamhain and Brian. The Editor has taken the liberty of marking the words attributed to each speaker by prefixing the initials [M.] and [B].

Inneorat p̄él bur mat̄ l̄ib  
 C̄ m̄ieic Ceinneitt̄iḡ corcpar̄iḡh,  
 Decc nar̄ benramar̄i céo cen̄o  
 'Oo ḡallaib̄ in̄ori h̄Epen̄o.  
 Iḡ mat̄ éor̄mar̄o a b̄riam̄ do b̄áiō,  
 C̄ m̄ieic Ceinneitt̄iḡ cneap̄b̄ám,  
 H̄i p̄ear̄ an̄ mat̄ tic̄pa ar̄,  
 Hōcā n̄p̄eḡam̄ar̄i cion̄ḡar̄.

CIONNACS.]

Victory  
over the  
foreigners  
at Lime-  
rick, A.D.  
968.

Names of  
the foreign  
chieftains  
slain.

Plunder of  
Limerick.

LIII. O ḡorcor̄ar̄i oen̄ mat̄ leo a hat̄li corcpar̄i,  
 ocup̄ com̄aḡom̄i rō in̄iḡp̄et̄ in̄nar̄ochēli cō mat̄in̄. Ocup̄  
 rōi mar̄ib̄rat̄ etiḡ aīōci ocup̄ la, cō n̄oē̄t̄atar̄ iḡin̄  
 ōán̄. Rō len̄at̄ beor̄ iḡin̄ ōán̄, ocup̄ rō mar̄ib̄at̄ ar̄ na  
 ḡrāt̄ab̄, ocup̄ iḡnā tāḡib̄. 'Oo ḡorcor̄atar̄i an̄ō iḡin̄, trā,  
 Caḡḡam̄ lāḡneac̄, ocup̄ Stabb̄all mac̄ Siḡm̄all, ocup̄  
 Et̄lla T̄p̄etel, ocup̄ Ruam̄anō, ocup̄ Som̄ar̄liḡō, ocup̄  
 Man̄up̄ Luim̄iḡ, ocup̄ Tolbar̄ib̄, ocup̄ In̄p̄uit, ocup̄ p̄īci  
 cet̄ leo. Rō in̄p̄et̄ō ocup̄ rō har̄ḡet̄ō in̄ ōán̄ leo iap̄ḡin̄.  
 Tuc̄rat̄ a p̄eoīt̄, ocup̄ a ḡeḡm̄am̄i iḡ a ḡāōlāci all̄i  
 all̄mar̄ōa, a op̄ iḡ a ar̄ḡet̄, a hētāiḡi p̄et̄cā p̄ip̄all̄i  
 cācā ḡāt̄a, ocup̄ cācā ceneoīl, ap̄p̄ic̄iḡ ḡḡōl ḡḡtā ḡane-  
 mal̄ ḡuāc̄nō, īteḡ p̄ear̄lioīt̄ iḡ uam̄i, ocup̄ cāc̄ hēḡōac̄  
 ap̄c̄ena. Tuc̄cāt̄ an̄iḡḡenā m̄im̄i mac̄cāc̄t̄ōa et̄p̄ōc̄tā  
 ec̄ḡam̄la, a h̄ōem̄nā blāt̄i b̄p̄ec̄ḡp̄ōla, ocup̄ a mac̄cām̄i

<sup>1</sup> *The fort*: i.e., until the foreigners had entered the fort of Luimuech, [Limerick], which then belonged to the Scandinavians. B. gives this passage thus: *Tangattar̄i iap̄ḡin̄ cō mb̄uar̄ō corcpar̄i, ocup̄ ccom̄par̄ōp̄e. Rō in̄t̄iḡp̄eat̄ an̄ oīōce cō mar̄om̄i p̄om̄pa, ocup̄ rō leam̄pat̄ nā ḡōil̄l cō mar̄om̄i, rō mar̄ib̄rat̄ etiḡ oīōce ocup̄ lá iat̄ō, cō n̄oē̄ac̄atar̄i iḡin̄ ōán̄ p̄om̄pa, ocup̄ rō leam̄at̄ p̄or̄ iḡin̄ ōán̄ iat̄ō, ocup̄ ḡō rō mar̄ib̄āō ar̄ nā ḡḡáoīb̄ ocup̄ iḡ nā t̄iḡib̄ iat̄ō*: "They came afterwards with the victory of slaughter and exultation. They marched onwards that night until morning, and they pursued the

foreigners until morning; they killed them both night and day until they entered the fort before them; and they pursued them also into the fort, and killed them in the streets, and in the houses."

<sup>2</sup> *These*. B. reads, *torcpar̄atar̄i an̄ḡin̄ mat̄ē nā n̄ḡall̄ .i.*, "there were slaughtered there these chiefs of the foreigners, viz."

<sup>3</sup> *Carran Laighnech*: i.e., Carran of Leinster. The names of these chieftains do not occur in the Annals. B. gives them thus: "Carran Laighnech, and Stabail, son of Sigmall, and Eda Treteall [i.e., the hero], and Ruadhmond [i.e., Redmond], and Somarligh, and

[B.] I shall relate news that will please you,  
 O son of Cennedigh, the victorious!  
 Little less took we than an hundred heads  
 From the Gaill of the Island of Erinn.

[M.] Well hast thou, O Brian, maintained thy battle,  
 O son of Cennedigh, of the fair skin;  
 It is not known if good will come of it,  
 Nor do we know how.

How.]

LIII. When they came together after victory and exultation, they marched that night until morning; and they killed *them* both night and day, until they had entered the fort.<sup>1</sup> They followed them also into the fort, and slaughtered them on the streets and in the houses. These<sup>2</sup> were killed by them there, viz., Carran Laighnech,<sup>3</sup> Stabball son of Sigmall, and Etila Tretel, and Ruamand, and Somarlid, and Manus of Luimnech, and Tolbarb, and Infuit, and twenty hundred; and the fort was sacked by them after that.<sup>4</sup> They carried off their jewels and their best property, and their saddles beautiful and foreign; their gold<sup>5</sup> and their silver; their beautifully woven cloth of all colours and of all kinds; their satins and silken cloth, pleasing and variegated, both scarlet and green, and all sorts of cloth in like manner. They carried away their soft, youthful, bright, matchless, girls; their blooming silk-clad young women; and their active, large, and well-

Victory over the foreigners at Limerick, A.D. 968.

Names of the foreign chieftains slain.

Plunder of Limerick.

Magnus of Luimnech, and Tobairinfuit." In the poem which follows (chap. liv.) the names of the slain chieftains are given thus: Carran, Stabball, Eda, Tretill Tuaidh [? of the North], Magnus Berna, Toralbli, Ruadhmand of Limerick. This reading makes Eda and Tretill two distinct persons—whereas both D. and B. in this place read Etalla, (or Etila), Tretill, D., and Eda Tretill, B.

<sup>4</sup> After that. B. omits *ιαρρη*, and reads, *οουρ τυρηαρ*, without any stop.

<sup>5</sup> Their gold. B. omits the words *ιρ α*

*ραολαι αλλ αλλημαρα*, and reads, *α νόρ ουρ α παρκεετ, ουρ α νέ-  
 ραξε αλλε αλλημαρα ζαά ρατα  
 ετη ριόλ ουρ ρίσα, ουρ ριυε,  
 ουρ ριηριάτ. Τυζαρτ α μηζεατα  
 mine μαρσαάτα, ουρ α νόγμα  
 βλαιε βαρσα, ουρ α μακανι  
 μερα μυρνεαα.* The reader will observe that B. has modernized the spelling throughout. But to notice every variation of orthography would swell these notes to an inconvenient bulk.



formed boys. The fort<sup>1</sup> and the good town they reduced to a cloud of smoke and to red fire afterwards.<sup>2</sup> The whole of the captives were collected on the hills of Saingel. Every one of them that was fit for war<sup>3</sup> was killed, and every one that was fit for a slave was enslaved.

LIV. [And the poet<sup>4</sup> made this poem to celebrate *the* Poem in celebration of the victory.  
*event* :

[B.] O Mathgamhain! that is well!  
O son of Cennedigh of Caisel,  
Thou hast put the foreigners to rout,  
By this march to Sulcoit.  
Thou hast brought slaughter on the foreigners, with valour,  
In this great battle, O Mathgamhain!  
Not false the tale! 'tis a tale of truth!  
Twelve hundred! there they fell.

[M.] Carran fell by thy impetuous hand,  
O Brian! thou chief in the combat!  
And Staball fell after that  
By Cathal, son of Fogartach.<sup>5</sup>  
Eda and Tretill fell in the north,<sup>6</sup>  
And Magnus Berna, fierce and hardy,  
And great was the slaughter of them after that,  
Torolbh and Ruadhmand of Luimnech.  
Luimnech was totally ravaged by thee;  
Thou didst carry away their gold and their silver;  
Thou didst plunder their fort at the time;  
Thou didst surround it by a wall of fire.

[B.] For Mumhain hast thou well contended  
O Mathgamhain! thou great chief!  
Thou hast given, O king, a stern defeat,  
To banish the foreigners from Erinn.  
King of Mumhain, methinks thou art,  
High king of Caisel, renowned,  
Bestow gold on those who merit,  
They are many, O Mathgamhain!

O MATHGAMHAIN !]

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<sup>6</sup> *In the north* : i.e., in north Munster, or Thomond, see last line of p. 95. In B. is the following marginal note "*Eda Treateall, supra*," which calls attention to the fact that in the foregoing chapter Eda or Etna Tretill is spoken of as one man, whereas here we have two, Eda and Tretell. *Tretell* or *Tretill* signi-

Division of  
the spoil.

LV. Ρο ορθαιξ, θνα, Μαθηγαῖῃαν αειτ κοιρ κομ-  
αοαιρ, αρ θανιβ ιρ αρ θλιγεοαιβ, αρ βεραιβ, αρ αειν-  
ειρτιβ, αρ ζαιλ, ιρ αρ ζαιρθεο, το ζαῖ θυμ μαρ θυ-  
θλιξ. Ιρ αιοθ, τρα, το ποητα ζραραηξ μιε βεραοαιῖ,  
αειυ .ι. λιμ μορ το ζαιρθεῖαιβ ηανζαλλ ι εηοαηαιβ  
Σαηζαλ ιμαειυατ, οειυ ριατ ερομα, οειυ α λαηα  
αρ λαρ, οειυ ζιλλι ηα ρλυαξ ζα μαρπειυο ιηανθεζαο,  
το ραιτ αιμα ηανζαλλ ρο μαρβατ ιρη αιῖ.

Races of  
the son of  
Feradach.

LVI. Όα ροηαιτ, τρα, ερεῖα οειυ αιρζημ οειυ ιηρεοα  
μορα ρο Μυῖῃαν ο Μαθηγαῖῃαν. Όα ροηεο ερει  
μοιρ λειρ ρορ υ θηνα Αηη, οειυ ιρ θιρθε ρο μαρβαο  
Caῖal mac βεραοαιῖ ρηξ αιραιῖ θρεηο. Ρο ζαβ,  
ιμορμιο, ζαλλυ οειυ βραστι το βεραιβ Μυῖῃαν κολειρ,  
ρο ζαβ βραστι Μοελμυαῖ μιε θραηη αρ ηα ζαβαλ  
ρειη αιρθυρ. Ρο ζαβ βραστι Όοηηυβαῖ ημιε Caῖal  
ρη υα βροζηητι. Ρο μαρβ ρυατλετυ ζαλλ αιρ αιῖ τρη,  
οειυ ρο ραιη .ιιι. μαθμαηο αρ ζαλλαιβ θοηεοῖ ιρ  
ειυρεο θερξ ἄρ ζαλλ .ι. μαρθιμ Σεηζυαλαηο, οειυ μαρθιμ  
ιη λαξ ι Τρατραηζι, οειυ μαρθιμ αρ Μαααιρ μορ,  
θιηαθθερματ ζαλλ ρυηρ λαρζι, οειυ ζαλλ λυμηηξ  
αιτ κομθαλ θιηρυο Μυῖῃαν, θαρ αιρζηρεθ ιηηλιξ, οειυ  
θαῖ λα ι ρορλοηζηρμυρ ηητι ; ρο μαρβ, ιμορμιο, Μαθη-

Math-  
gamhain  
plunders  
Munster.

Cathal,  
son of  
Feradach,  
killed,  
A.D. 968.

Math-  
gamhain's  
seven vic-  
tories over  
the foreign-  
ers.

fies a hero. See pp. 52, line 4, and 84, line 12. Keating calls this chief-tain Τρητιλλ τρηημ μιεοῖ, "Tretill the stout champion."

<sup>1</sup> *Ordered.* B. reads, α ηαῖλε ηα λαῖθε ρηη, ρο ορθαιξ, γε. "in accordance with this poem Mathgamhain ordered, &c."

<sup>2</sup> *Persons.* B. omits αρ θανιβ ιρ.

<sup>3</sup> *Fair performances.* Οειυ αρ αειηηαεραῖβ οειυ αρ κοηαιρτιβ, B.

<sup>4</sup> *Son of Feradach.* i.e. Cathal, son of Feradach, (or of Fogartach, as he is called in B.,) chief of Delbhna mór, (now the barony of Delvin, co. Westmeath,) who distinguished himself in the battle as an auxiliary to Mathgamhain. See chap. li., p. 75. B. reads, ζραραηξ μορ αα, "a great race,"

making no mention of the son of Feradach.

<sup>5</sup> *Women.* The word ζαιρθε here used signifies a foreign woman, so that το ζαιρθεῖαιβ ηα ηζαλλ, "the foreign women of the foreigners," is tautology.

<sup>6</sup> *On the ground.* B. adds, οειυ α ηοθερμιαηηα ρυῖα, "and the palms of their hands under them."

<sup>7</sup> *Horse-boys.* Lit., gillies. B. reads, οειυ ζυλλεαοῖα αι τρλυαξ, γε., leaving the sentence unfinished and omitting what follows in the text.

<sup>8</sup> *Ui Enna of Ane.* B. reads, ρορ υ ηεηοα Αηῖηε: "Ui Enna of Aidhne," but Aine, now Knockany, in the county Limerick, is the place intended.

LV. Mathgamhain then ordered<sup>1</sup> to every one as he deserved, his proper and befitting share, according to persons<sup>2</sup> and rights, according to accomplishments and fair performances,<sup>3</sup> according to bravery and valour. It was then they celebrated also the races of the son of Feradach,<sup>4</sup> viz., a great line of the women<sup>5</sup> of the foreigners was placed on the hills of Saingel in a circle, and they were stooped with their hands on the ground,<sup>6</sup> and marshalled by the horseboys<sup>7</sup> of the army behind them, for the good of the souls of the foreigners who were killed in the battle.

Division of the spoil.

Races of the son of Feradach.

LVI. Great spoils and plunders and ravages were now committed by Mathgamhain in Mumhain. By him great spoils were taken from the Ui Enna of Ane,<sup>8</sup> and there it was that Cathal, son of Feradach,<sup>9</sup> the king-soldier of Erinn, was killed. He took the pledges and hostages of all the men<sup>10</sup> of Mumhain; he took the hostages of Maelmuadh, son of Bran, having captured<sup>11</sup> himself first; he took the hostages of Donnabbán, son of Cathal, king of Ui Fidhgenti<sup>12</sup>; he killed the billeted soldiers<sup>13</sup> of the foreigners on every territory; and he gave seven defeats to the foreigners, in which<sup>14</sup> he made a red slaughter of the foreigners, viz., the defeat of Sen-gualainn, and the defeat of the Laegh in Traatraighe, and a defeat on Machaire-mór, when the foreigners of Port Lairge<sup>15</sup> and the foreigners of Luimnech united in ravaging Mumhain, when they plundered Imlech and encamped two days there; but Math-

Mathgamhain plunders Munster.

Cathal, son of Feradach, killed, A.D. 968.

Mathgamhain's seven victories over the foreigners.

<sup>9</sup> *Feradach*. B. calls this chieftain everywhere "the son of Fogartach;" and he is also so called in the Bolleian Annals of Inisfallen, where his death is recorded, A.D. 952, as Dr. O'Conor gives the date, but really 968.

<sup>10</sup> *Of all the men*. B. reads *βραχστε* *ρεαρ* *Μημμωαν* *υλε*, *οκυρ* *σο* *ζαβ*, &c.

<sup>11</sup> *Having captured*. B. omits *αρ* *να* *ζαβαλ* *ρεμ* *αρουρ*.

<sup>12</sup> *Ui Fidhgenti*. *Υα* *βινζεντι*, D. *Υα* *βιζεντε*, B. *Υα* *βιζεντε*, Four M., more correctly.

<sup>13</sup> *Billeted soldiers*. See chap. xl., p. 49, and chap. lvii., p. 85.

<sup>14</sup> *In which*. *Ἵο* *νεοδ* *ιμ* *κυρεδ*, B.

<sup>15</sup> *Of Port Lairge*. B. gives this passage thus: *οια* *ποεαρηγασ* *ζοιλλ* *βουρε* *λαρζε* *κομοαλ* *οκυρ* *ζοιλλ* *λυμμηζ*, *οκυρ* *σο* *αρερετ* *ιμλεε*, *οκυρ* *οα* *λα* *α* *φορλουζρορε* *ιμτε* *σοιβ*: "when the foreigners of Port Lairge [Waterford] and of Luimnech [Limerick] made an union, and plundered Imlech [Emly], and had their camp there two days."

The Danes driven from Limerick attempt the conquest of Wales, but return, A.D. 969.

GAITHIAN, OCUR RO MURAS OCUR RO LOIRC LUMNEĊ RO DÓ, OCUR RO IMARIB IMAR LUMNIZ DAP MUIP CO PABI BLIATHAN ĊAIR, OCUR ALMLAIB MAC ALMLAIB; OCUR RO TRIALLRAT RIZI BRĊETAN DO ĊORNUM, OCUR RO MARBADO TRIA ALMLAIB LA RIZ BRĊETAN, OCUR DA ROĊT IMAR OCUR LOIZEP MOR LEIP DOIRI, COI ZAB AP CUAN IARĊARAĊ LUMNIZ, [OCUR] RO MARBADO LEO DEOLAN LITILL OCUR A MAC. [RO ATTPREAĊ AP RII AP CUAN IARĊARAĊ LUMNIZ, OCUR DO PONTA CPREAĊA OCUR IRZALA UADA AP.

Math-gamhain's sovereignty of Munster.

LVII. RO ZAB IMORPO MAĊZGAITHIAN RIZĊE MUIĊIAN CO FORTPĊEN PEIPĊA PERAMAIL, OCUR RO MARBADĊ RIZĊH OCUR TAOIRIZ, TPĊITILL OCUR TPĊENMILĊ NĊA NZALL INLE LEIP. RO DAPERAT IMORPO A MAEIP OCUR A PEĊTAPĊĊA, A PUAITRIZ, OCUR A NAĊIRAZĊ; OCUR RO BAI RĊE BLIATHA HI LANRIZI MUIĊIAN. CIO TRĊA AĊT OT CONAIRĊ DONDAĊĊAN MAC CAĊAIL RĊI HA PPIĊDZEMNTE, OCUR MAELMUAĊ MAC BRĊAN RI DĊEPĊHUIĊIAN AN FORBAIT OCUR AN PĊRĊIPĊEAĊ MĊR BAI FOR PLĊITĊEP MAĊZGAITHIA, OCUR DĊALĊCAIR APĊĊENA, RO ZAB PĊOĊ, OCUR FORMAT MĊR IAD, OCUR BA HECCAL LA CLOINN CUIPĊ, OCUR LA HĊOZANAĊĊT APĊĊENA IN PLĊITĊEP, OCUR IN FORLĊĊĊHUR, OCUR AN RIZI DO TOĊT CO DĊALĊCAIR, OCUR CO CLANNAB LAĊDACH ANĊAIL BOI HI PPIĊZAIR OCUR HI PPAITPĊINE DĊOIBĊ. RO ĊAIRIZIPPIOT IARĊAN NAENĊ OCUR PĊPEOM ZOMĊĊ LA CLOINN COPĊMAIC CAIR AN PLĊITĊEP, OCUR IN POLLĊĊĊĊAN CO BRĊATH, ANĊAIL APĊĊĊPT AN CPĊĊĊAL, OCUR IN PĊAĊ OCUR IN PĊIL .I. COLMAN MAC LEINN :

Prophecy of St. Colman, son of Lenin.

CLANN COPĊMAIC CAIR, CO MOLAIR NZLONN  
 DĊO LEO AN PLĊITĊEP PĊAL,  
 ALĊT TPĊAIR, CO TĊI PLĊANN.

<sup>1</sup> *However.* For IMORPO, B. reads, TPĊA.

<sup>2</sup> *Them.* The text of D. requires this word, but B. supplies the want by reading, PORMUIZĊO ZOIĊL LUMNIZ, "slew the men of Limerick."

<sup>3</sup> *In the east:* i.e., in Wales.

<sup>4</sup> *They attempted.* This passage is thus given in B.: OCUR TPĊIALLRATAP

RIZĊE BRĊETAN DO ZABAIL, OCUR DO PUAĊT IMĊAIR OCUR LOIZEP MĊR LEIP DO RĊOIRI OCUR RO ZAB AP CUAN IARĊARAĊ LUMNIZ, OCUR RO MARBAD LEIP DEOLAN LITILL, OCUR A MAC: "and they attempted to conquer the kingdom of Britain [i.e., Wales]; and Imar, accompanied by a great fleet, arrived again, and entered

gabhain,<sup>1</sup> killed and slew them<sup>2</sup>; and he burned Luimnech twice, and he banished Imar of Luimnech over the sea, so that he was a year in the east,<sup>3</sup> and Amlaibh, son of Amlaibh; and they attempted<sup>4</sup> the conquest of the kingdom of Britain; and Amlaibh, in the meantime, was killed by the king of Britain; and Imar, accompanied by a great fleet, arrived again in the western harbour of Luimnech, and Beolan Littill and his son were killed by them. [He then<sup>5</sup> fixed his residence on the western harbour of Luimnech, from whence he made many spoils and battles.

The Danes driven from Limerick attempt the conquest of Wales, but return, A.D. 969.

LVII. Mathgabhain now assumed the sovereignty of Mumhain bravely, valiantly, and manfully; and the king, and chiefs, and champions, and brave soldiers of all the foreigners were slain by him. Their stewards and bailiffs, too, and their billeted soldiers and mercenaries were enslaved by him; and he continued six years in the full sovereignty of Mumhain. When Donnabhán, however, son of Cathal, king of Ui Fidhgenti, and Maeltuadh, son of Bran, king of Desmumhain, saw the prosperity and the great increase that followed the reign of Mathgabhain, and of the Dal Cais in like manner, great fury and envy seized them; and the Clann Cuire, and the Eoghanaacht also became alarmed at the supremacy and the government and the sovereignty having passed to the Dal Cais, and to the Clann Lughdach, as was foretold and prophesied for them. Verily saints and righteous men had prophesied, that to the race of Cormac Cas should belong the supremacy and the government for ever, as was said by the religious, the prophet, and poet, viz., Colman, son of Lenin:

Mathgabhain's sovereignty of Munster.

Conspiracy formed against him.

Prophecy of St. Colman, son of Lenin.

The Clann of Cormac Cas, of many deeds,  
To them shall belong the noble sovereignty,  
Except three, until Flann comes.

the western harbour of Luimnech, and Beolan Littill and his son were killed by him."

<sup>5</sup> *He then.* From these words to line 5, ch. lxi. p. 92, *infra*, a defect, occasioned by the loss of some leaves in

.1. Flann Cíeach a Dúrlar, ticepa re bhuinne bpaḡa.  
 Da heccal tra la huā Cairpre flaitēp DalcCair for  
 forbarp, ar perann clonne Corbmae fuil fuicib̄ .1.  
 Caille Corbmae ó hOclan ḡo Luimneac̄, ocup ó Cnañ-  
 doill ḡo Luac̄air. 1p ar na paḡaib̄gim tra ro puib̄gim̄  
 rin.

LVIII. Do ronpat aon coblaḡ Maelmuac̄ mac Úrain,  
 ocup Dondabán mac Caḡail, ocup In̄ar Luimniḡ, ocup  
 Duiḡgenn, ocup ro ionpait̄grot ar Maḡḡaḡann; ocup  
 1p arpe rin do rinne Maelmuac̄ an laoiḡi acc tione-  
 puccaḡ an coblaḡ:

Maelmu-  
adh's call  
to battle.

ḡionoitēp rin Muñan lib̄,  
 C laoiḡraḡo lionniar Luimniḡ,  
 Toiric̄o rynn, ar bar naḡhar̄o,  
 Co ḡruim nuḡar̄o nEḡabail.

Tocbaḡḡ cuccann luēt bar tḡieḡ  
 1tḡi ḡallab̄ 1p ḡaoidēalab̄,  
 Co ccupem DalcCair na ccell  
 C haḡaib̄ ána Epenn.

Comarḡaḡo forbar̄o na rin,  
 Riunḡa 1p re laoiḡraḡo Luimniḡ,  
 In̄i ḡabait̄t uam aḡraḡo,  
 Úro aḡreḡ leó accoinar̄aḡo.

Cḡ mór an monar forbar̄o,  
 Úro aḡreḡ leó an tḡiall tocbaḡḡ  
 ḡiḡ mór a nḡreḡan 1p a nḡlór,  
 leó br̄o aḡreḡ a tḡionól.

Treachery  
of Donna-  
bhán, son of  
Cathal.

LIX. Ocup ro feall Dondabán mac Caḡail ar Maḡ-  
 ḡaḡann ma tḡḡh féin, mar do ruḡal In̄ar Luimniḡ  
 rar, ocup do ḡionnlac̄ do Maolmuac̄ mac Úrain é,

D., has been supplied from B. The more modern orthography will be apparent to the Irish reader.

<sup>1</sup> Because they: sc., the Ui Cairpre, of whom Donnabhán or Donovan was the chieftain.

<sup>2</sup> The men: i.e., the men of the Dal Cais; Mathgamhain and his followers.

<sup>3</sup> Assembling. The reader will observe that this poem begins with the verb *ḡionoitēp*, and ends with the

i.e., Flann Cithach from Durlus, who will appear immediately before the day of judgment. The *Ui Cairpre*, however, became alarmed at the increase of the sovereignty of the *Dal Cais*, because they<sup>1</sup> were in occupation of the territory of the race of *Cormac*, to wit, *Caille Cormaie*, from *Oclan* to *Luimnech*, and from *Cnam-coill* to *Luachair*. It was for these causes therefore they felt so.

LVIII. Then *Maelmuadh*, son of *Bran*, and *Donnabhán*, son of *Cathal*, and *Imar* of *Luimnech*, and *Duibhgenn*, united into one host, and revolted against *Mathgamhain*; and it was on that occasion *Maelmuadh* made this poem when collecting the host :

Let the men of *Munhain* be assembled by you,  
 O heroes of populous *Luimnech* !  
 Come forward now right a head  
 To the very high hill of *Eoghabhail*.  
 Raise around us the people of your households,  
 Both *Gaill* and *Gaedhil*,  
 Until we drive the *Dal Cais* of the churches  
 From the noble lands of *Erinn*.  
 The men<sup>2</sup> attempt competition  
 With me and with the heroes of *Luimnech*,  
 They will yield me no reverence,  
 They shall repent their competition.  
 Great is the work they attempt ;  
 They shall repent the effort they make,  
 Though great their uproar and their noise,  
 They shall repent their assembling<sup>3</sup>.

*Maelmuadh's call to battle.*

LIX. And *Donnabhán*, son of *Cathal*, in his own house, betrayed *Mathgamhain*, having been instigated to it by *Imar* of *Luimnech* ; and he delivered him to *Maelmuadh*, son of *Bran*, and to *Imar*, in violation of<sup>4</sup>

*Treachery of Donnabhán, son of Cathal.*

noun τῖονοι; thus fulfilling the law of Irish poetry, which requires a bardic composition of this sort to begin and end with the same word. It is probable that the poems here inserted were not to be found in the older MS. D.

<sup>4</sup> *In violation of*: i.e., in sacrilegious opposition to the wishes and influence of the saints and clergy. The word γαρυσσῶ is always used in the sense of a sacrilegious violation of some sacred place, thing, compact, &c.



the saints and clergy of all Mumhain. This was the counsel that was acted on there: Mathgamhain was delivered up by Donnabhán to Maelmuadh, son of Bran, and to the foreigners, although he was under the protection of Columb, son of Ciaragán, Comharba of Barri,<sup>1</sup> that he should not be killed or blinded. The people of the Comharba of Barri, and the people of Maelmuadh came to meet Mathgamhain to Cnoc-an-Rebhraidh on Sliabh [Caein]; and Maelmuadh and the Comharba of Barri were at Raithin mór, in Fir Muighi. But Maelmuadh instructed his people, when Mathgamhain should come into their hands, to kill him forthwith. Mathgamhain, therefore, was killed by Maelmuadh; and it would have been better for him that he had not done so, for it proved to be a deed of great ruin to him.

Murder of Mathgamhain, at the instigation of Maelmuadh, A.D. 976.

And the knowledge of this fact reached Brian and the Dal Cais, and they greatly lamented him; and Brian uttered this short elegy on the occasion:

Brian's lament.

The death of Mathgamhain to me is grievous,  
 The high king of Caisel the renowned<sup>2</sup>;  
 His fall—great the deed,—  
 Unless he had fallen by a high king.  
 Woe is me! that it was not in battle or combat  
 He was left *dead*, under cover of his shield,  
 Before he had trusted in friendship  
 To the treacherous word of Donnabhán.  
 Donnabhán, the brown-haired, delivered up  
 Mathgamhain of brave combat  
 To Maelmuadh; small was the renown,  
 The high king of Caisel to murder.  
 For Maelmuadh it was no righteous deed  
 To murder the very great king;  
 To destroy him was his delight;  
 He shall not escape vengeance, if I can.

cent.) Ware, *Bishops* (ed. Harris) p. 556.

<sup>2</sup> *Renowned*. Lit. "Caisel (i.e.,

Cashel.) of the degrees;" *ceim* (*plur.* *ceimenn*.) is a step, a degree of rank or nobility.

Seēt macōma mōra ar Hallaib  
 Ōo hup zo mat Maṭṭaiian,  
 Marōm Cme, cruarō a lanoe,  
 Marōm in laḡ i tṭraṭṭraize.  
 Marōm in Macaire ūirde  
 Ar rluaz an dā ḡeaz ōume,  
 Ro ēiomarce ocup ro meath,  
 Co ro loirec oira lumneach.  
 Mebarō mo ēriorei at cīō  
 Muna ḡioḡlarira an tairōmiz;  
 Ōo ḡeβra moiriz ḡan clār,  
 Ho do ḡeβaron dian bār.

bacs.

Date and  
 circum-  
 stances of  
 Math-  
 gamhain's  
 murder,  
 A.D. 976.

LX. Ōo marbarō Maṭṭaiian mac Cenneticiḡ le  
 Ōonnabān mac Caṭal, ocup le Maolmuarō mac Ūran  
 aīlraō rin. Hoi mbliarōna tar ēir caṭa sulcorde  
 rin, ocup an tpey bliarōan .x. ar nēce Ōonncharō mic  
 Cellacān rī Cairil, ocup in toṭṭiāō bliarōan pēccat  
 ar marbarō Corbmaic mic Cuiennān, ocup an rihet-  
 iāō bliarōan ar marbarō Congalaḡ mic Maoilmicīḡ  
 rī Teīrāc, ocup an cēṭrairāō bliarōan pé caṭ Teī-  
 rāc rin.

Math-  
 gamhain  
 throws the  
 Gospel to  
 the clergy.

Cū tan tra at connairc Maṭṭaiian an cloirdaīn  
 noṭt ēuice da bualaō, ir anlaīō ro bai, ocup roirecela  
 Ūairu azī ara uēt oca comarce, do ḡuibraic irēor  
 de do ēum muiricpe Colum mic Ciaraḡān, ar dāḡ na  
 rīrēō an fuil é, co tarla an roirecel in uēt traccarpe  
 do muiricpe Colum mic Ciaraḡān. Roirecelit an luēt  
 ar eolaē ann co fuil irēor roizḡe ann ōn enoc co  
 roile.

Maclmu-  
 adh's taunt.

Cc connairc imoḡro Maolmuarō tarōle an cloirdaīn  
 noṭt az bualaō Maṭṭaiina, ocup eō raḡairc etoḡra,  
 tice aṭne rair, ocup ro eiriz arpin, ocup ro ḡabarō a  
 eiḡ dō do imṭeēt. Rairraīōir an clēirēc cīō do ḡeāō;  
 atberp Maolmuarō, leraḡ an pep utt da tṭī ēuccat.

<sup>1</sup> *The Ligh*: see p. 83, line 23. But | Rilaḡ, "a defeat at Rilach," which  
 the MS. gives also the reading, marōm | place is not known to the editor.

Seven great defeats to the Gail  
 Mathgamhain gave well ;  
 The defeat at Aine—by the hardness of his lance—  
 The defeat at the Laigh<sup>1</sup> in Tratraighe ;  
 The defeat of Machaire Buidhe  
 Over the army of the two brave men :  
 They assembled [their troops] but failed,  
 For he burned Luimnech over them.  
 My heart will burst, I feel,  
 If I avenge not the high king ;  
 I shall receive my death without finching,  
 Or he<sup>2</sup> shall receive a sudden death.

THE DEATH

LX. Mathgamhain, son of Cennedigh, was killed by Donnobhán, son of Cathal, and by Maelmuadh, son of Bran, in this manner. This was nine years after the battle of Sulcoit, and the thirteenth year after the death of Donnchadh, son of Ceallachan, king of Caisel, and the sixty-eighth year after the killing of Cormac, son of Cuilennán, and the twentieth year after the killing of Congalach, son of Maelmithigh, king of Temhair, and that was the fourth year before the battle of Temhair.

Date and circumstances of Mathgamhain's murder, A.D. 976.

And now, when Mathgamhain saw the naked sword about to strike him, having the Gospel of Barri on his breast to protect him, he threw it towards the people of Columb, son of Ciaragán, with the intent that the blood should not touch it, and the Gospel fell into the breast of a priest of the people of Columb, son of Ciaragán. It is declared by those who are acquainted with the place that the hills are the full flight of an arrow asunder.

Mathgamhain throws the Gospel to the clergy.

Maelmuadh, however, saw the flashing of the naked sword striking Mathgamhain, although they were as far asunder as the eye could see ; and he knew it, and arose then, and his horses were yoked for him to depart. The clerk asked him what he was to do ; Maelmuadh answered, “Cure yonder man<sup>3</sup> if he should come to thee.”

Maelmuadh's taunt.

<sup>2</sup> Or he: i.e., Maelmuadh, or Molloy. | hain. This was, of course, said in  
<sup>3</sup> Yonder man. Meaning Mathgam- | irony and insult.

He is  
cursed by  
the clergy,  
and a  
prophecy  
uttered of  
his death.

Imēizur Maolmuad̄ uac̄iſ, ocup ticc an clepeč aſne  
p̄ap. P̄epcaiz̄ter é, ocup eap̄ccáinō ſo dioēra Maol-  
muad̄. Ir̄ aſl̄aſō ro ba aſ denam na p̄ap̄tine,  
ocup é acc eap̄ccáine Maolmuad̄, coneber̄t :

Ir̄ Ccōh p̄oc̄t m̄ap̄p̄i, p̄ep̄ im̄ll Cc̄ip̄i,  
Ra tuad̄ na ſp̄éme, la c̄p̄uad̄ na ſaſthe,  
In ſn̄iōin do p̄onap̄ br̄ō d̄uit a méla,  
In ní mo n̄d̄ep̄nap̄ ní t̄á p̄op̄ m̄ela,  
Br̄ō buán a dočap̄ taeth̄rap̄ do maicne,  
P̄ap̄ōp̄t do p̄céla, br̄ō daēra t̄aicne,  
Br̄ō laeſ bo bar̄i taeth̄rap̄ do ac̄n̄oal.  
Hi tu p̄op̄ maōp̄e, p̄oc̄t m̄ap̄p̄e Cc̄ōam.

is cēōh.

Fulfilment  
of this pre-  
diction.

LXI. Ocup ro coſhalled̄ t̄ra an p̄ap̄tine rin am̄al  
ro t̄ap̄n̄z̄ur in clepeč, doiz̄ ir̄ é Cc̄ōđ mac ſebennac̄z̄  
don D̄éiri ſicc ro in̄ap̄b̄ Maolmuad̄ aſ Cc̄h Dealaiz̄  
Lečta, ap̄ na p̄aſ̄b̄al i m̄bočán p̄ep̄na, do ap̄ m̄b̄p̄eč  
a p̄il uad̄ t̄p̄e ep̄ccáine an clep̄iſ, do ſ̄uad̄, umop̄p̄o]  
in com̄oi com̄ád im̄aſur̄ allečta im̄an enoc. Da  
com̄alled̄ in m̄p̄in p̄op̄, do aſ ip̄an̄o ita lečt̄ Math-  
ſaſh̄na allanep̄ do enuc, ocup lečt̄ Maolmuad̄ alla-  
t̄uad̄, ocup in t̄at̄n̄eſo ſp̄ian p̄ap̄ co b̄p̄ač, aſh̄al p̄o  
t̄ip̄can in clepeač, ocup in ep̄ečal. Do lotap̄ in da  
p̄aſap̄t̄ iap̄p̄in co Colum, ocup im̄up̄it̄ do, ocup do  
ber̄ap̄t̄ in p̄op̄cela ma učt̄. Ir̄ am̄l̄aſo da bi in p̄op̄cela,  
ocup b̄p̄aengal p̄ola Mathſaſh̄na p̄ap̄, ocup caup̄ in  
clepeč ep̄ečal co dioēra, ocup do p̄uſin in t̄ap̄p̄ečal  
p̄ač̄ačta am̄o, ocup ap̄ber̄t̄ in laſo p̄ea :

The Gospel  
restored to  
the bishop.

The clerk's  
claim to  
the legal  
fines for the  
murder.

<sup>1</sup> *One meeting* : i. e., one encounter or hostile meeting.

<sup>2</sup> *Alder hut* : i. e., a hut built of the alder tree.

<sup>3</sup> *The Lord*. Here we return to the text of D., and, as the reader will observe, to the more ancient orthography.

B. omits in com̄oi, "the Lord," and reads, ſom̄ad̄ im̄p̄occup̄ [im̄aſur̄, D., omitting the aspirated p̄,] a lečt̄ mon cenoc; a difference of spelling only.

<sup>4</sup> *South side*. Cc̄lanep̄ [for allanep̄], D. Cc̄l̄ap̄ep̄, B.

<sup>5</sup> *The two priests*. B. reads, do

Maelmuadh went from them, and the clerk recognised him, and became angered, and fervently cursed Maelmuadh; and uttered a prophecy thus, while he was cursing Maelmuadh, and said :

He is cursed by the clergy and a prophecy uttered of his death.

It is Aedh that shall kill thee, a man from the border of Aifi,  
 On the north of the sun, with the harshness of the wind;  
 The deed thou hast done shall be to thee a regret,  
 That for which thou hast done it, thou shalt not enjoy.  
 Perpetual shall be its misfortune, thy posterity shall pass away,  
 Thy history shall be forgotten, thy tribe shall be in bondage,  
 The calf of a pet cow shall overthrow thee at one meeting<sup>1</sup>;  
 Thou shalt not conquer it—Aedhan shall slay thee.

IT IS AEDH.

LXI. And this prediction, as it was foretold by the clerk, was fulfilled; for it was Aedh, the son of Gebennach of the Deisi-Beg, that slew Maelmuadh at the ford of Belach Lechta, having found him in an alder hut,<sup>2</sup> after being deprived of his eyes through the curse of the clerk, who had also prayed] the Lord<sup>3</sup> that his grave should be near that hill. That was likewise verified; for Mathgamhain's grave is on the south side<sup>4</sup> of the hill, and Maelmuadh's grave on the north side, and the sun never shines on it, as the clerk, the religious, had foretold. The two priests<sup>5</sup> then went to Columb, and they told him, and they placed the Gospel in his breast. And so the Gospel was, and the blood of Mathgamhain was sprinkled on it; and the religious<sup>6</sup> clerk wept bitterly, and he composed there a prophetic prediction, and uttered this poem :

Fulfilment of this prediction.

The Gospel restored to the bishop.

The clerk's claim to the legal fines for the murder.

ἐσαταρ, μορηο να ρασαρτ αρ  
 ρηο σο Σολυμ μαρ Σιαραζάν, οσαρ  
 μορητ οδ Ματθανιαν σο μαρ-  
 βαδ: "The priests went after this to  
 Columb, son of Ciaragán, and told him  
 that Mathgamhain was killed."

<sup>6</sup> *Religious*. Or "faithful," "be-  
 lieving." B. reads, οσαρ κήρ αν  
 κλέρεδ ας ταρρεσαλ να ραρτμε,  
 κομηδ ανη ατθερτ: "and the cleric  
 wept whilst composing the prophecy,  
 and then he said."

Δερδαρ μο τρι cumala  
 1τηρ bec [ιρ] μόρ  
 11ησι δαρζυτ ρινδρυνι  
 Δο ocuf ηησι δόρ.  
 Cuit in céτ ρηρ capmactm,  
 11ησι δαρζυτ ζιλ,  
 11αύυ έυηζ ηί αρμο,  
 11η heccal δό α έιν.  
 Cuit in δεζρρη ταναρι,  
 11αύυ βειρ αέτ βο,  
 Διατ δο μετ α ρερζι  
 Του cuniz ατό.  
 11ησι δον όρ ορλαρραέ  
 Cuit in τρηρ ρηρ,  
 Δερυτ απο αναδαρ,  
 Όλιζιτ απο αρβερ.

δερ.

Math-  
gamhain's  
victories.

Δα μορ τρα ιη ρeel ρηη; δαζ ιρ έρην ρο ρερυρ αρδουρ  
 ζαλλυ ανλαρμυμαυ. Ro βρυρ, αν, ιη λαέδ ρηη cετρυ  
 cατα ρορτρυ, como αρ ρηη ρο έαν Mac Liae :

Ocuf na cετρυ cατα  
 Ρορ ζαλλαβ ζινυυ Όατα  
 Ro βρυρ Mathgamhain μετ ηζαλ  
 Τουατ ι τυλαιζ Τουαυμυμαι.

<sup>1</sup> *Cumhals* "Cumhal" is a Brehon law term, signifying a fine or forfeit of three cows; but the word is used generally for any fine, without reference to the value. B. reads, βερδαρ να τρη κυήαλα, "let the three cumhals be paid."

<sup>2</sup> *Great*. The reading of B. ιρ μόρ, "and great," which seems necessary to the sense, has been adopted, within brackets in the text.

<sup>3</sup> *Findrani*: see above, p. 50. This word is very difficult, and is left untranslated. It seems to mean here *bright, shining*: ζιλ, in the next stanza, being evidently given as its equivalent.

<sup>4</sup> *He demands*. Cumiz here and in the last line of the next quatrain is for cunoziz, ("asks," "demands,") omitting, as usual in this MS., the eclipsed or assimilated medial letter. B. reads here, ζην ζο ccunmiz, and in the next place (line 12 of the poem), ccunmiz a τό, a mere difference of spelling.

<sup>5</sup> *Glitter*. Lit., "of the golden flame;" οηλορρε, B.

<sup>6</sup> *Share*. Cumoziz, B., "liability:" which is wrong. The last two lines are given thus in B:

Δερυτ μυρ ρορ βειρ  
 Όλιζιτ μυρ ρορ ολιζη.

Let three cumhals<sup>1</sup> be paid for it,  
 Both small and great<sup>2</sup>;  
 An ounce of silver Findruni,<sup>3</sup>  
 A cow, and an ounce of gold.  
 The share of the first man whom we love,  
 An ounce of white silver,  
 He demands<sup>4</sup> no more,  
 He need not fear for its guilt.  
 The share of the second good man,  
 He shall take but a cow,  
 Great will be his anger,  
 He demands two.  
 An ounce of gold, of golden glitter<sup>5</sup>,  
 Is the share<sup>6</sup> of the third man;  
 He takes what I say,  
 He is entitled to what he takes.

LET BE PAID.

This was, indeed, a great event<sup>7</sup>; for it was he who first swept the foreigners out of Iar-Mumhain; and more-  
Mathgamhain's victories.  
 over, this hero had gained four battles over them, of which Mac Liac sang:

And the four battles  
 Over the foreigners of Glenn Datha  
 Mathgamhain gained—great valour,—  
 On the north, in the hills of Tuadh-Mumhain.

But this reading would violate the law of Irish poetry alluded to above, p. 86, note 3. Perhaps *ber* and *uibh* should be transposed, and then these two lines may be rendered—

“Pay for him what is lawful.

What is lawful is what I state:”

But the reading in the text is more correct.

<sup>7</sup> *Event*. B. gives this clause, with some variations, thus: *Da mór tairt in fearthe rin ocuf ba mór in rceel, uibh iré an Maatgahain rin no rceufor fuid a Mumhan ar tair, uiaib ro cam Mac Liac*,

*Ocup na ceitne caeta  
 Uir gailuib Slinne Daeta:*

“Great was this prophecy, and great the event; for it was this Mathgamhain who first swept the foreigners out of Munster, as Mac Liac sang:

And the four battles  
 Over the foreigners of Glenn Datha,”

omitting the other two lines given in the text; which, however, are necessary to complete the sense. The poem which follows, within brackets, chap. lxii., ending on page 101, is found only in B.

The blind  
bard's  
elegy.

LXII. [Conið ann do rinne dall Maṭṭṣaíma in  
marbha ro :

Ἄρο annu an nuar, ḡárhḡuīl ḡreṑnaíḡ  
 Fuīl a tṑr, O tṑrṑdeallbaíḡ,  
 Dīaró, ír ní ḡárh ḡan daíma  
 Ἄr, nṑíḡ an mál Maṭṭṣaíma.  
 Maṭṭṣaíman! mīno mīrḡe rál,  
 Mac Cīnneīttíḡ mīc Lṑrcáin,  
 Da lán íarṑar, doīman dé,  
 Do rí bṑrṑmar, ḑorṑnīe.  
 Maṭṭṣaíman! mīaróac an ḡem,  
 Mac eṑraṑa Cīnneīttíḡ,  
 Suairṑe don ríḡ don rṑíḡne an beḑḡ,  
 ḡoīll do ḑīocār, na nṑoībṑḑḡ.  
 Noáa tarṑneno ar, Oḡalccar  
 Laeḡ mar, laeḡ līmṑnḡ līmḡlar,  
 Mīna rṑllṑa rṑr, an rīḡ,  
 Ἄr, daṑcaīrṑeṑt no ar, doībṑrḡ.  
 Oa tṑḡ ḡabār, nḡṑrṑm don ḡrṑíḡ  
 Do bī aḡ Tṑḡ mac Maīléllaíḡ,  
 Oar, līno mī rṑḡaró a clí  
 ḡomībṑṑ ar, ḑrīno daén rīḡ.  
 Cíḑ rṑ ceṑṑmar ní dé,  
 Láin do eṑr, rṑe rṑrṑme,  
 Ro eṑrḡ lṑrṑmīn rṑe lá  
 Uḡra ḡáca harṑṑṑa.  
 Ἄ Ἄllṑe līmḡ ám,  
 Oeṑr a deḑam Hearám,  
 Dīḑ maīṑ dīl Maṭṭṣaíma dé,  
 Oa eṑr, ar, bār, ecomarṑe.  
 O do decharó, rṑém co rṑṑ,  
 ḡo Oún ḡarṑ ḡorṑaróac,  
 Noáar, rṑcmaró ḑrīman rṑe báíḑ  
 Oa ṑīrṑe, í tṑeḡ n'Donnaḑám.

<sup>1</sup> *Loud to-day.* The metre of this first line is wrong. Perhaps we should read, Ἄρο annu an ḡárh ḡreṑnaíḡ, or Ἄρο annu ḡárhḡuīl ḡreṑnaíḡ,

"Loud to-day a clamorous shout of woe;" the other words being mere expletives, which were perhaps originally intended as a gloss. Ἄnnuar

LXII. [And it was on that occasion that Mathgamhain's blind *bard* made this elegy :

The blind  
bard's  
elegy.

Loud to-day<sup>1</sup> the piercing wail of woe  
 Throughout the land of Ui Toirdbelbhaigh ;  
 It shall be—and it is a wail not without cause,  
 For the loss of the hero Mathgamhain.  
 Mathgamhain! the gem of Magh Fáil,  
 Son of Cennedigh, son of Loreán,  
 The western world was full of his fame—  
 The fiery king of Boromha.  
 Mathgamhain! noble the offspring!  
 Heroic son of Cennedigh!  
 Delightful to the king was the shock he caused,  
 In banishing the foreigners for their misdeeds.  
 Never appeared amongst the Dal Cais,  
 A hero like the hero of Luinnech, of the green pool,  
 Had not the king met treachery,  
 From baseness or from weakness.  
 When he carried off a black steed of the stud,  
 Which belonged to Tadhg, son of Maelellaigh,  
 We thought that he would not have left his body  
 Until he had become sole king of Eriinn.  
 Why should we cast away any of it,  
 To raise our hand against prophecy ;  
 By him were gained in his day  
 The battles of every engagement.  
 O Ailbhe! of noble Imleach,  
 And, O thou deacon Neasan—  
 Good was Mathgamhain's fate in this  
 That he was put under your protection.  
 When he went in his prosperous career  
 To Dún Gaifi the wound-giving,  
 It was not in friendship he shunned Brian,  
 By going to the house of Donnabhán.

---

is probably for an  $\rho\upsilon\alpha\tau\eta$ , "the shout." (for an  $\rho\upsilon\alpha\tau\eta$ ) be retained, the line or "the sound;" which is expletive and unnecessary; but if the word  $\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\eta$  may be literally rendered, "Loud to-day, the sound of clamorous woe-shout."

Muna tírtea a Dhríamh ille  
 Chuccaíno ar ceno comairle,  
 Seibhí míge feib aocuair,  
 Na ceuiz ceuicco co ccomeruar.  
 Cem ro dábar maílle  
 Ro bo maíe bap mbraátaíre,  
 Céet ro rágbad tolaib žal,  
 Aníro éiti don trinníreap.  
 Duó laez bo deactaíze dóib,  
 Hí bia Dal cCar na ceíano cóih,  
 Co taed an rí tuir Tuaróe,  
 Ír mí Maó moíruaíre.  
 Maóm Muíze Moízan don muíze  
 Do éur Dhríamh ír Maízaíam,  
 Híh beiccean cennac ar žal  
 Sír ar ríze Seaníualano.  
 Ota Cé na neé an aírí,  
 Ír ano ro muíze an móir maíóm,  
 Hí ranaíatar žal a nheé  
 Co haé tarípteé toraíde.  
 An ní ma tanaíatar ille,  
 Na žal ocuf Traíoraíze,  
 Ro ráírat móir íreá ír nge  
 Cé Cé Cliaé na ceoíraíh.  
 Híh cóih do žallaib íaríba  
 Toróeét í noáil Maízaíma,  
 Hí ían náíre do éuaíar uaó,  
 Suno trer an íaíle íeríruaó.  
 Hí omígnem táíruíh na nżall,  
 An mo oíle le Duíbżenn,  
 Do íao móir dulc dóib míe míe  
 Íer íur tuírat coímaíle.  
 Ruí uaíeíb móir do éánaó,  
 Hí huíar a ceoímaíreíh,  
 Haé mebal dóib íém an euairt,  
 Aníro éaríar ar Sulcuairó?

<sup>1</sup> *Countenances*: i.e., the marks of fear continued on their countenances. This is a difficult passage; no such place as Ath Toradele is known. Dr. O'Donovan suggests that we should

read, co hCéth tarípteé toraíto Cle, "to the fruitful Ath-Cle of troops," Ath-Cle being another way of spelling *Ath Cliath*, or Dublin, which is mentioned in the next stanza as the place

Since he would not come, O Brian, hither  
 Unto us to take counsel,  
 Take thou the sovereignty, as was foretold,  
 Of the five provinces with high valour.  
 As long as you were together  
 Good was your brotherhood,  
 But there was left—mighty deed—  
 Injustice to the junior by the senior.  
 A poem should be made for them,  
 The Dal Cais will not be in their true fate  
 Until the king the tower of Tuaidhe falls,  
 And the king of cold Uladh.  
 The defeat of Magh Morgain, in the plain,  
 Was given by Brian and Mathgamhain ;  
 It was not necessary to purchase a foreigner  
 Down on the road of Seangualainn.  
 From Ath-na-nech, of the armour,  
 'Twas there the great defeat was given ;  
 The foreigners did not recover their countenances,<sup>1</sup>  
 Until they had reached the stout Ath Toracle.  
 When they had come hither,  
 The foreigners and the Tradraighe,  
 They had left many shields and spears  
 At Ath Cliath of the victories.  
 It was not right in the rough foreigners  
 To come against Mathgamhain ;  
 Not without shame did they escape from him,  
 From hence through the bitter salt water.  
 I shall not revile the foreigners,  
 Because of my friendship with Dubhgenn ;  
 Much of evil did he inflict on them in his time,  
 The man to whom they gave counsel.  
 He took from them many tributes—  
 It is not easy to reckon them.  
 Did not the march prove disgraceful<sup>2</sup> to themselves—  
 Which they make here upon Sulcoit ?

where they took refuge. But it is possible that there may have been some ford called Ath Toracle, in the Dal Cais country.

<sup>2</sup> *Disgraceful*. For μεῦαλ, "disgraceful," perhaps we should read με-ῦαλ, "Do they not remember the march?"

Nīr cōir do let Cunn can,  
 Se do mac a ceoinmarōnī,  
 Tugran a mbangraiz don Dano,  
 Anuar do cwanōsal Cloēranō.  
 Cūnīan le Dāl cCair cēd cell  
 Mar do cuamar ar Saet Gleann,  
 Iy ar rēit Pearsal anira  
 Do fimeō lōn Matgaima,  
 Ro rārō Matgaiman don muiz  
 Dhreitir iy cōinallrō,  
 Do fuircēad lēt fir for marb  
 San tīr anīrēō aiteanngarib.  
 Hocar dūthairz do mac Driam  
 Mīrlācār ar Matgaiman,  
 Ba dūca dō tačār giall  
 Do rī Dall cCair na ccrūadōriat.  
 Dion zo léigtea laoirz zo buab  
 Cg cōmead Matgaima muarō,  
 Do ferad mōr tūlc pé lá  
 Don luēt fuil hi bpurit arda.

[ART.]

The reign  
of Brian in  
Munster.

LXIII. Rogab, imorro, Driam mac Cheneoiz ic  
 Dailcār acetoir ar marbāō Mathgamna; ocuy nīr  
 bo cloē minad uzi ren, ocuy nīr bo for minad laqzi,  
 aēt ba tpen minad tpein, ocuy ba tenō iar tenō.  
 Daronad, imorro, cocad rāegtech pētreāc rīblāc rīab-  
 reāc nemlac nemeirtneē leirōe, ocuy rō deōzōglad a  
 bpačār leir. Robi in ruzi cačāc cōccach congalaē  
 nīrōad aīgheāc epadal, tōreāc na ruzi rīn. Robi,  
 imorro, in ruzi rīberāc rādal rōmemnāc rīčemal rōna  
 rōmāneāc rādbur pīeōad rīuruzech rōčamāil rōdeōrō  
 a dēpēd. Nī dā rēclāib rēic colēic irīn nīrī.

<sup>1</sup> Then Brian. Here we return to the text of D.

<sup>2</sup> Undertook. Ro rīōgāō, B. Imor-  
ro, om. B.

<sup>3</sup> Redress. Ccc, B.

<sup>4</sup> And. Ocuy, om. B.

<sup>5</sup> An egg. Uīge rīn, B.

<sup>6</sup> But he was. Cēt maō tpen ar  
tīrōir, ocuy tpen in ionad tīrōir,

B. The meaning is, that the enemy found themselves to have gained nothing by the murder of Mathgamhain. Brian was as great a warrior and as valiant a champion as his brother had been.

<sup>7</sup> War. Cōccāō rīublāc rēit-  
rech nemīnēc nemīmeirtneē leir-  
rīum, B.

<sup>8</sup> His reign. This passage is given

The comely *people of* Leth Cuinn ought not  
 (Altho' they do so,) to boast,  
 We brought their fair studs from the Bann,  
 Down to the ships of Clothrann.

The Dal Cais, of the hundred churches, remember  
 How we over ran Gaeth-Glenn,  
 When upon the illustrious Fergal's shield,  
 Mathgamhain's meal was cooked.

Mathgamhain uttered on the plain  
 A threat which was fulfilled,  
 That he would leave there the tomb of a man he killed,  
 In the uneven rough-furzed country.

It was not natural for the son of Bran  
 To act cowardly towards Mathgamhain;  
 It would have been more natural for him to send hostages  
 To the king of Dal Cais, of the hard shields.

Although calves are not suffered to go to the cows,  
 In lamentation for the noble Mathgamhain :  
 There was inflicted much evil in his day  
 By those who are in Port-Arda.

LOUD.]

LXIII. Then Brian,<sup>1</sup> son of Cennedigh, undertook<sup>2</sup> the redress<sup>3</sup> of the Dal Cais forthwith, after the murder of Mathgamhain; and<sup>4</sup> he was not a stone in the place of an egg<sup>5</sup>; and he was not a wisp in the place of a club; but he was<sup>6</sup> a hero in place of a hero; and he was valour after valour. He then made an invading, defying, rapid, subjugating, ruthless, untiring war,<sup>7</sup> in which he fully avenged his brother. His reign,<sup>8</sup> at the beginning of his reign, was one full of battles, wars, combats, plundering, ravaging, unquiet. But at its conclusion, this reign at length became bright, placid, happy, peaceful, prosperous, wealthy, rich, festive, giving of banquets, laying foundations. Some of his adventures are here shortly related.

The reign  
of Brian in  
Munster.

thus in B.—Rob í rín an ríse cocca-  
 zach, conḡalach, arḡneá, iorḡalach,  
 earrábal, a tpoarác na ríse rín.  
 Robí moḡruo, an ríse íubáá,  
 íarbal, romhennuáá, ríotaihuáá,  
 íona, íaróáir, íomaíoneáá, íeó-

ach, íuríeacach a tpeireó. ÍÍí oa  
 íecélaib moḡrteí ríun co léicc.  
 This description must be understood  
 as referring to the reign of Brian in  
 Munster only: not to his reign as  
 king of Ireland.

Plunder of  
the islands  
of the  
Shannon,  
A.D. 977.

LXIV. Romarbad, tpa, Imar ocyr a da meic la  
Ðriau; Ðubceud ocyr Cuallad la huib Ðomnaill Cop-  
cobaircino muuor moir, ocyr muuor da Ðromair,  
ocyr inpeda uli in euau iqyrin; .i. cað tu irabadar  
mna, ocyr macama ocyr bantraetta na nhal. Ða  
puit tpa or, ocyr arzet mna manu, ocyr maþiura  
mna ecranta irna hnoirib rin ocyr ir na porwab.

Donna-  
bhán unites  
with Har-  
old, Danish  
king of  
Munster.

Ro curpercar, tpa, Ðonnubán Cralt mac Imar  
cuisi ar marbad a atar, ocyr ro nigrat hal Mumau e.  
Ro euad iqyrin ar creid muuib Finogenti, ocyr ro  
gabrat buar diaimuiti, ocyr ro arzetat Caþrað Cuau,  
ocyr ro marbrat a danu, ocyr ro marbrat Ðonnubán  
mac Caþal, in teett mbais, ri ua Finogenti, ocyr ro  
marbrat Cralt mac Imar ri hal, ocyr ro curperet  
ar timor ar hallab, ocyr tucrat buar diaimuiti leo.  
In daru bliadann ar marbad Mathgamna rin.

They are  
both slain  
by Brian,  
A.D. 978.

Brian's  
message  
to Mael-  
muadh to  
demand  
Eric.

LXV. [Iy anqyrin ro cuir Ðriau teetta co Maelmuadh  
mac Ðriau diairrad erca aþradar .i. Maþraihna mac  
Cemneitið, .i. Cozarau holla þradu do Ðriau eirem,  
ocyr atberet Ðriau an laioh:—

His poeti-  
cal address  
to the  
messenger.

Eirigh a Choccarám ear,  
Co Maelmuadh an ruirce rinoglar,  
Ðo macab Ðriau ar buan rat,  
Iy co macab ua uþaðad.

<sup>1</sup> *By Brian.* B. omits the words a da meic la Ðriau, and consequently represents Imar, Dubheenn, and Cualladh, [Inar ocyr Ðubgeno ocyr Cuallad, B.] as having been killed by the Hua Domhnaill of Coreobhaiscinn.

<sup>2</sup> *Inis-mór,* or "Big island." It seems as if a line had been omitted here in D.; for B. reads la Hua nÐomnaill Chocobaircino in muir Cathað bliadann iar marbad Maþgamna. Ro harceod leo Finu muir, ocyr muir moir, ocyr muir da Ðromair ocyr inpeda an euau ule arþena. "By Hua

Domhnaill of Coreobhaiscinn in Inis Cathaigh, the year after the murder of Mathgamhain. Finn Inis and Inis Mór, and Inis Da Dromann were plundered by them, and the islands of the whole harbour likewise."

<sup>3</sup> *Harbour:* viz., the Harbour of Limerick, or mouth of the Shannon. It is evident from these words, and those that follow, that the text is defective; for it is impossible that two men could have been killed in more islands than two. We are, therefore, under the necessity of preferring the text of B, as given in note <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *Silver.* B. reads, Ðo ruiti hu

LXIV. Imar and his two sons had been killed by Brian<sup>1</sup>; Dubhcenn and Cuallaid by the Ui Domhnaill, of Corcobhaiscinn in Inis-mór,<sup>2</sup> and in Inis-da-Drumand, and in the other islands of the harbour,<sup>3</sup> afterwards; namely, every place in which the wives and children and women of the foreigners were. There were found gold and silver<sup>4</sup> in abundance, much of wealth and various goods in those islands and in the fortresses.

Plunder of the islands of the Shannon. A.D. 977.

Then Donnabhán invited Aralt, the son of Imar, unto him, after his father had been killed, and the foreigners of Mumhain made him king. He [Brian<sup>5</sup>] went afterwards on a foray into Ui Fidhgenti, and they took cattle innumerable; and they plundered Cathair Cuan,<sup>6</sup> and they killed its people; and they killed Donnabhán, son of Cathal, the ripe culprit,<sup>7</sup> the king of Ui Fidhgenti; and they killed<sup>8</sup> Aralt, son of Imar, king of the foreigners, and they made a prodigious<sup>9</sup> slaughter of the foreigners, and they carried away with them cattle innumerable. This was the second year after<sup>10</sup> the killing of Mathgamhain.

Donnabhán unites with Harold, Danish king of Munster.

They are both slain by Brian, A.D. 978.

LXV. [Then Brian sent a messenger to Maelmuadh, the son of Bran, to demand from him the Eric<sup>11</sup> of his brother, Mathgamhain, son of Cennedigh, viz., Cogarán, who was the confidential officer of Brian. And Brian spake this poem:—

Brian's message to Maelmuadh to demand Eric.

Go, O Cogarán, the intelligent,  
 Unto Maelmuadh of the piercing blue eye,  
 To the sons of Bran of enduring prosperity,  
 And to the sons of the Ui Eachdach.

His poetical address to the messenger.

ocur maitepa ionra ele ip na hnuirib, ocur ip na porcamb rin: "There were found gold and many other goods in the islands, and in those fortresses."

<sup>5</sup> He [Brian]. B reads, "Do cuairt iarruin Driam. "Brian went afterwards," which interprets the text of D.

<sup>6</sup> Cathair Cuan. Caépaiz Cuan, D. Caéair Cuan, B.

<sup>7</sup> Culprit. B. omits the words, in teét mbais.

<sup>8</sup> Killed. Ro zabpat, B., "They took."

<sup>9</sup> Prodigious. Cn mór, B., "A great slaughter."

<sup>10</sup> After. 1ar, B. The following chapter is an interpolation which occurs only in B.

<sup>11</sup> Eric. That is, the fine payable by the Brehon Law for the murder of Mathgamhain.

Πιαφωδὸ διοδ ζυρ να ράταιβ  
 Cιὸ μαρ μαρβρατ μο βραταρ,  
 Cιὸ μαρ μαρβραταρ να ρη,  
 Ματζαμίανι μαc Cεμνειττιζ.  
 Μαρηζ δο μαρβ ζυετ ανειοιζ;  
 Μαρηζ δο μαρβ μαc Cεμνειττιζ;  
 Μόρ αν μίοραε ζυρβερρη δε  
 Βειε ac λήαρ ανα αζε.  
 Ζιὸ μρη δο ματεδ ρη,  
 Τερεαδ ταβ μίc Cεμνειττιζ,  
 Ηι μαίτερο ΔαλεCαρ calμα,  
 Τερεαδ ταβ αττιζερμα.  
 Ηι μαίτερο Λονγαράν λάν,  
 Ηα Εέτιζερη, να Occάν,  
 Ηα Conaηζ epuaδ να cρεε,  
 Ηα Cεμνειττιζ caoηι cυμνεαδ.  
 Ηρεαδ δεαραιτ να ρη,  
 Δαλ cCαρ ρύ αρ υανιβ,  
 Ζο mβερατ ριαταρ ζο ρατ,  
 Ζοmβα huαθαροδ huη Θαέδαε.  
 Clanna Cορbμαic iccénn,  
 Ηα βρο δο έριε clanne Ηειλλ.  
 [1 ττηρ coiccpic βρο] ζαε ορεcan,  
 Manbad λεό δερρεpετ Epenn.  
 Λά τυζ μαc Ηρηm mic Cειn  
 Cυμνιal μο βραταρ ναηι ρέη,  
 Ηοεα ζειβ υαδ ζειλλ no ζρηαιζ,  
 Act é ρέη μα έμαρο.  
 Ζεαλλω Μυρchaδ μόρ μαc Ηρηm,  
 Μαοlμuaδ δο έορε ρα έεδ ζηιαρο,  
 Ocyρ ηι ραρβρηζ a ζεαλλ,  
 O αδβαρ αρθρηζ Epenn.  
 Ραρο λε μαc Ηρηm ναε βαθηαδ  
 Cεpε έαιετιζιρ ό μαρηαε,  
 Τεετ ζο βελαε λεετα ηλε  
 λίν a ριοιζ ρα ροέρατε.

<sup>1</sup> *I had forgiven.* The meaning is, "Although I had forgiven the murder of my brother, the tribe of the Dal Cais would never forgive the slaughter of their chieftain."

<sup>2</sup> *Longarón,* read Lonargán.

<sup>3</sup> *In a stranger province.* The words within brackets are supplied by Mr. Curry from conjecture; a blank is left in the original. The

Ask them what were the reasons  
 Why they killed my brother ;  
 Why did the men kill  
 Mathgamhain, son of Cennedigh ?  
 Woe! to have killed unarmed people—  
 Woe! to have killed the son of Cennedigh ;  
 Great the misfortune, that they thought it better  
 To be on Imar's side than on his.  
 Though I had forgiven<sup>1</sup> that,—  
 The cutting open the side of Cennedigh's son ;  
 The brave Dal Cais would not forgive  
 The cutting open the side of their lord.  
 Longarán,<sup>2</sup> the opulent, would not forgive,  
 Nor Echtighern, nor Ogán,  
 Nor hardy Conaing of the plunders,  
 Nor Cennedigh the comely, the mindful.  
 This is what the men now say—  
 The Dal Cais—unto them, on fit occasions,  
 That they will make a victorious march  
 By which the Ui Eachdach will be reduced to a few.  
 The Clann Cormaic afar  
 Let them not be from the Clann Neill country,  
 [In a stranger province<sup>3</sup> be] every tribe,  
 If theirs be not the south of Erinn.  
 Whenever<sup>4</sup> the son of Bran, son of Cian, shall offer  
 The Cumbhal<sup>5</sup> of my brother unto myself,  
 I will not accept from him hostages or studs,  
 But only himself in atonement for his guilt.  
 Murchadh the great, the son of Brian, promises  
 To check Maelmuadh in the first combat,  
 And his pledge will not be forfeited  
 By the heir of the chief king of Erinn.  
 Say unto the son of Bran that he fail not,  
 After a full fortnight from to-morrow,  
 To come to Belach Lechta hither  
 With the full muster of his army and his followers.

meaning is, "Let the Clan Cormaic (or Dal Cais), and all its tribes live in exile, and retire to the country of the O'Neills (i.e., the North of Ireland), rather than yield to others the

sovereignty of the South, i.e., of Munster."

<sup>4</sup> *Whenever*. Literally, "The day on which."

<sup>5</sup> *Cumbhal*. See above, p. 94, note 5.

Αἶτ μῦνα τῖρεν ἀνδερ  
 Co βελαῖ λεαῖτα λανγλαρ,  
 Πυταλεὸ αἰζε γα ἑῖς  
 Ὅαλ εἰαῖρ ἦρ mac Cemneittiz.  
 Ηοῶα γεβῆαρ ὑαῖτα ἀνν  
 Οῖρ na ἀρῖζετ no φεαριανθ,  
 Ηα γεῖλλ, na ἠοῖλι, a φῖρ,  
 Ηοῖρι τοῖν ἦρ εἰμῖς.

ΕΙΡΙΣ.]

Battle of  
 Belach  
 Lechta,  
 and death  
 of Maol-  
 muadh,  
 A.D. 978.  
 Battle of  
 Fan Con-  
 rach, A.D.  
 979.

LXVI. Ἀνορεῖν το εἰρη ὄριαν καῖ βελαῖς λεῖτα,  
 το ἰοροεαῖρ μοελμουαθ mac ὄριαν ῖ μῦμαν, οἰρη  
 ῶα .c. ῶεῖ ὑμῖ εἰρη γαλλ οἰρη ῶοεδελ, οἰρη ῖο γαβ  
 βραῖτη μῦμαν co φαρῖ.

Ἄρ a ἀθλι ρῖν τuc ὄριαν καῖ φαν conραῖ ρορ  
 γαλλαβ; οἰρη ῖο βῖρη οἰρη ῖο ἀρῖρετῶαρ na ὄρη  
 co ρορε λαρῖ, οἰρη ῖο ἠαῖβ ἠτι ῖο ραῖς ἠ caeαθ  
 αῖρ .i. Ὅομναλλ mac φαελῖν a ρορε λαρῖ, οἰρη ῖο  
 γαβ βραῖτη μῦμαν ὑλι αῖρ ταῖρω a λανα μαρ ρῖν,  
 οἰρη ῖο γαβ βραῖτη ἀρῶcell μῦμαν na φαῖβαῖτηρ  
 μερῖς, na φογλαῖς ἀοῖν ρῖνα cellαῖβ.

Brian  
 invades  
 Ossory,

and Lein-  
 ster.

Ὅα ροῖαθ ἰαῖρη ρῖλαῖθε φερ μῦμαν ὑλι λα  
 ὄριαν ἠ ἠορραῖς, οἰρη ῖο εἰβῖρεθε λειρ ῖιλλα-  
 ραῖρωαε mac Ὅοῖαθα, οἰρη ῖο γαβ a ῖαλλῖ .i. ῖῖ  
 ορραῖς. Ὅα ἑῖαῖθ ἰαῖρη co μαῖς ἠλλῖβῖ co ταῖ-  
 caαθῶρ ῶα ῖῖ λαῖην na ῖεαῖ, .i. Ὅομναλλ Cloen, οἰρη  
 Ὅαῖαλ ῖῖ ἰαῖῶαρ ῖῖρῖ, οἰρη ῖο ῖαβ a ἠβραῖτη ἰοῖθ

<sup>1</sup> *Brian*. We have here again the text of D. B reads, ἦρ ἀνηῖν το εἰρη ὄριαν καῖ φῖρ ῖῖ μῦμαν .i. μαολμουαθ, οἰρη ἀβερατ ἀροῖθε ῖο μαῖβαθ ῶα ἑῖθ ῶεῖc ἀνν το γαλλαῖβ οἰρη γαῖρεαλεαῖβ, οἰρη ῖο ἠαῖβαθ μαολμουαθ φῖν: "Then Brian gave battle to the king of Munster, i.e., Maolmuadh, and some say there were killed there 1,200 of the foreigners and of the Irish, and Maolmuadh himself was killed." And

then in a new paragraph, Ro γαβαθὸ βραῖθε na μῦμαν co φαρῖθε αῖρ a ἠαῖλε, οἰρη τuc ὄριαν, &c.: "He took the hostages of Mumhain as far as the sea afterwards, and Brian gave battle," &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Fan Conrach*. Ὅῖν φῖν con-  
 rach, B., "Dún Fain Conrach" [or  
 the Fort of Fan Conrach, (i.e., of the  
 Church of Conrad.)] Ἄ βῖρῖν ἠῖc  
 conραῖθ, "at Fan mic Conrad."  
*Ann. Inisf. (Dubl.)* A.D. 979.

But if he do not come from the South  
 To Belach Lechta, the evergreen,  
 Let him answer at his house  
 The Dal Cais and the son of Cennedigh.  
 For him shall not be accepted from them  
 Gold, nor silver, nor land,  
 Nor hostages, nor cattle, O Man!  
 Tell them this and go.

Go.]

LXVI. Then Brian<sup>1</sup> fought the Battle of Belach Lechta, in which fell Maelmuadh, son of Bran, king of Mumhain, and twelve hundred along with him, both Gaill and Gaedhil; and he took the hostages of Mumhain even unto the sea.

Battle of Belach Lechta, and death of Maelmuadh, A.D. 978. Battle of Fan Conrach, A.D. 979.

After that Brian gained battle of Fan Conrach<sup>2</sup> over the foreigners. And he ravaged and plundered<sup>3</sup> the Desi even to Port Lairge, and he banished him who had forced the war on him,<sup>4</sup> to wit, Domhnall, the son of Faelán, of Port Lairge, and he took<sup>5</sup> the hostages of all Mumhain, as the fruit of his arms then<sup>6</sup>; and he took the hostages of the principal<sup>7</sup> churches of Mumhain, that they should not receive rebels nor thieves to sanctuary in the churches.

After this there was an expedition under Brian of all the men of Mumhain into Osraighe; and Gillapatric, son of Donnchadh, was put in fetters by him; and he took his hostages, *i.e.* of the king of Osraighe. He went after that to Magh Ailbhe,<sup>8</sup> where the two kings of Laghin came into<sup>9</sup> his house, viz., Domhnall Cloen, and Tuathal, king of western Lipli, and he took their hostages<sup>10</sup>; this

Brian invades Ossory, and Leinster.

<sup>3</sup> *Plundered.* For πο βρυρ οσυρ πο αρξερταρ, B. reads, πο αρρε, "he plundered."

<sup>4</sup> *On him.* For πο ρασ ιν καρασ αρ, B. in more modern spelling reads, πο ρασ ραρ αν κοζαδ.

<sup>5</sup> *He took.* Ξαβαρ, B.

<sup>6</sup> *Then.* Ανωαρ ριν, B., "at that time."

<sup>7</sup> *Principal.* B. reads, οσυρ πο ξαβ

βραξθε ceal Μυηαν, αρ να ραεεβασαρ ιν τελεαδα νο ροξλαθε ιν τεριβ: "And he took hostages of the churches of Munster, that they should not receive robbers or thieves within them."

<sup>8</sup> *Magh Ailbhe.* B. reads, 7 πο εναδ αρρην ι μυιξ Αιβε.

<sup>9</sup> *Into.* Ινα εεαδ, B.

<sup>10</sup> *Hostages.* B. omits this clause.

Brian,  
king of all  
Munster,  
A.D. 984.

Muirghis,  
crown  
prince of  
Connacht,  
killed.  
A.D. 988.

Brian's  
treaty with  
Maelsech-  
lain, A.D.  
998.

Revolt of  
Leinster  
and of the  
foreigners  
from Brian.

oēt mbliathan ar marbat Mathgamna. Cmlaō ym .  
ba ym leāi Moza ōrian. Ro timlaō mōri coblaē  
mymoi leiy iayyin por ōeire ōeire, ocuy puccat tym  
.c. leytar leiy, por Sinann co loē Ra, ocuy po  
hmyed mōi leiy co hlyneē, ocuy po cpeēyat ōreym  
ulī dāp cēliac yuay. ōa cuatar, ōna, u. cet ar pīcet  
uaēib i Conaeta condeymrat olea mōra amō, ocuy cor-  
marbyrat Muirghyur mac Concobair yuzōamna Conaēt,  
ocuy po marbat, am, pōāōi ōib yem. Iy leiy  
iropocair Ruacōym mac Coyreayz [ym] ōa mōymū  
ocuy iaytair Conaēt. Iy leiy iropocair Muirghyur mac  
Ruacōym iayyin.

ōa pōaō ōam mōrcoblaē la ōrian co plein pāt-  
tozi co tamie Moelyeclainō ma comōal, co ndeyrat  
yēt amō .i. yuābi ōo byaytib leāi Moza ic Moelyecl-  
lainō .i. byaytib gall ocuy lazen, a tabairt ōo ōrian,  
ocuy ōa pīāēyāē cōm, ocuy ōa Mani leiy, ocuy  
ōilyū leāi Cunnō o hū amāē cen cōccat cen pōzail  
ō ōrian ōo Maelyeclainō .i. ōa bliathan ym pe cāē  
ſlīnni Manā.

LXVII. Ar nec imorpo ōomnaill Cloen mac Lōp-  
cāi ym lazen, batay lazin ocuy gall co hamyayāē

<sup>1</sup> *Eight years.* B. begins a new paragraph here. C cōmō oēt m-bliathan imorpo iay marbat Mathgamna pō zab ōrian byaytib ocuy lamyze leite Moza. "Now at the end of eight years after the murder of Mathgamhain, Brian took the hostages, and the full sovereignty of Leth Mogha," i.e., of the southern half of Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> *By him.* le ōrian, B., "by Brian." Omitting iayyin.

<sup>3</sup> *Boats.* B. reads tym. c. eaēar leiy ar Sinann, "Three hundred ships with him on the Shannon."

<sup>4</sup> *Hundred.* B. reads, u. eaēar pīcet: "five score ships."

<sup>5</sup> *Connacht.* icConnaētaib, B., "against the Connachtmen."

<sup>6</sup> *Great evils.* ōla mōā, B., "many evils."

<sup>7</sup> *They killed.* ſyū mābatay Muirghyur mac Concobair yuzōamna Conaēt, ocuy pōāōē ēle, B., "So that Muirghes, son of Conchobhair, crown prince of Connacht, and many others, were killed."

<sup>8</sup> *By him.* Iy leo toēatay, B., "By them was killed;" and the same reading is repeated instead of iy leiy iropocair in the next line.

<sup>9</sup> *King.* Rī is added from B.

<sup>10</sup> *Muirghius.* Muirghyur, B.

<sup>11</sup> *Afterwards.* B. connects this word with what follows, iayyin tym ōo pōaō. "Afterwards was made by Brian," &c.

was eight years<sup>1</sup> after the murder of Mathgamhain. Thus Brian was the king of Leth Mogha. Afterwards there was assembled by him<sup>2</sup> a great marine fleet on Derg Deire; and he took three hundred boats<sup>3</sup> with him upon the Sinann as far as Loch Rai; and Midhe was ravaged by him as far as Uisnech; and they plundered all Breifne beyond Ath Liag upwards. There went also five hundred<sup>4</sup> and twenty from them into Connacht<sup>5</sup>; and they perpetrated great evils<sup>6</sup> there, and they killed<sup>7</sup> Muirghius, son of Conchobhar, crown prince of Connacht, and there were killed also many of themselves. It was by him<sup>8</sup> was slain Ruaidhri, son of Coscrach [king]<sup>9</sup> of Ui Briuin, and of western Connacht. And it was by him Muirghius,<sup>10</sup> the son of Ruaidhri, was slain afterwards.<sup>11</sup>

Brian,  
king of all  
Munster,  
A.D. 984.

Muirghis,  
crown  
prince of  
Connacht,  
killed,  
A.D. 988.

Brian now made a great naval expedition to Plein Pattoici,<sup>12</sup> where Maelsechlainn came to meet him, and they concluded a mutual peace there, viz., such hostages of Leth Mogha as Maelsechlainn had, i.e. hostages<sup>13</sup> of the foreigners and of the Laghin, and likewise of the Ui Fiachrach Aidhne, and of the Ui Maine, to be ceded to Brian; and the sole sovereignty of Leth Cuinn, from thenceforth,<sup>14</sup> to belong to Maelsechlainn without war or trespass from Brian. This was two years before the battle of Glenn Mama.<sup>15</sup>

Brian's  
treaty with  
Maelsech-  
lainn, A.D.  
998.

LXVII. Now,<sup>16</sup> after the death of Domhnall Cloen, son of Lorcan,<sup>17</sup> king of Laghin, the Laghin and the foreigners

Revolt of  
Leinster  
and of the  
foreigners  
from Brian.

<sup>12</sup> *Plein Pattoici*. *Ὀλέμ Πατόις*, B.

<sup>13</sup> *Hostages*. B. reads, .i. α παύε το βραχισιβ λειτε μογα, 7 ζαλλ, οσυρ λαίγειαν ας Μαελεχλαινν: "Such hostages of Leth Mogha, and of the foreigners, and of the Leinstermen, as Maelsechlainn had."

<sup>14</sup> *Thenceforth*. *Ὀρμ αμας ζαν κοζαδ, ζαν ποζαδ το θριαν αρ Μαελεχλαινν, B.*

<sup>15</sup> *Glenn Mama*. The battle of Glen Mama is dated 998 (the 20th year of Maelsechlainn), by the Four Masters; but A.D. 1000, according to O'Fla-

herty's Chronology; and, therefore, the alliance or treaty recorded in this chapter must be dated 996 (4 M.), or 998 (O'Fl.)

<sup>16</sup> *Now*. B. omits *μογορο*.

<sup>17</sup> *Son of Lorcan*. These words are omitted in B. The death of Domhnall Cloen is dated 983, by the Four M., the 5th year of Maelsechlainn, which in O'Flaherty's Chronology would be 985, so that the revolt of Leinster must have begun twelve or thirteen years before the treaty with Maelsechlainn.

do ʒpian, ocyr batap ic tobpičtao coccaio ppi ʒpian,  
 ocyr ppi Mumnečab apčena. ʒa luro, imoppo, ʒpian  
 ocyr mopčinoł pepar Mumcan leip co laznib, ocyr co  
 zullu .i. do zabal pop Ač Cliač no co piapazcip  
 zall. Ro cuipit dan ba, ocyr muntepa lazen in  
 apcail zall, ocyr i nlib ʒpian Chualano, ocyr i nlib  
 ʒabra, ocyr i nlib ʒončatao, ocyr tancatar lazin  
 ocyr zall peč na muntepab i conni mʒpian, ocyr a  
 comcail .i. co ʒlenc Mama. Ro compazget ano pin  
 ʒpian co Mumnečab, ocyr zall co laznečab leo.  
 Ro pepar, imoppo, cač puleč, pičtao, popopec, peočap,  
 peparo, peparical, azapb, aniapčta, epcaipocmał, etuppu  
 ocyr iperiat [pripč ocyr eolaič nap cupeač ó cač  
 Muiče Račta nuap ap daine ba no ina pin. ʒo tuit-  
 pemat ann rochače do ʒal cčap, ocyr do Mun-  
 neachab apčena; no tuitpemat ann popzla zall Ačta  
 Cliač, ocyr zall ʒpenn uile, ocyr tuccač ap lažen;  
 eič tpa ačt no muič pop na zallab, ocyr pop na lazn-  
 nič. Ro marbač tpa ann Apal mac Ačnlab pi  
 oamna zall ʒpenn, ocyr Culen mac ʒčtičepn, ocyr  
 .xl. céo impo do neoč ap pepar bap do zallab a  
 nʒpenn, ocyr leanač ʒpian iao co paŋzatar in oin,  
 ʒo nebrač—

Battle of  
 Glen  
 Mama,  
 A.D. 1000.

The Lein-  
 ster-men  
 and Danes  
 of Dublin  
 defeated.

<sup>1</sup> *Against Brian.* Papi, ocyr pop  
 muihan apčena, B., "against him  
 and against Mumhain also."

<sup>2</sup> *The Laghin.* Co zulla, ocyr  
 co laznio do zabal ap Ačcliač  
 no co piapocapé, B., "against the  
 foreigners and against the Laghin,"  
 [or men of Leinster,] "to lay siege to  
 Ath Cliath until it submitted to him."

<sup>3</sup> *The cattle.* ʒuap, B.

<sup>4</sup> *Angle.* B. reads, mopzall  
 zall in nlib ʒpian Cualano 7  
 i no zabra: "Into the angle of  
 the foreigners in Ui Briuin Cuallan,  
 and into Ui Gabhra." It is possible  
 that *Ascall Gall*, "the angle of the  
 Gaill," ought to be regarded as a pro-

per name, denoting some place pos-  
 sessed by the foreigners. The reading  
 of B. would seem to make it a place  
 in the territory of Ui Briuin Cuallan,  
 a district embracing the greater part  
 of the barony of Rathdown, and a  
 portion of the north of the co. Wick-  
 low. See Dr. O'Donovan's note <sup>2</sup>,  
*Four M.*, 738 (p. 340). *Ascall* or  
*Asgall* (Latin *axilla*), is the arm pit;  
 and hence an angular piece of ground,  
 like the space between a man's arm  
 and his body.

<sup>5</sup> *Beyond:* i.e., in advance of their  
 families (more to the south of the  
 districts to which they had sent their  
 wives and children), in order to inter-

became disobedient to Brian, and were menacing war against Brian,<sup>1</sup> and against the people of Mumhain also. Brian, therefore, marched, with a great muster of the men of Mumhain, against the Laghin<sup>2</sup> and against the foreigners, intending to lay siege to Ath Cliath until the foreigners should submit to him. But now the cattle<sup>3</sup> and the families of Laghin were sent into the angle<sup>4</sup> possessed by the foreigners, and into Ui Briuin Chualann; and into Ui Gabhra, and to Ui Donnchadha. And the Laghin and the Gaill came beyond<sup>5</sup> their families to meet Brian and into his presence, viz., to Glenn Mama. They met there; Brian with the Mumhain, and the foreigners accompanied by the Laghin; and there was fought between them a battle, bloody, furious, red, valiant, heroic, manly; rough, cruel, heartless; and [men<sup>6</sup> of intelligence and learning say that since the battle of Magh Rath,<sup>7</sup> to that time, there had not taken place a greater slaughter. There fell there multitudes of the Dal Cais, and of the Muimhain in general; there fell there the greater part of the foreigners of Ath Cliath, and of the foreigners of all Erin; and there was also a slaughter of the Laghin; for, in short, the foreigners and the Laghin were utterly defeated. And there were killed there Aralt, the son of Amlaibh, the crown prince of the foreigners of Erin, and Cuilean, the son of Echtighern, and four thousand along with them, of the best of the foreigners of Erin. And Brian followed them till they reached the Dún,<sup>8</sup> whereupon was said—

Battle of  
Glen  
Mama,  
A.D. 1000.

The Leinster-men  
and Danes  
of Dublin  
defeated.

cept Brian's march. B. reads, Ταν-  
ζαταρ ζοιλ ουρ λαγιν ποε να  
muncepañ i cconne ðuam zo  
gleano Mámá. "The Gaill and the  
Laghin came in advance of their fam-  
ilies, against Brian at Glen Mama."

<sup>6</sup> And [men. B. reads, Ρο ρεαρσθ  
ιμορπο εατορρα εατ ρυλεατ ρι-  
σα, ρορδεαρζ, ρεαρδα, ρεαρμιαιλ,  
αμμιν, αζαριβ, αμαριδα, εαρ-  
εαριρθεαμιαιλ. Αουρ α θεηουτ, &c.

The passage which follows in brackets  
from this place to the last line on p. 114,  
is wanting in D., and has been supplied  
from B. The Irish reader will perceive  
the change of orthography.

<sup>7</sup> *Magh Rath*. See the historical  
romance of the battle of Magh Rath,  
published by the Irish Archæological  
Society.

<sup>8</sup> *The Dún*: i.e., the dún or fortress  
of Ath Cliath, i.e., of Dublin.

Poetical  
celebration  
of the  
victory.

Ραδα αν ριασφι ταυτε θρηαν  
Ο Γλυνη Μανα κο ηλλε-Ολιατ.

: : : : :

Τυσραν ριουρ αφ α ούν,  
Τυσραν κοιλειβ, τυσραν ελάνη,  
Τυσραν εις ματε μεαρια,  
Ιρ ινα βλατε βαυγεαλα.  
Οο ευρηριος Οαλ εΟαιρ ανέσ  
Αη λά ρην οα ριετ εέο,  
Socharde ó ρυσρατ βα,  
Ιρ οα τυσρατ λά ραοα.

ΡΑΘΑΑ.

The Castle  
of Dublin  
plundered  
and burned.

LXVIII. Ρο ηηοθραδ̄ ημοθρηο αν ούν λεό, οουρ ρο  
ηαρησεδ̄, οουρ ρο βαι θρηαν αφ ρην α ρρορλουσρηορτ  
ρηη ηβαλε ό ηοολαε μορ κο ηοολαε βεεε. Ταυτε  
ρηρηη ηρη ηαρησαδ̄, οουρ ρο ληρηεσαδ̄ αν ούν ηηε λεό,  
οουρ ηρη ραζαβρηοτ εητε ιτταλμαν ζαν ραζδ̄βαλ, αμαλ  
αρηβερτ αν ρηε, αζ ηηρηη ρεελ ανο:—

Poem on  
the battle  
of Glenn  
Mama.

Οατ Γλυνη Μανα ηρ μορ ηερ,  
Ηί ερηαοε οατ οαη εηρηεδ̄,  
Ορη α ραοα ηη ραδ̄ ζό,  
Α ηρη ρα εαρηαοο.  
Α ερηοαετ ηρ α ερηαη,  
Α λαημενηρη ρα λανλυαη,  
Ηηδα ηη ζαε τηαε οοαρη οε,  
Οαε αζ ερηοαο α εεηε.  
Τρηαζοαδ̄ ηρ ερηρηαδ̄ ερηαη,  
Soctad̄ εεηο εοαοηη κοηηρηαη,  
Τρηοζτε κομαλλα, ηη ζηαε,  
Οουρ λανα ζο λανλυαε.  
Ηηδα ηαρηβ λεορηαν ηρ ηεβ,  
Ορηαηα τταηαηβ ρα ταηηβ,  
Ορηαη οαηαη λυαη ζαν ρρηαρηαο,  
Ζο ερηαο αζα εκομβυαοαδ̄.

<sup>1</sup> *Ath Cliath*. The remainder of this quatrain is missing in B., but space is left for it, as if the scribe had been unable to decipher the antient

MS. from which he copied, but hoped to repair the defect from some other source.

Long was that route by which Brian came,  
From Glenn Mama to Ath Cliath."<sup>1</sup>

Poetical  
celebration  
of the  
victory.

. . . . .  
. . . . .

We brought silk out of the fortress ;  
We brought bedding ; we brought feathers ;  
We brought steeds goodly and fleet,  
And blooming white fair women.

The Dal Cais put to death  
On that day two score hundred<sup>2</sup> ;  
Many they deprived of cows,  
And gave them a long day<sup>3</sup> !

LONG.

LXVIII. The fortress then was plundered by them and ransacked ; and Brian at that time remained encamped in the town from great Christmas to little Christmas.<sup>4</sup> He came then into the market, and the whole fortress was burned by them, and they left not a treasure under ground that they did not discover. As the poet said in relating the story of it—

The Castle  
of Dublin  
plundered  
and burned.

The battle of Glenn Mama was great and rapid ;  
No harder battle was ever fought ;—  
The man who says so makes no false assertion—  
For its slaughters and its losses ;

Poem on  
the battle  
of Glenn  
Mama.

Its valour and its severity ;  
Its championship and its full impetuosity ;  
Many on every side were its misfortunes,  
Each party destroying the other.

Piercing, and hacking of bodies,  
Cleaving of comely and handsome heads,  
Feet in action—it is not false !—  
And hands in full activity.

Many were the dead of them and of you ;  
Crowds in trances and in swoons ;  
Crowds of ready Danars, without cessation,  
Bravely contending with them.

<sup>2</sup> *Two score hundred.* This seems to mean a hundred times two score : i.e., 4,000, a number probably exaggerated.

<sup>3</sup> *A long day:* i.e., spared their lives for some time longer.

<sup>4</sup> *Christmas:* i.e., from Christmas Day to the Epiphany.



Long did they continue in this way,  
 From the morning unto the dark noon<sup>1</sup> ;  
 Long were the horrors continued,  
 Each party killing the other.  
 The sons of the kings made a brave charge  
 Through the ranks of the sorrowing Gaill<sup>2</sup> ;  
 And fiercely drove the ranks of the Gaill  
 Through the ranks of the Gaedhil north-eastwards.  
 The battle was thereupon gained  
 By force against the Gaill ;  
 Twelve hundred—not small the glory!—  
 Are recorded to have there been killed.  
 The battle of Magh Rath, as it is described,  
 Or the great battle of Magh Ealta,<sup>3</sup>  
 Are not equal in prosperous results,  
 Nor to be compared with this one battle.

THE BATTLE.

LXIX. It was in that one place were found the great- Value of  
 quantities of gold and silver, and bronze [*finndruine*], the spoil  
 and precious stones, and carbuncle-gems, and buffalo horns, taken.  
 and beautiful goblets. All these valuables were collected  
 by them<sup>4</sup> to one place. Much also of various vestures  
 of all colours was found there likewise. (For never was How the  
 there a fortress, or a fastness, or a mound, or a church, or Danes ob-  
 a sacred place, or a sanctuary, when it was taken by that tained their  
 howling, furious, loathsome crew, which was not plun- wealth.  
 dered by the collectors and accumulators of that wealth.  
 Neither was there in concealment under ground in Erin,  
 nor in the various solitudes belonging to Fians or to  
 fairies, any thing that was not discovered by these  
 foreign, wonderful Denmarkians, through paganism<sup>5</sup> and  
 idol worship.) Many women also, and boys, and girls,  
 were brought to bondage and ruin by them<sup>6</sup> ;] and *the*

<sup>5</sup> *Through paganism.* The meaning is, that notwithstanding the potent spells employed by the Fians and fairies of old for the concealment of their hidden treasures, the Danes, by their pagan magic and the diabolical

power of their idols, were enabled to find them out.

<sup>6</sup> *By them* ; i.e., by Brian and his party. D. adds, ἀπογῆν *there*, or *on that occasion*, and then proceeds as after the bracket in the text. The clause

γυυ παροναδ ινδοϋκανθ, οσυρ ιγιατ πο ιμραγ ιεκορνυμ  
αριϋι, οσυρ απορβα ρειν πορηο. Cio dona aēt poimpo  
α ρεν οσυρ αρολυθ αιθρηυ γυρ να γαλλαib, οσυρ γαϋ ολε  
παρονιατ ταρηαυ ορηο πομαιν τομαυ. Cρ ιν ιμιαθ  
ποραμμετ το ρεαυib ερηνο ιρ ραι πο ιμυθεο τοιθ.

The com-  
plete sub-  
jection of  
the foreign-  
ers.

Ολε ιρην το γαλλαib, ιμορηο, πογεναιρ ιν γιλλα ρυυ  
ι. θυμαιν μαε Cενθετιγ. Θαγ ιρ λειρ πομαρβατ,  
πομυραγαιτ, ποδιλαγαιτ, ποδοεραιτ ιρ πομυγραναγαιτ.  
Cona ραβι cātleϋ ó θεινο θοαιρ εο Teϋ Duinn  
ιαυηρηνο γαν γαλλ ινθαυα ραιρ, οσυρ ναραib βρο γαν  
γαλλιγ. Conarba ιν ρι μαε οελαιγ νο οεϋγρηνο το  
γθεδελαιb αθορηνο ιμ ρυυρτ νο ιμ οραυρ ελε αρ ταλ-  
μαιν, οσυρ ιν μοβα ιν ρε ιμνα ινι δορηνο ιμ μελι βρον,  
νο ρυυι βαργυι, νο ιμγι α ηέταιγ, αέτ γαλλ νο γαλλιρεϋ  
θαηνεαμ.

Brian's  
twenty-five  
battles.

He remains  
at Dublin  
five weeks.

Ravages  
Leinster.

[LXX. Cúicc cáta ríctet in po tpeǵsað a ttaoiϋ po-  
dein, arpeð po ḡraoin θυμαιν πορηα, γυρ ιν εαεϋ ιν πο  
μαρβαð ερην, γεμῆστα δεβῆα αρϋενα. Ro ba ιμ-  
μορηο θυμαιν αιμρηυ ο νοδλαε ιμόρ γο ρείλ θυγῆθε.  
Ro ιηθηραð λαγῆιν λειρ αέτ becc, οσυρ πο γαib βραιγῆθε,  
οσυρ πο λειρρεαð Coill Comair λειρ, οσυρ πο λειραð,  
οσυρ πο ρειθιγῆð beilghe οσυρ θαηγνε λειρ. Ro elo ιμ-

describing how the Danes came by their  
great wealth is a parenthetical digres-  
sion, after which the narrative returns  
to the spoil taken by the victorious  
Brian and his followers.

<sup>1</sup> *Deserved.* B. reads, οσυρ το  
οιγῆριοτ ρυυμ ιν ινι ρυυ ουρ ιγιαθ  
γαιλλ πο ισηηραγ ιαθ το εορηαιν  
α ερῆε, οσυρ α πορβα οιυρ  
ρειν ρυυ: "And they had des-  
erved that treatment, for the foreign-  
ers had begun the attack to contest  
with them their own country and  
their beloved lawful inheritance." In  
the use of *they* and *them* both MSS. are  
somewhat confused, meaning by those  
pronouns sometimes the Irish, some-  
times the Danes, or other foreigners.  
To avoid this confusion, a slight liberty  
has been taken in the translation

by substituting "*the foreigners*" for  
"*they*."

<sup>2</sup> *The respect.* These words, to the  
end of the paragraph, are omitted  
in B.

<sup>3</sup> *Ill luck.* B. reads, Oλε ιμορηο  
αν ρην το γαλλαib ιν λα πο γεναιρ  
ιν γιλλε ρυυ: "Bad was the luck of  
the foreigners on the day when that  
youth was born."

<sup>4</sup> *Exterminated.* B. reads, οσυρ πο  
οιλατραιϋεητ.

<sup>5</sup> *Winnowing sheet.* Cαλλεϋ, B.,  
"an old woman."

<sup>6</sup> *Western Erin.* B. reads, ιν ιαρ-  
εταρ ερηνο, "in the west of Erin,"  
but the other reading, νο ιαρ ηερηνο,  
is given as a gloss in O'Clery's hand  
over these words. From Benn Edair  
[now Howth], to Tech Duinn [an

foreigners had deserved<sup>1</sup> that treatment, because by them the provocation had been given, and they had been the aggressors to contest with them [i.e., *with Brian and his followers*] their own country and their lawful inheritance. However, their good luck and fortune then turned against the foreigners, and all the evils they had hitherto inflicted were now fully avenged on them. For the respect<sup>2</sup> which they had measured to the men of Erin, was by the same standard now measured to themselves.

Ill luck<sup>3</sup> was it, however, for the foreigners when that youth was born, viz., Brian, the son of Cenneidigh; for it was by him they were killed, destroyed, exterminated,<sup>4</sup> enslaved, and bonded. So that there was not a winnowing sheet<sup>5</sup> from Benn Edair to Tech Duinn, in western Erin,<sup>6</sup> that had not a foreigner in bondage on it, nor was there a quern without a foreign woman.<sup>7</sup> So that no son<sup>8</sup> of a soldier or of an officer of the Gaedhil deigned to put his hand to a flail, or any other labour on earth; nor did a woman<sup>9</sup> deign to put her hands to the grinding of a quern, or to knead a cake, or to wash her clothes, but had a foreign man or a foreign woman<sup>10</sup> to work for them.

The complete subjection of the foreigners.

[LXX. Five and twenty battles, in which their own sides were pierced, did Brian gain over them, including the battle in which he himself was killed, besides sundry skirmishes. Brian remained in that place from great Christmas<sup>11</sup> till the festival of Brigit. Laighin was ravaged by him, except a small portion, and he took hostages; and Coill Comair was burned by him, and hewn down, and passages and fortresses cleared by him. But Am-

Brian's twenty-five battles.

He remains at Dublin five weeks.

Ravages Leinster.

island off the south-western point of Kerry], was evidently a usual mode of describing the southern half of Ireland.

<sup>7</sup> *Foreign woman.* In the original, *gaillsech*. A *quern* is a stone hand-mill still used in many parts of Ireland.

<sup>8</sup> *No son.* *Conar* bo ní *le mac ócclawξ no oicetξeiuu*, B.

<sup>9</sup> *A woman.* *liu* bo ní *le muoi α λúu no mele bñón no im ðume baipξme*, B.

<sup>10</sup> *Foreign woman.* Lit., "A gall or a *gaillsech*." *Ξαλλ ocuy ξαλλÿech να ðεναι*, B. *Omennan* in D. is for *να ðennan*. Here another portion of the text (chaps. lxx. to first paragraph of chap. lxxii. *incl.*) is supplied from B. in consequence of an imperfection in D., from the loss of a leaf.

<sup>11</sup> *From great Christmas:* i.e., from December 25 to February 1, inclusive. See p. 113, note 4.

Amlaff flies  
to Ulster.

Submits to  
Brian.

Capture  
of Mael-  
mordha,  
king of  
Leinster.

Brian's  
triumphant  
return  
home.

Brian's  
rebellion  
against  
Maelsech-  
lainn, king  
of Ireland,  
A.D. 1002.

A month's  
truce  
agreed to.

μορρο Αήλιαβ̄ ρι γαλλ̄ ἰλλό αν̄ ατᾱα, οσυρ ρο ριᾱετ αρ̄  
γᾱε̄ ἰονᾱο̄ δε̄ιρ̄ ἀε̄ίλε̄ co ριᾱετ̄ co ἡλλ̄ιτα. Ὅο̄ ε̄υαρ̄  
ἰμορρο̄ ο̄ Ὕριαν̄ ἰνᾱ ὄιᾱξ̄, οσυρ̄ ἰν̄ ρ̄ιαρ̄ ἀδ̄ιον̄ acc  
Ᾱο̄δ̄, ἰnō acc̄ Ἑο̄ᾱδ̄, ὄο̄ ττᾱνιc̄ ἡ̄ τε̄ch̄ Ὕριαν̄ ἡ̄ oc̄inn̄  
ρ̄ιᾱε̄ ἰᾱρᾱη̄, οσυρ̄ τuc̄ ἀβ̄ρεῑε̄ ρ̄έ̄ιν̄ dō Ὕριαν̄, οσυρ̄ τucc̄  
Ὕριαν̄ ᾱ δ̄ύν̄ το̄ρο̄η̄.

LXXI. Ρο̄ γᾱβ̄ ἰμορρο̄ Ὕριαν̄ Μᾱο̄λμορ̄δᾱ mac̄ Μυρ-  
chāδᾱ ἀλλό̄ αν̄ ατᾱᾱ ρε̄η̄νε̄ ἰν̄ ἰῡβαρ̄ τᾱῑδε̄, οσυρ̄ ἰρε̄ Μυρ-  
chāδ̄ τucc̄ αρ̄ αν̄ ἰῡβαρ̄ dā ἀμ̄πε̄ο̄ιν̄ ἡ̄ε̄, οσυρ̄ βᾱ ἡ̄λλ̄ά̄ν̄  
occ̄ Ὕριαν̄ γυρ̄ γᾱβ̄ β̄ρᾱξ̄δε̄ Λᾱξ̄εν̄ ἰν̄λε̄. Ρο̄ ἡο̄ρ̄λᾱcc̄ε̄δ̄  
dē αρ̄ρ̄ιν̄, οσυρ̄ τucc̄ᾱδ̄ β̄ρᾱξ̄δε̄ Λᾱξ̄εν̄ dō, οσυρ̄ ρο̄  
ἡᾱε̄ρ̄ίο̄γᾱδ̄ Ὅον̄n̄chāδ̄ mac̄ Ὅο̄η̄n̄āll̄ C̄laom̄ ρε̄η̄νε̄.

Τᾱνιc̄ ἰμορρο̄ Ὕριαν̄ dā ε̄ῑγη̄ ἰαρ̄ρ̄ιν̄, ὄο̄ ρῡβᾱε̄  
ρ̄ο̄η̄nen̄n̄nāε̄, οσυρ̄ cō cōρ̄cēp̄ach̄ cōm̄māīd̄mēε̄ ἀμᾱλ̄  
βᾱ ἰν̄νιc̄ Λαρ̄. ἰρ̄ε̄δ̄ ἰν̄ο̄ιρ̄τ̄ λῡε̄τ̄ ρε̄ρᾱ, οσυρ̄ ρε̄n̄ch̄ūρᾱ  
cōnāε̄ ρᾱβε̄ ὑ̄ρ̄ρᾱο̄η̄ ὄρ̄ε̄ρᾱβ̄ Μῡη̄n̄an̄ ton̄ τ̄ρ̄λυᾱγε̄δ̄  
ρ̄ιν̄ γ̄αν̄ ἀδ̄βαρ̄ ἀε̄ῑgh̄ēd̄hāρ̄ λειρ̄ dōρ̄ οσυρ̄ ὄαρ̄cc̄ēt̄  
οσυρ̄ ὄε̄ττᾱε̄ ὄᾱε̄ᾱ, οσυρ̄ dā γᾱε̄ ἰο̄n̄n̄h̄αρ̄ρ̄ αρ̄ε̄νᾱ; cōm̄ō  
dā ρ̄ο̄ιρ̄gēll̄ ρ̄ιν̄ dō ρ̄ο̄η̄ᾱδ̄ αν̄ ὄυᾱn̄.

LXXII. Ὅο̄ ρο̄nāδ̄ μορ̄ ρ̄λυᾱγε̄δ̄ λεῑε̄ Μο̄ξᾱ ἰν̄λε̄  
λε̄ Ὕριαν̄ ἰαρ̄ρ̄ιν̄ ε̄τιρ̄ γῡλλᾱε̄ οσυρ̄ γᾱο̄ῑδ̄ε̄λᾱ cō ριᾱε̄τ̄  
Τε̄m̄p̄ρᾱξ̄ ἡ̄ᾱ ρ̄ο̄ξ̄, οσυρ̄ ρο̄ ε̄ιρ̄ε̄δ̄ τε̄ε̄τᾱ ὑᾱδᾱ cō Μᾱε̄-  
ēc̄l̄ānn̄ mac̄ Ὅο̄η̄n̄āll̄ cō ρ̄ί̄ Τε̄η̄η̄ᾱε̄, οσυρ̄ ρο̄ ρ̄ιρ̄τ̄  
β̄ρᾱξ̄δε̄ ρᾱρ̄ ἡ̄ō cāε̄ ἡ̄n̄ā cēn̄tār̄ēδ̄ε̄ β̄ρᾱξ̄δε̄, οσυρ̄  
τucc̄ᾱδ̄ αρ̄ο̄ξ̄ᾱ dō Μᾱο̄ῑlēc̄l̄ānn̄ ο̄ῑϋ̄ρ̄ιν̄.] Ρο̄ ρ̄ιρ̄, ἰμορρο̄,  
Μο̄ēl̄p̄ēc̄l̄ān̄ō cāρ̄ō ἡ̄ίρ̄ dō ρ̄ῑ cōm̄t̄inōīl̄ λε̄τ̄ī C̄unn̄ō,  
οσυρ̄ τῡγᾱō ἰn̄ cāρ̄ō ρ̄ιν̄ dō can̄ c̄p̄ēīε̄ can̄ ἰρ̄ēd̄ō can̄  
αρ̄ρ̄γ̄ιν̄ γ̄αν̄ ρ̄ōγᾱl̄ can̄ ρ̄ōp̄lōp̄ēūō, οσυρ̄ Ὕριαν̄ ἰn̄ ρ̄ō-  
l̄ōn̄ḡp̄ōr̄t̄ ρ̄ρ̄ῑ ρ̄ιν̄ ρε̄ ρ̄ιν̄ ἰ̄ Τε̄m̄p̄ρᾱε̄.

<sup>1</sup> *With Aedh*: i.e., Amlaff, the Danish king, was not received by Aedh, or Hugh O'Neill, the chief of the *Ulaid*, or northern Ulstermen, nor by Eochaidh, the chieftain of the East of Ulster, to whom he had fled for protection.

<sup>2</sup> *House*: i.e. submitted to Brian. See p. 123, line 3.

<sup>3</sup> *His fortress*: i.e., his *dún* or fortress of Dublin.

<sup>4</sup> *Murchadh*: i.e., Murchadh or Morogh, son of Brian. Maelmordha, or Maelmóra, son of Murchadh [i.e., of a different and older Murchadh], was the king of Leinster, and brother of Gormlath, Brian's third wife.

<sup>5</sup> *The poem*. Meaning apparently the poem given above in chap. lxxviii.

<sup>6</sup> *Maelsechlainn*. Here we return to the text of D. B. reads, οσυρ̄ ρο̄ ρ̄ιρ̄ε̄ρ̄-  
τᾱρ̄ Μᾱε̄l̄p̄ēc̄l̄ānn̄ cāρ̄ōε̄ ἡ̄ο̄ρ̄.

laibh, king of the foreigners, fled on the day of the battle, and went from one place to another, until he came to the Ulaid. But he was pursued by Brian's orders; and he found not shelter with Aedh,<sup>1</sup> nor with Eochaidh; so that he came into Brian's house<sup>2</sup> in a quarter of a year after, and submitted to Brian's own terms, and Brian restored his fortress<sup>3</sup> to him.

Amlaff flies to Ulster.

Submits to Brian.

LXXI. Brian captured also Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, on the day of the aforesaid battle, concealed in a yew tree; and it was Murchadh<sup>4</sup> that forcibly dragged him out of the tree; and he continued in captivity with Brian until *Brian* received the hostages of all Laighin. He was then liberated, and the hostages of Laighin were given to him, and Donnchadh, son of Domhnall Cloen, was dethroned for him.

Capture of Maelmordha, king of Leinster.

Brian now returned to his home after this, cheerfully, in good spirits, victoriously and triumphantly, as was his wont. Men of learning and historians say that there was not a yeoman of the men of Mumhain on that expedition who had not received enough to furnish his house with gold and silver, and cloth of colour, and all kinds of property in like manner. And it was to commemorate this the poem<sup>5</sup> was made.

Brian's triumphant return home.

LXXII. A great expedition of all Leth Mogha, both Gaill and Gaedhil, was afterwards made by Brian, until they reached Temhair of the kings; and messengers were sent from them to Malsechlainn, son of Domhnall, king of Temhair, and they demanded hostages from him, or battle, should he refuse hostages, and Malsechlainn was given his choice of these.] Malsechlainn,<sup>6</sup> however, requested a month's delay to muster Leth Cuinn; and that delay was given to him<sup>7</sup>, during which no plunder or ravage, no destruction or trespass, or burning, was to be inflicted upon him. And Brian remained encamped<sup>8</sup> during that time in Temhair.

Brian's rebellion against Malsechlainn, king of Ireland, A. D. 1002.

A month's truce agreed to.

<sup>7</sup> *To him.* B. omits 𐌆𐌋, "to him" | Brian was in Temhair [i.e., Tara],  
<sup>8</sup> *Encamped.* B. reads, 𐌚𐌋𐌆 𐌋𐌆𐌋𐌆𐌋𐌆 | during that time;" viz., during the  
 𐌆 𐌋𐌆𐌋𐌆𐌋𐌆 𐌋𐌆𐌋𐌆𐌋𐌆 𐌋𐌆𐌋𐌆𐌋𐌆 𐌋𐌆𐌋𐌆𐌋𐌆: "And time of the truce.

Maelsech-  
lainn's  
embassy to  
the kings of  
Ulster and  
Connaught.

Ἰρ ἰρην κομαρλί δα ροναδ λα μοελεϰλανδ ανδρειν  
 Ἰλλα Κομγαλλ ἡα Σλεβιν, ολλυμ ἡλαδ, οσυρ ἰν τυαυρ-  
 ϰεϰτ αρκενα δο κυρ αρ κενδ Αεδα ἡ ἡελλ ρι Αελλιγ,  
 οσυρ αρ κενδ Εοδαδα μιϰ Αρδγαλ ρι ἡλαδ, οσυρ τεδα  
 ελε αρ κενδ Καταλ μιϰ Concubαρ ρι Conaδτ, οσυρ δα  
 τυρταυρ Λετ Cumnd co henmemnaδ λεορεν κατ ρεργαδ  
 ρεραμαλ δο εταβαρτ δο Ὀρμαν, οσυρ δο Λετ Μογα,  
 οσυρ ραρδαδτ Τεμραδ δο κορμυμ ρυ. Μενι τυρτυρ  
 ρυ, ἰμορρο, δο κορμυμ ραρδαδτ Τεμραδ, βα ἡι α  
 κομαρλι βραγτι δο ταβαρτ δο Ὀρμαν, δαγ νι βι ακο-  
 μαυγ Λετ Μογα δο ρεϰταλ ασι ρεομ α ευυρ, οσυρ  
 νυρ βα ναρϣ δορρομ εαν Τεμραγ δα κορμυμ οδαρ  
 δο ελανναβ ἡελλ, οσυρ δο ραεϰελανναβ Λετ Cumnd  
 αρκενα.

Gilla  
Comgaill  
O'Slebhinn's  
poetical  
address to  
Aedh  
O'Neill.

LXXIII. Κομνδ ανδ δο ρογνι Ἰλλα Κομγαλλ ἡα  
 Σλεβιν ἰν δυαθηρα ἡ ζρεραδτ Αεδα ἡα ἡελλ, οσυρ ἰγα  
 ζρϣαδ δο ταβαρτ κατα δο Ὀρμαν—

Α δυβραδ ριβ ουλ ροδαρ,  
 ἡρλαν λεϣ αε λυζεαδ ἡρ  
 Δο δεβαδ ρε τεγλαδ Ταιλ,  
 Δα ριαδ ο Τεμραγ ραλ ρϣ.  
 Ραδα ρε ἡεϣνδ, Αεδ,  
 Α εραεβ οεβινδ κινδ ἡ ἡαλλ,  
 Κο τοργβα Λετ Cumnd αρ κορ,  
 Κο τορτεα τυνδ μβρομ αρ Ὀρμαν.  
 Δεναδα ρεϣ νεϣνδ οϣτ,  
 ἡα λεϣ λonna λεβενδ λεατ,  
 Ριτ ἰτα αρ ρινλ ἡλι νοδτ,  
 Κυρ ἡ βρον δο Ὀρεγμαγ βαδ.

<sup>1</sup> *Poet.* B. omits the description, "the poet of the Ulaid and of all the north."

<sup>2</sup> *Should come.* B. reads, οσυρ δα τυορταυρ Λετ Cumnd ἡλε λεϣ μαρ ρυ co ἡαεν ἰοναδ, οσυρ co ἡαεν μενμαδ, ἰρ κατ δο βεραδ δο Ὀρμαν, οσυρ δο Λετ Μογα, οσυρ ραεϣδαδτ Τεμρα δο εορμαιν μαρ ρυ; οσυρ μυνα τυορταυρ δο εορ-

μαιν ραορϣι να Τεμραδ. "And if all Leth Cuinn should come with them to one place and with one mind, then to give battle to Brian and to Leth Mogha, and to contend for the freedom of Temhair in like manner; but if they should not come to defend the freedom of Temhair, &c."

<sup>3</sup> *Because.* B. reads, οδἰγ ἡι βαἰ αϰϣαυγ Ὀρμαν οσυρ Λετε Μογα



Aπi βαs zoedel zeib do pιαt  
 Co pηi oenpep popzeγ caē,  
 Hα leiē top Tεmpα i tech mΘpιαn,  
 It[γ]elba bai biaro co bπat.  
 Θpαtαp ouit Maelpeēlαno,  
 Sepe pηp ouit m μαtαp dαn mαc,  
 Oēnα debaro umpi α Aed,  
 Com oūtαiē oib Tεmap Θpεc mβαc.  
 Hαtapβepαt eaētpαno uαib,  
 Cio decmαng, dēntαp bap pēt,  
 Mmη pucαp pe bap pe,  
 Hη puccαo pη pe nα cπic.  
 Copnaro Tεmap, tpeη bap peioη,  
 A peo [leg. peoηαib] Heill nepe bap noupno,  
 Hα pαecαn α lep bap nγαpim,  
 Hη deγ lib αnιm eaētpαno uipno.  
 Aπo zαc oentu, blaēzlan blaēt,  
 Cam caē eliaē bπatαp mαo buaro,  
 Sona pe cumapc caē cuit,  
 Poptall caē uile ilαp pλuαg.  
 Hη camzean ip copu ouib,  
 Cen zub dαmzean, oul co Θpιαn,  
 Hα legio m mallmαg do neoē,  
 Mιp α deoē ip α biaro.  
 Θepipiu tapcepe Opeuo let,  
 Aed pηp α nepzeuo caē loēt,  
 Θeped do celi m leē teap,  
 Hα légiō bap leap do lot.  
 Θeped Eoēu uoi cιαn,  
 Utu uli, apd m dαn.  
 Θepuo Cαtαl cetaē cop,  
 Cuced pep nOιnegmaēt nan.  
 Epuz pep nα pλuαzαib pαp,  
 Tpeuαg ip epuαoαiē α pēp,  
 Mα dα neēαp pαcαro cāc,  
 Oat pepoi co bπat dα hep.

<sup>1</sup> *Thy brother*: i.e., near relative. Maelsechlainn was his nephew, his sister's son.

<sup>2</sup> *They*: i.e., Maelsechlainn and his mother.

<sup>3</sup> *It*: viz., Temhair or Tara. "Ex-terns:" i.e., not of the house of O'Neill.

<sup>4</sup> *Between you*: i.e., between thee (Aedh) and Maelsechlainn.

<sup>5</sup> *Disgrace*. *Lit.* "Disgrace of ex-

For the sake of the Gaedhil take thy shield  
 Against that one man who injures all ;  
 Let not the hill of Temhair come into Brian's house—  
 With those who now possess it let it be for ever.  
 Maelsechlainn is thy brother<sup>1</sup> ;  
 Thy beloved sister is the mother whose son he is ;  
 Make battle for her, O Aedh !  
 They<sup>2</sup> have equal right to strong Temhair, of Breagh.  
 Let not externs carry it<sup>3</sup> away from you ;  
 However difficult, let peace be made between you<sup>4</sup> ;  
 If not carried away in your time  
 It shall not be carried away until the time of the end.  
 Defend Temhair, mighty be your exertion !  
 Ye clans of Niall, by the strength of your hands—  
 Let us not require to call you ;  
 It is not honourable to you that externs should disgrace<sup>5</sup> us.  
 Noble is every union—glorious, renowned ;  
 Beautiful every brother-battle if it be a victory !  
 Prosperous by combining is each part ;  
 Powerful against all evil is a numerous army.  
 The policy that is most proper for you,  
 Although not strong, is to go against Brian ;  
 Surrender not the soft plain<sup>6</sup> to any man—  
 Sweet are its drink and its meat.  
 Bring thou the north of Erinn with thee,  
 O Aedh, who art followed by all parties ;  
 Let thy comrade<sup>7</sup> bring with him the southern half ;  
 Suffer not your interests to be destroyed.  
 Let Eochaidh bring—long the march—  
 All the Ulaid—a noble company ;  
 Let Cathal, the warlike, the just, bring  
 The province of the illustrious men of Olnegmacht.  
 Rise up thou before the armies,  
 Strengthen and harden their ranks ;  
 If thou wilt go, all others will go,  
 Thou shalt be the better of it ever after.

terns [i.e., of Brian and his party] upon us is not honourable [*lit.*, handsome, pleasant] to you.”

<sup>6</sup> *Soft plain.* Meaning Breagh or

Bregia, the rich plain in which Temhair or Tara stood.

<sup>7</sup> *Comrade* : viz., Maelsechlainn. The last word of this line was origin-

A mic Donnaiú ua Heill náir,  
 Fuil gormláno doigrem it gúir,  
 Ar ti Tempa duit otaír,  
 Dat ní Eirend aét co nír.  
 Romano co Driua Droza Cuirc,  
 Ar ferano loza do lot,  
 Eriú romano, erúim leat,  
 Na bat bid amú Eirend orr.  
 A Aed mic Donnaiú o Heill,  
 Surd ar torblano Tempa Fáil,  
 Deirir tiri Arir Oenfir o Driua,  
 Dio giall gac oenfir it lám.  
 Dat lan ní Eirend ar teét,  
 Na cleaét do lebend do Lúirc,  
 Naar nac taáar taúlaig orr,  
 Na leic enoc Cairniac do Cuirc.  
 Coraic in rluaged ar rliét  
 Muréircaig na ruacogal gair,  
 A leirraib glane rot neét,  
 Mimi raiúe rairfear orr.  
 Na fúitúil rem fir in éirt,  
 Deim in rúg aét rúg na rúét,  
 Dio cac fúitúleir do beim,  
 Ir uairiu clann Heill cac nírr.  
 Da tirtair do clura i ceim,  
 Mar da éuadaf a ua Heill náir,  
 Hibad debad let in nuall,  
 Dam in rluag in Temar Fáil.  
 O ré Coruac o cumo Corr,  
 Ir doib taúlaic in torr tair,  
 Aet tic cac a amam em,  
 Ni dallad ráú Heill ar Hiall.

ally written *dear* in the MS., and is corrected apparently by the original scribe to *tear*.

<sup>1</sup> *Noble*. The MS. has *naar* (of Naas?) which ought perhaps to be *nair*, noble. O'Niall is so called in this page (line 26), and *Circuit of Ireland*, line 1. But the rhyme is in favour of *naar*.

<sup>2</sup> *Brugh*. This word signifies a fort, or chieftain's residence. By "Corc's

Brugh" is here meant Cashel; so called from Core, son of Lugaidh, who was king of Cashel in the time of St. Patrick, and was the first to make Cashel the royal residence.

<sup>3</sup> *Of every man*. In the Irish *Oenfir*. There is a play upon words here that cannot be represented in the translation. The word *oenfir*, gen. *oenfir*, signifies literally *one man, unicus, individual*. Art,

- O son of Domhnall, grandson of Niall, the noble,<sup>1</sup>  
 The bright sheen of the sun illumines thee,  
 Since thou art intent upon Temhair for thyself  
 Thou shalt be king of Erinn if thou wilt but come.
- Lead us against Brian of Core's Brugh,<sup>2</sup>  
 On Lugaidh's land be thy ravaging;  
 Go thou before us—slaughter attend thee—  
 Let not the disgrace of Erinn be upon thee.
- O Aedh, son of Domhnall, grandson of Niall,  
 Sit thou on the glorious tower of Temhair-Fail,  
 Wrest the land of Art Oenfer from Brian,  
 Let the hostage of every man<sup>3</sup> be in thy hands.  
 Thou shalt be full king of Erinn by coming  
 Let not thy platform [i.e. Tara] become accustomed to Lure,<sup>4</sup>  
 Since no reproach attaches to thee,  
 Yield not Cormac's<sup>5</sup> Hill to Core.<sup>6</sup>
- Direct the army in the track  
 Of Muirchertach of the red prowess;  
 In vessels of glass he has washed thee<sup>7</sup>;  
 Unless thou advance, thou shalt be advanced upon.
- Serve not thou thyself a man of right;  
 Strike the king, except the supreme king;  
 Let all be in vassalage under thy stroke;  
 Nobler are the race of Niall than any might.
- If thy renown shall spread afar,  
 As I have said, O descendant of Niall the brave!  
 The shout will not be a contest against thee  
 Which is raised by the hosts around Temhair-Fail.
- From the time of Cormac, grandson of just Conn,  
 To his race belongs this western hill;  
 But each man gave his ready life;  
 Niall's fort was not taken from Niall.

king of Ireland, A.D. 220, son of Conn of the hundred battles, was surnamed Oenfer, because he was the only surviving son of his father. The meaning, therefore, is, "Wrest from Brian the lands of king Art *Oenfer*, [i.e., the kingdom of Ireland] and let the hostage of every *oenfer* [i.e., of every individual] be in thy hand."  $\text{D}\epsilon\text{r}\mu\text{r}$  in the preceding line is probably a mistake for  $\text{D}\epsilon\text{r}\mu\text{o}$ .

<sup>4</sup> *Lure*, or *Lorc*: i.e., to Leinster; so called from Loeghaire Lorc of the Liffey, king of Ireland, A.M. 3649.

<sup>5</sup> *Cormac's*. Over the word  $\text{C}\alpha\text{r}\mu\text{m}\alpha\text{c}$  in the MS. a coeval hand has written "vel Cormaic," the more usual spelling.

<sup>6</sup> *Core*: i.e., to Munster. See note <sup>2</sup>, p. 124.

<sup>7</sup> *Washed thee*. This seems a pro-

Καὶ μὶ πο γὰβ Θρινὸ υαβ,  
 Ὀαρ ευαν κοελβινὸ ελαινὸ Ηελλ,  
 Ηὶ τιαῖτ ταρὶ βερναρὸ νεῖς οὐιβ,  
 Ἄρ καὶ τῆρ ἰ Τεμραῖς τρηιν.  
 Ηα λειρῆυ ορτ να hob κατ,  
 Ηιτ πεοῖλ τρῶιτ οα ἔοιρ νο θεοῦ,  
 Ἄ ηὐι τρῆ Κατὰλ να κατ,  
 Ηα λεικ τεῦ τατῶρ το νεοῦ.  
 Ηὶ ηενζνανν βεϋ ζῖ βεϋ μορ,  
 Ἰρ αρ δεζβλαδ τειτ το Ὀμαν,  
 Ḳὶ βεϋ menman λινδ α ράδ,  
 Ἰρ νάρ ρρηενζ ρην Τεμραῖς ριαρ.  
 Σανταῖζ ρῆυ λυννεαῦ να λουζ  
 Ἄρδαιζ ρεο κοναδ κυννεαῦ ανδ,  
 Σερεδ ριτρῆυ λῆρὶ λῆρῆ,  
 Τυερῆυ Καρελ Κυρῆ οα εῖνο.  
 Ἰρτῆρ [vel ἰρατ] μαϋ οινζβαλα οῦ,  
 Μα οινζβαλα λετ ρετλα,  
 Μαο τυ βαρ δε δε ναῦ οαιῦ,  
 Ὀνο λετ υῆι ἰν μαῖτ ἰτα.

αε οὐδ.

The refusal  
of Aedh  
O'Neill.

LXXIV. Ἄρ' βερτ, ἰμορῆο, Ἄεθ Ἡα Ηελλ ἰν ταν βα  
 Τεμαρ accorom .i. ἰε Ceneλ Θοζαν, ρα κοραινρετ α  
 ρῆρῆ, οκυρ ἰντι ἰα μιαδ οα κορναδ α ρῆρῆ, οκυρ  
 αρβερτ ναῦ τιβρεδ α ανμαν ἰ ενοδ καῖα ρο λαμαῖβ  
 Ὀαλαρ το κορνανν ρῆζι το νεοῦ ελε. Ἰρ αρρῆο ρο  
 ἔαιρῆυ leo.

Maelsech-  
lainn visits  
Aedh in  
person, and  
offers to  
resign his  
crown.

Ὀα ροῦτ ἰν ρερ οανα κο Μαλρεϋλαινο, οκυρ αρρετ  
 να ρελα ρῆο οο. Ἰρρῆ κομαρῆι οα ροζνὶ Μαλρεϋ-  
 λαινο, οο λινδ ρην κο τεαῦ Ἄεθα Ἡα Ηελλ, οκυρ βα

verbal expression, equivalent to our proverb of "dwelling in glass houses." But over the word νεῦτ, "washing," in a coeval hand, are written the letters ρτ in the MS., probably to indicate another reading, νερτ, "strength,"—"in vessels of glass is thy strength." But qu.?

<sup>1</sup> Over a gap: i.e., not one of you

obtained the sovereignty by any byeway or treachery.

<sup>2</sup> *Lore.* See above, note 4, p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> *When they.* Lit., "When Temhair belonged to them, viz., to the Cinel Eoghan;" i.e., the family of Eoghan, the branch of the O'Neill of which Aedh was the chieftain. B. reads, an tan πο βα Τεμαρ oc Ceneλ

Of all the kings of you that ruled Erinn,  
 Of the sweet musical race of the sons of Niall,  
 No one of you came over a gap<sup>1</sup>  
 From any quarter to strong Temhair.  
 Let him not come upon you—refuse not battle—  
 You are not dead flesh, in foot or horse ;  
 O descendant of the three Cathals of the battle,  
 Leave not the house of thy fathers to any man !  
 Tis no small valour, although the small is great ;  
 Tis with high renown thou goest against Brian,  
 Although it is small courage in us to say so,  
 Tis a shame to have old Temhair dragged to the West.  
 Covet thou Luimnech of ships  
 For this purpose—that thou mayest be remembered there,  
 For thee will shout the Liphe of Lore,<sup>2</sup>  
 Pull thou down Caisel of Core.  
 Thou art a person worthy of it ;  
 If thou preserve thy worthiness in thy day—  
 If thou be active now to the last,  
 To thee shall belong all the good that remains.

THOU ART.

LXXIV. Aedh O'Neill, however, answered--"When they,<sup>3</sup> The refusal  
 namely, the Cenél Eoghain, had Temhair, they defended of Aedh  
 its freedom ; and whoever possesses it, let him defend its O'Neill.  
 freedom ;" and he said "that he would not risk his life in  
 battle against the Dál Cais, in defence of sovereignty for  
 any other man." This was the final answer.<sup>4</sup>

The man of poetry returned to Maelsechlainn<sup>5</sup> and re- Maelsech-  
 lated to him those tidings. The counsel that Maelsech- lann visits  
 lann acted on was this : he went himself to the house of Aedh in  
 Aedh O'Neill, and he spoke to him and offered him host- person, and  
 offers to  
 resign his  
 crown.

Θοξαν πο κορηαταρ αραρε, οσυ  
 αν τι ασα μβιαδ ε φειν οα κορηαν  
 cona γαιρηι: "When Temhair belong-  
 ed to the Cinel Eoghan its freedom  
 was defended, and whoever possesses it  
 let it be his business to defend its  
 freedom."

<sup>4</sup> Answer. Lit., "Thus he con-  
 cluded with them," i. e., the negotia-  
 tion was concluded between Aedh and the  
 ambassador of Maelsechlainn.

<sup>5</sup> To Maelsechlainn. B. reads, οα  
 πορηιη ρηη οο Μαελσεχλαιηη,  
 "to tell this to Maelsechlainn."

icca azallam, ocuy tapzto bpaçti do, ocuy no pað  
 puy, Coçam Teimhaiç duit peim ap pe, ocuy do beppa  
 ziallu duit, daiz ip peyri lem beit accatpo na beit ic  
 ðrian. Daiz ni pil a acmanz azamto can teaðt i teað  
 mðrian muu çiriu leam i cenò caða, ocuy maði leði  
 Cunno arcena.

Aedh as-  
 sembles the  
 Cenel  
 Eoghain.

Ro çinolit, tna, Ceneal Eozam iarpu co hCced Ua  
 Heill, ocuy no muu doib in pcel ym .i. Maelpeclanò  
 i tapzti ziall do ap dul i cenò caða leip in nazto  
 ðrian ocuy Ðalcaip. Ro paipet Cenel Eozam ni bi  
 and ym [aðt] elatu, daiz no itip Maelpeclanò nað  
 zebato Cced a ziallu, daiz ba ym ocuy ba huaplu  
 Maelpeclanò ma Cced, ocuy bat cuma leip i atpim  
 do toçt i cenò caða leip, ocuy co mapbat do denam  
 doib, ocuy Ðalcaip.

Aedh ad-  
 vises deli-  
 beration.

Çibeit Cced ppu toçt i comapli, ocuy i cocuy, ocuy  
 ppeçpa maðt do tabaip ap Maelpeclanò muap na  
 bat doçtuò ptaçemuai doib a çipuy cucu.

The answer  
 of the Clan.

Da euataym i caçuy, ocuy no batap ica muap  
 ca poçpa bat comat doibpeon ppu a nanman in nuap  
 da paçtuy i cenò caða ppu Ðalcaip. Daiz de etatay  
 nað teiçpitiy Ðalcaip rompoçom, ocuy nað teiçpitiy  
 peom ppu Ðalcaip; ocuy da etatay na bi acmanz a

<sup>1</sup> *Hostages*. B. has tapçcað toð  
 Temhaiy, "he offered him Temhair;"  
 i.e., he offered to resign to him the  
 sovereignty of Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> *Temhair*. Coçam duit pém í,  
 B., "Defend it for thyself."

<sup>3</sup> *Said he*. Omit., B.

<sup>4</sup> *Thau*. Ina, B.

<sup>5</sup> *Power*. Açpamec, B.

<sup>6</sup> *Falling into*. Lit., "going into  
 Brian's house;" i.e., becoming one of  
 his vassals.

<sup>7</sup> *Come not*. Muna ttiopayyri, B.  
*At the head of the battle*; i.e., as com-  
 mander-in-chief.

<sup>8</sup> *Assembled*. B. omits tna, and  
 iarpu.

<sup>9</sup> *Offered*. Ccc tapztyri, B.

<sup>10</sup> *Could be*. Har bo çóip ym,  
 oip no ptoip Maelpeclanm, B.:  
 "That this was not right, for Mael-  
 sechlainn knew, &c."

<sup>11</sup> *Older*: i.e., in pedigree; of an elder  
 branch of the family. B. reads, nað  
 zebato Cced a bpaçtoe, oip ba yme.

<sup>12</sup> *Of themselves*. Ðóib pém ocuy  
 to, B.

<sup>13</sup> *Advised*. Cçubapit Cced pu  
 toçt hi ccoçay, ocuy hi ccoihaple,  
 do tabaip teiçppeçpa, B.

<sup>14</sup> *Secret council*. Caçuy, the same  
 word spelt coçuy, three lines before.  
 B. reads hi ccoçuy, another variation  
 of orthography.

ages<sup>1</sup>; and said to him—"Defend Temhair<sup>2</sup> for thyself," said he,<sup>3</sup> "and I will give thee hostages; for I would rather be dependent on thee than<sup>4</sup> on Brian. For we have not power<sup>5</sup> to prevent our falling into<sup>6</sup> Brian's hands if thou come not<sup>7</sup> with me at the head of the battle, and the nobles of Leth Cuinn also."

The Cenél Eoghain were then assembled<sup>8</sup> to the presence of Aedh O'Neill, and he related to them the fact that Maelsechlainn had offered<sup>9</sup> hostages to him provided he would go with him at the head of the battle against Brian and the Dál Cais. The Cenél Eoghain said that that could be<sup>10</sup> nothing but evasion, for Maelsechlainn knew that Aedh would not accept of hostages from him, because Maelsechlainn was older<sup>11</sup> and nobler than Aedh; and he cares not, provided they go with him to the head of the battle, to the mutual slaughter of themselves<sup>12</sup> and the Dál Cais.

Aedh assembles the Cenél Eoghain.

Aedh advised<sup>13</sup> them to retire into secret council and conference, and to give a favourable answer to Maelsechlainn, so that his journey to them should not be a rejection of the sovereignty on their part.

Aedh advises deliberation.

They retired to secret council,<sup>14</sup> and they asked themselves what benefit would accrue to them compared with their lives,<sup>15</sup> should they take the lead in battle against the Dál Cais. For they knew<sup>16</sup> that the Dál Cais would not retreat before them; and that they would not retreat before the Dál Cais; and they knew that it would be

The answer of the Clan.

<sup>15</sup> *Their lives.* *Ṫois̄ p̄ru a nan-*  
*mannas̄, B.*

<sup>16</sup> *They knew.* *Ṫas̄ p̄ro p̄et̄tat-*  
*tar̄p̄rom̄ nas̄ teis̄p̄r̄t̄t̄ir̄ Ṫal̄ c̄Cair̄*  
*roip̄par̄an, oc̄ur̄ do p̄et̄tat̄tar̄*  
*nas̄ bis̄ ac̄p̄ans̄ a neop̄anā ac̄t̄*  
*comm̄ar̄bas̄ ā d̄ēilē dō Ṫēn̄aīn;*  
*oc̄ur̄ dō r̄á̄d̄p̄ros̄ nar̄ bō p̄ur̄á̄l̄*  
*lēō r̄ōc̄ar̄ m̄á̄r̄ sā c̄loim̄ tar̄ a*  
*neip̄, óir̄ ní̄ bis̄ō ā p̄ú̄l̄ lē r̄ōc̄ar̄*  
*nā lē r̄om̄ans̄ Ṫō br̄as̄ māō sā*  
*oc̄ur̄p̄tē an̄ cāt̄; oc̄ur̄ ā sāub̄r̄at̄ar̄*  
*an̄ cinēsh̄ nar̄ teis̄ r̄iā lōcl̄ann-*  
*coib̄, .i. an̄ cinēō ar̄ c̄r̄osā r̄an̄*

*toishan, B.:* "For they knew that the Dal Cais would not retreat before them, and they knew that it would not be possible to separate them, and that they would mutually slaughter each other; and they said that they sought no great benefits for their children after them, for they could have no hope of benefit or of wealth for themselves for ever, if the battle was fought; and they said that the tribe that retreated not before the Lochlanns, who were the bravest tribe in the world, &c."

netpana da compairtuir oen cað aét cað do commairbas  
 a cele tob. Ro pairpet nar bupal leo roera da clainn  
 daney. Das ne [*leg. ní*] hé a ruil fein no biao pe  
 roera da cuirtea in cað. Das ro etatar in luét nar  
 teið pe loðlanmaðab no pe Danmarzaðab .i. peyin  
 einuio y epoda y [in] doiman nað teiðrituir rompurom.  
 Ir y, imoyro, comarli da ronao leo .i. leð pey Miodi  
 ocuy pepao Tempað toib, amal ro bas comouðas  
 toib, ocuy do beptay cað malle pyy.

They de-  
 mand from  
 Maelsech-  
 lainn half  
 of his terri-  
 tory.

Maelsech-  
 lainn de-  
 parts in  
 wrath.

He submits  
 to Brian  
 and offers  
 him hos-

tages.  
 Brian's  
 answer.

LXXV. Ro hinnireo do Maelseclainn in ycel yin,  
 ocuy ro gab pey mox é, ocuy ro mox ro doimdas, ocuy  
 luro iayyin co clainn Colman, ocuy mox ro in ycel  
 yin, ocuy y comarli da ron teét i teað mðrian. Da  
 luro iayyin da pìet dec marcað co toraét co pupull  
 mðrian, can cor, can comar, aét eneac ðrian fein  
 ocuy Dalcair, ocuy mox na ycela pyi do, ocuy ro  
 pair da basbas acmanz comao cað do bepað, ocuy o  
 nað puar arber comao do denum a puarom tano  
 ocuy co tibped bpaeti do.

Ro pezar ðrian yin, ocuy ro pair; das y anlaio  
 tanacairu eucainn, ayre, can cor, can comar, can  
 coma, paðao eayro mbliadna duitriu, can gill can  
 etira diarpair ort; ocuy paðmaim duitraiz in luéta

<sup>1</sup> *Danmarkians.* Omit., B. Re han-  
 marzaðab, D., for pe danmarza-  
 ðab, according to the usual orthogra-  
 phy of this MS., omitting the eclipsed  
 or quiescent letter, and so in the line  
 preceding etatar for petatar.

<sup>2</sup> *Therefore.* Ocuy arí coinairle, B.

<sup>3</sup> *The men.* B. reads, leth Míde  
 ocuy peparann na Teinpað a coim-  
 ouécar dóib, ocuy do bepað cað  
 in maile pyú: "That half of Míde  
 [i.e., Meath], and of the territory of  
 Temhair be their own inheritance, and  
 that then they would fight the battle  
 along with them."

<sup>4</sup> *Was told.* Do hinnireð, B.

<sup>5</sup> *Great wrath.* B. reads, ocuy do  
 gab pey mox Maeseclainn, ocuy

do mēiz ro doimad, ocuy do mēiz  
 ar yin co clainn Colmán: "And  
 great wrath seized Maelsechlainn, and  
 he departed in displeasure, and he re-  
 turned then to the Clan Colmáin, &c."

<sup>6</sup> *To submit.* Lit., "to go into Brian's  
 house;" i.e., become vassal or tribu-  
 tary to Brian; see note 6, p. 128. Ocuy  
 arí comarli do ronao leð, .i.  
 Maelechlainn, do tol i tech ðri-  
 an, B.: "And this was the advice  
 they gave him, viz., Maelsechlainn, to  
 go into Brian's house."

<sup>7</sup> *Brian's tent.* Do luro iayyin  
 Maeseclainn da pìet déac mar-  
 cach go puac pupal ðrian ar  
 paéce na Teinpað, B.: "Then  
 Maelsechlainn went forth with twelve

impossible to separate them, should they once join in battle, and that each would kill the other. They said that they sought not benefits for their children after them, for they themselves could have no hope of any benefits if the battle was fought. For they knew that the people who retreated not before the Lochlanns, nor before the Danmarkians,<sup>1</sup> the bravest nation in the world, would not retreat before each other. The resolution, therefore,<sup>2</sup> that was adopted by them was this: "that half the men<sup>3</sup> of Midhe and of the territory of Temhair be ceded to them, as if it had been their inheritance, and that then they would fight the battle along with him."

They demand from Maelsechlainn half of his territory.

LXXV. This fact was told<sup>4</sup> to Maelsechlainn, and great wrath<sup>5</sup> seized him, and he departed in displeasure; and he returned then to the Clann Colmain, and told them these tidings; and the advice they gave him was to submit<sup>6</sup> to Brian. He, therefore, set out with twelve score horsemen, until he arrived at Brian's tent,<sup>7</sup> without guarantee or protection, beyond the honour of Brian himself,<sup>8</sup> and of the Dál Cais; and he related to him<sup>9</sup> these facts; and he said<sup>10</sup> that had he been able he would have given him battle, and as he was not able, he said that he came to make his submission to him, and to give him hostages.

Maelsechlainn departs in wrath.

He submits to Brian and offers him hostages.

Brian answered<sup>11</sup> that, and said: "Since<sup>12</sup> thou hast come unto us thus," said he, "without guarantee, without protection, without treaty,<sup>13</sup> we give thee a truce<sup>14</sup> for a year, without asking pledge or hostage from thee; and we will

Brian's answer.

score horsemen, until he arrived at Brian's tent, on the green of Tara."

<sup>8</sup> *Himself.* B. omits *pein*.

<sup>9</sup> *To him.* "Οο Ὀβριαν, B., "to Brian."

<sup>10</sup> *He said.* B. reads, *ocuy a ου-βαρετα σα mberē a acpauz acce zyraβ caθ το ἕβραδ, ocuy ó naé puañe, a ουβαρετα zyraβ το οέ-νωñ a puaapouñ támu, ocuy zo ττιυβραδσ βραζοσε οό: "And he said that if he had been able he would have given battle, but as he was not able, he*

said that he came to make his submission, and to give him hostages."

<sup>11</sup> *Answered.* B. reads, *ocuy po fpeccapn Ὀβριαν: (pezapn in D. being the same word with the initial p omitted.)*

<sup>12</sup> *Since.* B. omits *σαζ;* and for *ταπααapn*, reads *ταυζαδap.*

<sup>13</sup> *Treaty.* *Coñnaδ, B.*

<sup>14</sup> *Truce.* *Racharδ capnoe βλια-ona ταιτ, ζαν ζιαλλυ ζαν ερωπε ταιpματ φοpετ, ocuy παάαμμε*

ryn impadiryu, co rinnam ca ppegra do bepat foraino, .1. Aed ocuy Eocharo, ocuy mað cað do bepat dum, ar ye, na taryru nar nasharo leo. Afbert Maelpeclaino nað pasaro etep, ocuy afbert nað i comarli bas coy pobal pe ðrian, aæt bas coy do toæt da tays dais ba degturyr do cena eryun do tæct na tæc. Ocuy ba maæt la cað uli in comarli rin, uayr in pabi aæt dero lointi accu; ocuy yr ri rin comarli daryonrat.

Brian presents twelve score steeds to Maelsechlainn, who bestows them upon Murchad, Brian's son.

Tuccat da picet dec ead anoyin do Maelpeclaino o ðrian, ocuy in pabi don dana picet dec bai aroen pe Maelpeclaino nec yur ar bu ead do bpeit maci ley, co tuc Maelpeclaino uli iat do Murðao mac ðrian tuc a lam in a lam in la rin. Dais yr é rin oen ruzdomna do epab Erend nað pab i coracuy ac Maelpeclaino pemi rin. Ro paryat, imoyro, iaryin po yræt ocuy po bennaættain, ocuy tancatar da tiz.

Brian sails to Athlone: takes hostages from Connaught and from Maelsechlainn, A.D. 1001.

LXXVI. Do ronao moy coblað muryoi [iaryin, accino bliatna, la ðrian co hclæluan, ocuy rluag ar tye ar pwo Connaæt, zur sabatar bpaizoe Connaætta uile yru haoitpæctman, ocuy po rureth bpaizoe uaða ar Maoleclainn, ocuy po motaic Maoleclainn bpaizoe conuice rin in aenlò. Tuccað bpaizoe Connaætta, ocuy Maoleclainn zo hclæluan. Impadoyr ðrian leo rin dia tizh.

Brian meets the O'Neills at Dunsalk.

Do ronao moy rluoizib auyr accino bliatna la ðrian co Dún Deleca, ocuy po rureth bpaizoe uað ar Cloth ocuy ar Eocharo, no cað dporera porra muna tuzdoyr,

oionnrayizib in loeta rin impadoyr zo pponnam, 7c., B.

<sup>1</sup> *Aedh.* Aod ó Heil, B.

<sup>2</sup> *Said he.* Omit., B. Na taryru leð mar nasharo, B.

<sup>3</sup> *Said.* Ocuy atbert. B.

<sup>4</sup> *He said.* Afbert nar bi an comarle óoy doðal le ðrian do denaþ, ocuy ba cora, 7c., B.

<sup>5</sup> *Submission.* Lit., "from his [Maelsechlainn's] having gone into his [Brian's] house." See above, note 6, p. 128. Do aæaætpom da tiz, B.

<sup>6</sup> *Provisions.* Da lóimtib, B.

<sup>7</sup> *Twelve score.* Don da picet dec bai in paryaro Maoleclainn, aon dume yar ar miaoð each do bpeit ley ma aice, B.

<sup>8</sup> *All.* Omit., B.

<sup>9</sup> *For he was.* Dais do bé rin en ruzdomna dperab Eryun nað pabæ ar coracay, B. To understand this transaction the reader should know that by accepting the twelve score horses, Maelsechlainn acknow-

go to visit those people whom thou hast mentioned, that we may know what answer they will give unto us, viz., Aedh<sup>1</sup> and Eochaidh, and if they will give us battle," said he<sup>2</sup> "come not thou with them against us." Maelsechlainn said<sup>3</sup> that he would not go on any account; and he said<sup>4</sup> that Brian was not acting on a right advice, for it would be better for him to return to his home, because his expedition was sufficiently successful in having received submission<sup>5</sup> from himself. And that advice was pleasing to all, because they were at the last of their provisions<sup>6</sup>; and this was the advice they adopted.

Twelve score steeds were then given to Maelsechlainn by Brian, and there was not one of the twelve score<sup>7</sup> men who accompanied Maelsechlainn who would deign to carry a led horse with him; so that Maelsechlainn bestowed them all<sup>8</sup> upon Murchad, son of Brian, who had given his hand into his hand on that day. For he was<sup>9</sup> the only royal heir of the men of Erin who was not in alliance with Maelsechlainn before that time. They then<sup>10</sup> parted in peace and with benedictions, and repaired to their respective homes.<sup>11</sup>

Brian presents twelve score steeds to Maelsechlainn, who bestows them upon Murchad, Brian's son.

LXXVI. A great naval expedition was made [at the end<sup>12</sup> of a year after this, by Brian to Ath Luain, and an army by land throughout Connacht, so that he received the hostages of all Connacht in one week; and hostages were sought by him from Maelsechlainn, and Maelsechlainn conducted hostages to that place on the same day. The hostages of Connacht and of Maelsechlainn having been conveyed to Athluain, Brian returned with them to his house.

Brian sails to Athlone: takes hostages from Connaught and from Maelsechlainn, A. D. 1001.

A great expedition was made again, at the end of a year, by Brian to Dun Delga, and hostages were sought by him from Aedh, and from Eochaidh; or that war

Brian meets the O'Neills at Dundalk.

ledged Brian's sovereignty (see *Book of Rights*, p. 176). Maelsechlainn's followers refused to lead them and Maelsechlainn therefore bestowed them upon Murchad, Brian's son, in token of alliance and friendship.

<sup>10</sup> *Then*. Ro fccarpatcar iaprin B.

<sup>11</sup> *Homes*. 70a ττιζιβ, B.

<sup>12</sup> *At the end*. Here there is another defect in the MS. D., owing to the loss of a leaf.

co ttangattaríðe .i. Cosadh ocuy Eochaid da accallanñ  
 70 Dúin Dealgá, 70 nderriat ríð ann, ocuy orrath, ocuy  
 cáirde mbliadhna dóibrium do dénanñ accomaple an  
 cat no an bpaighe do bepdar hi cenno bliadhna, ocuy  
 70 ríð dóibrium ar Maolrígellann no ar Conna-  
 ctas ríð an mbliadhna ríð, aét a mbeit ma ccáirde.

Brian  
 conquers  
 Ulster,  
 A.D. 1002.

Aodh and  
 Eochaidh  
 killed  
 at Craebh  
 Tulcha,  
 A.D. 1003.

Brian con-  
 quers the  
 North,  
 A.D. 1004.

Brian's  
 expedition  
 round  
 Ireland,  
 A.D. 1005.

LXXVII. Do ronadh moírluaigíð dperas Erenn uile  
 le Drian etir gall ocuy gaothel, do neoð ba ó íliað  
 Ruad atuað, accionn bliadhna iarrin 70 hÍlta; sup  
 gab gallobh Ulað uile ó do réimio Cosadh cath dó. Ocuy  
 accionn da bliadhna iarrin do rad Cosadh ocuy Eochaid  
 cat Craibe Tulcha, dú ar marbhad iad arason, ocuy  
 po marbhad maete Ulað uile ann.

Do ronadh moírluigíð iarrin la Drian, co raibe  
 aghaig ióttailtinn, ocuy 70 raibe reatíann in Aro-  
 macha co tucc ríche uinghe dóir ar alóir in Aro-  
 macha, ocuy co tucc gallobh Ulað ocuy Dalnaraðe,  
 ocuy in tuarceirt leir arcena, cennoða Cenel Conuill.

LXXVIII. Do roime Drian mórluaigíð iarrin accionn  
 bliadhna ele timcell Erenn, sup gab bpaighe per  
 nErenn uile. Ipeð do dóirí tpe lár Connact, ocuy  
 hi Maig nllí ríð Coirríliað, ocuy hi tTir Ailella,  
 ocuy hi ceirch Cairpre, ocuy tar Slisceach, ocuy lán  
 éle le muir, ocuy lán ðer le tir, ocuy le Deinn Sul-  
 ban, tar Duib, ocuy tar Droðaoir, ocuy in Maig nEne,  
 ocuy tar Aét Senaig agh Cairpreað, ocuy ióttir nlléda,  
 ocuy tar Dperar Mór, ocuy tar Ferrað, ocuy ióttir  
 Eoghann, ocuy in Dail Riada, ocuy in Dail Aaraðe, ocuy  
 in Ulað sup gabattar po luignaraðe i mDealað Dúin.  
 Ro léice ríð Erenn iarrin dia ttið ríð rompa. Do

<sup>1</sup> *Men of Erin.* A coeval hand has written over these words in the MS., no per nErenn.

<sup>2</sup> *Lammas.* The *Ann. Ul.* read, co roactaruy luignar do Dealach nDúin, "until at Lammas he reached Belach-dúin," or "Belach-múin," as in Dr. O'Connor's edition. The *Four Masters* use the same word, co ttor-

raactatar, or doiraatar, "he reached." But the text is correct; gabattar is a verb deponent, and signifies he took up at, or took possession of the place. We have an instance of this construction, ch. xxxi. p. 34, *supra*. Sup gabrat ar eicim in Duiblinn, "they took possession by force of Dublin;" *lit.*, "took up [a position] in

should be proclaimed against them, if they gave them not. And they came, viz., Aedh and Eochaidh, to confer *with Brian* to Dún Dealga, and they made a peace and truce there; and they were given a year's time to come to a decision, whether it should be battle or hostages they would give at the end of the year; and that they were not to attack Maelsechlainn, nor the Connacht men, during that year, but continue as friends. They make a truce for a year.

LXXVII. A great expedition of all the men of Erin,<sup>1</sup> both Gall and Gaedhil, of all who were from Sliabh Fuaid southward, was made by Brian at the end of a year after that against the Ulaidh, and he took the hostages of all Ulaidh since Aedh failed to give him battle. And in two years after that Aedh and Eochaidh fought the battle of Craebh Tulcha, in which they were both killed together; and all the nobles of Ulaidh were killed there. Brian conquers Ulster, A.D. 1002.  
Aodh and Eochaidh killed at Craebh Tulcha, A.D. 1003.

A great expedition was made after that by Brian; and he was a night in Tailltin; and he went from that to Ard Macha, and he laid twenty ounces of gold on the altar in Ard Macha; and he brought away with him the hostages of Ulaidh, and of Dál Araidhe, and of all the north likewise, except the Cinel Conaill. Brian conquers the North, A.D. 1004.

LXXVIII. Brian made a great expedition afterwards at the end of another year all round Erin, and took the hostages of all the men of Erin. His route was through the middle of Connacht, and into Magh-n-Ai, over the Coir Shliabh, and into Tir Ailella; and into the country of Cairpre, and beyond Sligeach, and keeping his left hand to the sea, and his right hand to the land and to Beinn Gulban, over Dubh and over Drobhaois, and into Magh-n-Eine, and over Ath Seanaigh at Easruaidh; and into Tir Aedha, and over Bearnas Mór, and over Fearsad, and into Tir Eoghain, and into Dál Riada, and into Dál Araidhe, and into Ulaidh, until about Lammas<sup>2</sup> he halted at Belach Duin. He then dismissed the men of Erin to their homes Brian's expedition round Ireland, A.D. 1005.

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Dublin." In the old Irish of the Book of Armagh *poḡ(ṭ)* occurs in the same sense, "he took up at" (a place).

ΛΟΤΤΑΡ ΛΑΪΣΗΝ ΤΑΡ ΘΡΕΞΑ ΒΗΘ ΘΕΡ ΔΙΑ ΤΤΙΞΙΒ, ΟCΥΡ ΖΟΙΛ  
 ΤΑΡ ΜΟΥΡ ΖΟ ΗΑΤΕΛΙΑΪ, ΟCΥΡ CΟ ΡΟΡΤ ΛΑΡΞΕ, ΟCΥΡ  
 CΟ ΛΙΜΜΝΕΑΪ, ΟCΥΡ CΟΝΝΑΪΤΑ ΡΟΡ ΡΥΘ ΜΙΘΕ ΡΙΑΡ ΔΙΑ  
 ΤΤΙΞΙΒ.

Supplies  
 himself  
 with provi-  
 sions at  
 Craebh  
 Tulcha.

Ἴρ ἀνν βαί ὀρίαν ἡ cCραοιβ̄ Τυλῆα, οcυρ Ἰλαῖθ̄ ἀγα  
 βιαταῖθ̄ ἀνν. Τυccρατ̄ δὸ ἀνν δά̄ .c. δέcc μαρτ, δᾱ .c.  
 .x. μυc, οcυρ δᾱ cεθ̄ δέcc μολτ, οcυρ ρο̄ ἔιοθ̄λαc ὀριαν  
 δά̄ .c. δέcc εαῖθ̄ δόιβ̄ρηον, ρε̄ ταιοιβ̄ ὀρη, οcυρ ἀρηccιτ,  
 οcυρ ἔτοαῖξ; τοῖξ̄ ἡ δ̄εαῖαῖθ̄ βιαταῖθ̄ ἀεν̄ βαιλε̄ δίοθ̄ ὀ  
 ὀριαν̄ ζαῑ each, ἡο̄ ἡί̄ διαματῶη βυρδεαῖθ̄ ε̄ τρ̄αῖξ̄βάλ.

Levies tri-  
 bnte upon  
 the Saxons,  
 Welsh, the  
 men of  
 Lennox of  
 Scotland,  
 and Argyle.

Ῥο̄ cυρ̄ cοβ̄λαc μαιρη̄θε̄ ιαρη̄ν̄ ἀρ̄ μαιρ̄ .ι. Ζοῖλλ  
 Αῖταῖλιαῖθ̄, οcυρ̄ Ρυρτ̄ Λαρη̄ξε, οcυρ̄ Ἰᾱ cCεινρηλαῖξ̄,  
 οcυρ̄ Ἰᾱ ἡθαῖατῶη Μυῖῆαν, οcυρ̄ ὑρη̄ῶρη̄ ρερ̄ ἡθρη̄νο  
 το̄ ἡεοῖθ̄ ρορταρ̄ ιονμαρ̄ᾱ δίοθ̄; ζυρ̄ τοβ̄αζρη̄οτ̄ ἀν̄ cίορ̄  
 ριοῖθ̄ᾱ θ̄haxan οcυρ̄ ὀρηταν, οcυρ̄ Λεμναῖξ̄, οcυρ̄ [*leg.* ι]  
 Αῖβαν, οcυρ̄ Αῖρηρ̄ ζαιοῖθ̄ελ̄ υἷλε, οcυρ̄ ᾱ ἡβρηαῖξ̄θε̄ οcυρ̄  
 ἀρη̄ορη̄ε, μαλλ̄ε̄ λε̄ μοιρ̄ cίορ̄. Ὅο̄ ροῖον̄ ὀριαν̄ ἀν̄ cίρ̄  
 υἷλε̄ μαρ̄ το̄ δ̄ιξ̄ .ι. ἀτρη̄αν̄ το̄ ριξ̄ Αῖταῖλιαῖθ̄, οcυρ̄ ἀτρη̄αν̄  
 τοccαῖθ̄ Λαῖξ̄ην, οcυρ̄ ἡᾱ ἡθαῖαῖθ̄ Μυῖῆαν, οcυρ̄ ἀτρη̄αν̄  
 εἷλε̄ δ̄αερ̄ δ̄άνα, οcυρ̄ εαλαῖθ̄να, οcυρ̄ δᾱ ζαῖθ̄ τυῖνε̄ ἀρ̄  
 ἡο̄ ραννε̄ ᾱ λερ̄.

Ireland  
 enjoys  
 profound  
 peace.

LXXIX. Cῖο τρ̄ᾱ αῖτ̄ ταννε̄ ὀριαν̄ μὸρ̄cυαρη̄τ̄ ριξ̄  
 τιν̄θ̄ελλ̄ ἔρη̄νο̄ ἀῖῆλαῖθ̄ ρῖν, οcυρ̄ το̄ ροccρατῶη ριῖῖάν̄  
 ἔρη̄ον̄ λερ̄, ετῖρ̄ cεαλλα, οcυρ̄ τιαῖᾱ, cο̄ ἡθρη̄νατ̄ ριῖ̄ ἡ  
 ἔρη̄ον̄ υἷλε̄ ρε̄ ἀλῖν. Ῥο̄ ῖαῖτ̄, οcυρ̄ ρο̄ ῖυῖβ̄ρη̄ξ̄ λυῖτ̄  
 μορ̄τ̄ᾱ ροῖλα, οcυρ̄ τῖβερ̄η̄ξε, οcυρ̄ cοccαῖθ̄. Ῥο̄ cρη̄οθ̄,  
 οcυρ̄ ρο̄ ἡῖαρ̄β̄, οcυρ̄ ρο̄ μυθ̄ηαῖθ̄ μερ̄ηλεαῖᾱ, οcυρ̄ βῖτ̄-  
 βεναῖᾱ, οcυρ̄ ροῖλαῖθ̄ᾱ ἔρη̄ον̄. Ῥο̄ ρερ̄ιορ̄, ρο̄ ρεαοῖλ̄,

Brian en-  
 forces law  
 and order.

<sup>1</sup> *Purveyor*. The *Biatach* or *Biadhatach*, an officer whose duty it was to supply provisions to all chieftains and persons of rank, travelling with attendants through the country.

<sup>2</sup> *And Alba*. The word in the original being in the genitive case (nom. *Alba*, gen. *Alban*), it is evident that for 7 *Alban* in the text, "the Lemnaigh and Scotland," we should read .ι. *Alban*, "the Lemnaigh [or men

of Lennox] i.e., of Scotland." This removes the impropriety of distinguishing Scotland from Lennox and Argyle. The Lemnaigh were descended from Maine Leamhna (so called from the river Leamhan), who was son of Corc, king of Munster, fifth in descent from Oilfoll Olum, and of the same race as Brian (O'Flaherty *Ogyg.* p. 384); the Airer-Gaedhil ["*Fines Gadeliorum*"], or men of Ar-

in all directions. The Laighin went over Bregha southward to their homes; and the foreigners over the sea to Ath Cliath, and to Port Lairge, and to Luimnech; and the Connacht-men through Midhe, westwards to their homes.

Brian was then at Craebh Tulcha, and the Ulaidh with him getting him provisions there. They supplied him there with twelve hundred beeves; twelve hundred hogs, and twelve hundred wethers; and Brian bestowed twelve hundred horses upon them, besides gold, and silver, and clothing. For no purveyor<sup>1</sup> of any of their towns departed from Brian without receiving a horse or some other gift that deserved his thanks.

Supplies himself with provisions at Craebh Tulcha.

He sent forth after that a naval expedition upon the sea, viz., the Gaill of Ath Cliath, and of Port Lairge, and of the Ui Ceinnselaigh, and of the Ui Eathach of Munhain, and of almost all the men of Erinn, such of them as were fit to go to sea; and they levied royal tribute from the Saxons and Britons, and the Lemhnaigh of Alba,<sup>2</sup> and Airer-Gaedhil, and their pledges and hostages along with the chief tribute. Brian distributed all the tribute according to rights, viz., a third part of it to the king of Ath Cliath; and a third to the warriors of Laighin and of the Ui Eathach of Munhain; and another third to the professors of sciences and arts, and to every one who was most in need of it.

Levies tribute upon the Saxons, Welsh, the men of Lennox of Scotland, and Argyle.

LXXIX. So Brian returned from his great royal visitation around all Erinn made in this manner; and the peace of Erinn was proclaimed by him, both of churches and people; so that peace throughout all Erinn was made in his time. He fined and imprisoned the perpetrators of murders, trespass, and robbery, and war. He hanged, and killed, and destroyed the robbers and thieves, and plunderers of Erinn. He extirpated, dispersed, banished,

Ireland enjoys profound peace.

Brian enforces law and order.

gyle, were also of Irish race, so that the object of this paragraph is to claim for Brian the supreme sovereignty of the Gaelic race. But it is most probably an interpolation inserted by some zealous partizan. The next chapter continues the history from Brian's

"great royal visitation round Ireland," without any reference to this foreign expedition; nor is there a record of his having invaded England, Wales, and Scotland in any other historical authority.

Complete subjugation of the Danes.

po ðealaŷ, po lins, po lomair, po leoir, po mill, ocyr po muthaioð Ŝullu gaça tair, ocyr gaça tucaðe in Ærenn uile so forpleðan. Ro marð an a roŷa, ocyr a ruirreacha, a tpeitill ocyr a tpein inlið, a laçzale ocyr ŷaircið. Ro ðær, ocyr po moŷraiaŷ a maier, ocyr a peaðtairpeða, ocyr a ruatreacha a nañair, ocyr a macaia maerða morŷlaia, ocyr a nuŷena mine macðaçta; comtoð do rin po raðeð an lað .i.

Ro bpaomnað 7ul.

A lone woman, bearing a ring of gold, travels unmolested in Ireland.

LXXX. Iar monnarbað moþpo Ŝall a heþinn uile, ocyr a ocyr Ærenn na roçean, tannce aenðen ó Thoraŷ tuairceirt Ærenn, co Clíoðna ðeirceirt Ærenn, ocyr pañ ór ar eaçliurc pe ahair, ocyr ni þair a rlað, na a rapuccað do ðenanñ; conað aipe rin po çan an rile—

O Thoraŷ co Clíoðna cair,  
I r pañ ór aice pe a hair,  
I ré þriam taoibzil nar tím,  
Do çimçil aomben Ærinn.

Brian encourages learning.

Ro cumtoazeð leir ðia cealla caðair Ærenn, ocyr a neiñeða. Ro curairt raoiðe, ocyr maŷirtpeaða do çaccarce ecna, ocyr eolair, ocyr do çenðaç leaðar tar muir, ocyr tar mórfairpæ; uair do loirceð ocyr do baðeð a rpeptra, ocyr a luðair in gaç cill, ocyr in gaç neimeð ma roðattair la ðibeccaçaið ó toaç ŷo ðeipeð. Þriam moþpo do beipeðirðe luaç poŷlama, ocyr luaç leaðar do gaç aon poleið ða tpeirðeð anpinn. Do ronað moþpo luþra ionða, ocyr lepaçte leir. Do ronað leir tempull Cille Oálu, ocyr tempull Inpī Cealtra, ocyr cloiçeach

He builds and repairs churches, makes bridges and roads.

<sup>1</sup> Bestowed, &c. The poem here quoted was probably so well known at the time that the scribe did not think it necessary to copy more than its first words; but the editor has not been able to find it elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> Banishment. It is clear that there

was no such "peace" and prosperity under Brian, as is here described. The annals exhibit their usual records of war and murder, nor were the Danes and other northmen ever "banished" from Ireland, not even after the famous battle of Clontarf, which did no more

caused to fly, stripped, maimed, ruined, and destroyed the foreigners in every district and in every territory throughout the breadth of all Erinn. He killed also their kings, and their chieftains, their heroes, and brave soldiers, their men of renown and valour. He enslaved and reduced to bondage their stewards and their collectors, and their swordsmen, their mercenaries, and their comely, large, cleanly youths; and their smooth youthful girls. And it was on that occasion the poem was recited, viz.:

There was bestowed, etc.<sup>1</sup>

LXXX. After the banishment<sup>2</sup> of the foreigners out of all Erinn, and after Erinn was reduced to a state of peace, a lone woman came from Torach, in the north of Erinn, to Cliodhna, in the south of Erinn, carrying a ring of gold on a horse-rod, and she was neither robbed nor insulted; whereupon the poet sang—

From Torach to pleasant Cliodhna,  
 And carrying with her a ring of gold,  
 In the time<sup>3</sup> of Brian, of the bright side, fearless,  
 A lone woman made the circuit of Erinn.

By him were erected also noble churches in Erinn and their sanctuaries. He sent professors and masters to teach wisdom and knowledge; and to buy books beyond the sea, and the great ocean; because their writings and their books in every church and in every sanctuary where they were, were burned and thrown into water by the plunderers, from the beginning to the end<sup>4</sup>; and Brian, himself, gave the price of learning and the price of books to every one separately who went on this service. Many works, also, and repairs were made by him. By him were erected the church of Cell Dálua, and the church of Inis

than check their progress to complete ascendancy.

<sup>3</sup> *Time*. Keating, who quotes this stanza, reads, α βῆλαε Ὀβραν, "in the reign of Brian." Τραοῖβῆλ being the gen. sing. masc. the epithets

τραοῖβῆλ ναρ τῖμ. "bright-sided, fearless," must be applied to Brian.

<sup>4</sup> *To the end*: i.e., from the beginning to the end of the Danish sway in Ireland, the destruction of books was their universal practice.

Complete subjugation of the Danes.

A lone woman, bearing a ring of gold, travels unmolested in Ireland.

Brian encourages learning.

He builds and repairs churches, makes bridges and roads.

Strengthens fortified places throughout the country.

His prosperity for fifteen years.

Celebrated by Gilla Moduda.

Tuama Drieme], ocuy Lubra imda ele arcena. Oa ronait leir droáat, ocuy doáar, ocuy rlixeða. Ro daingnit leir, dha, dúm ocuy daingni, ocuy inpeda, ocuy ruzpuyt aipeda na Mumán. Oa ronad, dha, cumdað Caril na ruz, ocuy Cno Abpat, ocuy miy loða Ceno, ocuy miy loða Dair, ocuy Dún Eoáar Maizi, Dún Cliað, ocuy Dún Crot, ocuy miy loða Saiglenn, ocuy miy in Gall Dub, ocuy Rorað, ocuy Ceno Corad, ocuy Dorauma, ocuy ruzpuyt Mumán arcena. Ro bai an arren co rona, ríamail, co rledað, ruyrdeð, ruyrbrétað, co conað, caðuráð; co ngenmuadaeáð, ocuy co crabus, ocuy corpéð, ocuy co ruzglab ic clepáib, co ngal ocuy co ngarced con neneað, ocuy co nengnum i laeáib, ocuy co torpéð, tren, talc, trebarglan, .u. bliadna dec in arð ruzi nheyno amail arbert Dilla Muðurda:—

Rúeðo ruzi, talí ruce,  
 Driam hieo of Damba blaþric,  
 Can ciabaar, can biat, can bráð.  
 Cuis bliadna dec ra deþrað.

Oa bliadann, imorpo, derbiað du da ríeet in arðuzi na Mumán.

<sup>1</sup> *And many.* Here we return to the text of D. B. omits arcena.

<sup>2</sup> *Causeways.* Toáar, B.

<sup>3</sup> *Strengthened.* Ro cumdaðeð leir dúmte, ocuy daingne, ocuy ruzpuyt, ocuy inpeda oipeða, B.: "By him were fortified duns and fastnesses, and royal forts, and celebrated islands, &c."

<sup>4</sup> *Also.* Oo ronad leir, B., "By him was built." Ro cumdaðeð leir ruz, "By him were additionally fortified," Keating.

<sup>5</sup> *Cenn-Abbat.* Cenoþebraat, B., and Keating.

<sup>6</sup> *Dun Cliath.* Ocuy Dún Cliað, B., Keating.

<sup>7</sup> *Inis an Ghaill Duibh.* Miy an Gall Dub, ocuy miy loða Saiglenn, ocuy Rorað na ruz, B.: "Inis

an Ghaill duibh [island of the black foreigner, or Dane,] and the island of Loch Saiglenn, and Rosach of the kings." The names of these places are thus given by Keating:—"Ceann-fabhrad, Inis Locha Cé, Inis Locha Gair, Dún EochairMhaighe, Dún Iasg, Dún-tri-liag, Dún-gCrot, Dún Cliach, Innsi [the islands] an Ghaill-duibh, Inis Locha Saighlenn, Ros na Riogh, Ceann-Coradh, the Bóraithe (an Dóraithe)."

<sup>8</sup> *In like manner.* Ruzpuyt Muíam uile arceana, B.

<sup>9</sup> *Peaceful.* Ro bai análad rin co ríodáimail, rona, rledað, ruyr-eccað, ruyrbrétað, ocuy co conágh, caðuráð; co ngenmuadaeáð, ocuy co crabáð icleirpáib ré a lno, ocuy co neimeé, 7c., B.

<sup>10</sup> *Firm.* B. omits tren.

Cealtra, and the bell tower of Tuam Greine], and many<sup>1</sup> other works in like manner. By him were made bridges and causeways,<sup>2</sup> and high roads. By him were strengthened,<sup>3</sup> also, the dúnns, and fastnesses, and islands, and celebrated royal forts of Mumhain. He built, also,<sup>4</sup> the fortification of Caisel of the kings, and of Cenn Abrat,<sup>5</sup> the island of Loch Cend, and the island of Loch Gair, and Dún Eochair Maige, Dún Cliath,<sup>6</sup> and Dún Crot, and the island of Loch Saigleand, and Inis an Ghaill Duibh,<sup>7</sup> and Rosach, and Cend Coradh, and Borumha, and the royal forts of Munster in like manner.<sup>8</sup> He continued in this way prosperously, peaceful,<sup>9</sup> giving banquets, hospitable, just-judging; wealthily, venerated; chastely, and with devotion, and with law and with rules among the clergy; with prowess and with valour; with honour and with renown among the laity; and fruitful, powerful, firm,<sup>10</sup> secure; for fifteen<sup>11</sup> years in the chief sovereignty of Erin<sup>12</sup>; as Gilla Mududa<sup>13</sup> said—

Strengthens fortified places throughout the country.

His prosperity for fifteen years.

Celebrated by Gilla Modnda.

A boiling sea, a rapid flood—

Brian the flame<sup>14</sup> over Banbha of the variegated flowers;

Without gloom,<sup>15</sup> without guile, without treachery,

Fifteen<sup>16</sup> years in full prosperity.

For two score years, wanting two, was he chief king of Mumhain.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Fifteen.* Θα βλιασαν οεζς., B. Keating. "twelve years."

<sup>12</sup> *Erinn.* Ηα ηερεμ., B.

<sup>13</sup> *Gilla Mududa.* B. has ριλε, "the poet," without naming him, nor does Keating give the poet's name, although he quotes the same stanza, which occurs in the poem attributed to Giolla Moduda O'Cassidy, abbot of Ardbreccan, and preserved in the *Book of Lecan*, fol. 312 a, and in the *Leabhar Gabhala* of the O'Clery's (MS.), in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, p. 233, stanza 51. This poem begins thus:—*Ερε οζη μυρ ηα ποσιν*, and contains a list of the kings of Ireland from the introduction of Christianity to the year 1022. O'Flaherty's *Oggg. Prolog.*, p. 2.

<sup>14</sup> *Torch, or flame.* D. reads beo, "living," but bpeo, the reading of B., of the *Leabhar Gabhala*, and *Book of Lecan*, has been adopted, as giving a better sense. Keating has *Ηρεαζς*, "Brian of Breagh," or Bregia.

<sup>15</sup> *Without gloom.* B., Keating, and the *Leabhar Gabhala*, give this line thus:—*Ζαν ριαμαρ ζαν beo ζαν bpat.* The *Book of Lecan* reads, *Ζαν ριαμαρ ζαν beo ζαν bpat.*

<sup>16</sup> *Fifteen.* B., with Keating, *Leabhar Gabhala*, and *Book of Lecan*, reads, ρα (i.e., "twelve years"), and α "his" for ρα.

<sup>17</sup> *Mumhain.* B. reads, *θα βλιασαν τεαρρα οο θα ριετ ρο βα ηρηζε Μυμαν.* "Four score years, wanting two, was he king of Munster."

Maelmordha, king of Leinster, brings a tribute of pine trees to Brian.

LXXXI. Ɔa ƭuio, imorpo, iarpin Maelmorða mac Muircæda in ƭagen o molucud tri feolcrauo dypas dibbaio feða ƭaibbi do ðpua co Cento Corao .i. feolcrauo o Uib Falsi, ocup feolcrauo o Uib Faelan, ocup feolcrauo o Uib Muircæas [ocup o ƭaisir, ocup o na tri Commab.] Co tapla marbasz etoppo ac toct in nasao rlebi mboccaë, co udeçao in in fein, .i. Maelmorða, po feolcrauo Ua Faelan, ocup innaç ppoil tuc ðpua inem do ocup corçap [óip] ma timcell, ocup enap arçat ant, bai in tinaç umi, ocup meçao enap ta enapab pepin peioim. Ar poçtan doib, imorpo, co Cento Corao, tall in in a inap de ocup pucad docum a peçap e do cup enap arçat mo .i. do cum ƭormlaith inçin Muircæda inna ðpua, ocup robi rido matap Ɔonçæda inç ðpua. Ro çab in pçan inçinap, ocup tuc upcup ipin tenio de, ocup po bai ica cupçacod, ocup ica çpçacç a bpaçap, çasç ba holec le moçpau, ocup çairpini ocup çocpa do çenum do neoç, ocup in ní nap paçmatap a açap na çenaçap do pçmao do, ocup arberç co rypçao a mac ara inç in ni ceçna.

He arrives at Kincora.

Gormlaith excites him to throw off Brian's yoke.

His quarrel with Murchadh, Brian's son.

LXXXII. Tohpuro ppuçnoip puziil etoppo ocup Muir-

<sup>1</sup> After this. Peçtur do ƭuio Maolmorða, B., "Once upon a time Maolmordha, &c."

<sup>2</sup> Convey. Ɔmolucan, B.

<sup>3</sup> Pine. Lit., "sail-trees of pine." Tri feolcrauo nçupa oþioðbað feða çabile co ðpua, B. çaibbi in the text is probably a mistake of transcription in the MS. D. for çabli.

<sup>4</sup> *Uí Faelain*. In B. these names are in the singular, ó Falsze, ó Faolain, ó Muircæasç; and the words "and from Laighis, and from the three Commains," are omitted, being an evident interpolation, for otherwise there would have been more than three masts. This clause has, therefore, been placed within brackets, although it occurs in the text of D.

<sup>5</sup> The king himself. B. reads, puz ƭasean fein, "The king of Leinster himself," omitting, .i. Maelmorða. The dispute was evidently for precedence among the three tribes who had supplied the masts; and it broke out at a boggy place, where it became necessary to proceed in single file, and the question arose who should go first, the king himself decided the question by assisting to carry the mast of the Uí Faelain.

<sup>6</sup> Buttons. B. reads, ocup map ppoil tucç ðpua do pemuhe rin, ocup corçap óip in a timcell, ocup enapçoe arçat am: "And he had on a silken tunic which Brian had given him before that, which had a border of gold around it, and silver buttons on it." This gift was the token

LXXXI. After this,<sup>1</sup> Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, king of Laighin, set out to convey<sup>2</sup> three masts of pine<sup>3</sup> of the trees of Fidh Gaibhli to Brian to Cenn Coradh, viz., a mast from the Ui Failghe, and a mast from the Ui Faelain,<sup>4</sup> and a mast from the Ui Muireadhaigh [and from Laighis, and from the three Commainns]. But a dispute took place between them when ascending a boggy mountain, whereupon the king himself,<sup>5</sup> viz., Maelmordha, put his hand to the mast of the Ui Faelain, having a silken tunic which Brian had previously given him, which had a border [of gold] round it, and silver buttons<sup>6</sup>; the tunic was<sup>7</sup> on him, and one of its buttons broke<sup>8</sup> with the exertion.<sup>9</sup> Now, when they had arrived at<sup>10</sup> Cenn Coradh, the king took off his tunic, and it was carried to his sister to put a silver button on it, viz., to Gormlaith,<sup>11</sup> daughter of Murchadh, Brian's wife<sup>12</sup>; and she was the mother of Donnchadh, son of Brian. The queen took the tunic and cast it into the fire<sup>13</sup>; and she began to reproach<sup>14</sup> and incite her brother, because she thought it ill that he should yield service and vassalage, and suffer oppression from any one, or yield that which his father or grandfather never yielded; and she said that his [Brian's] son would require the same thing from his son.<sup>15</sup>

Maelmordha, king of Leinster, brings a tribute of pine trees to Brian.

He arrives at Kincora.

Gormlaith excites him to throw off Brian's yoke.

LXXXII. Some peevish words followed between him and

His quarrel with Murchadh, Brian's son.

of his vassalage to Brian. See above, note 9, p. 132.

<sup>7</sup> Was. Ocuṛ ṽo bi, B.

<sup>8</sup> Broke. ṽo ṽheabāṽ, B.

<sup>9</sup> Exertion. Re méo an pēṽma, B.

<sup>10</sup> Arrived at. Ḷṛi tpoṽiāctan ṽnoṽṽo ṽoiṽ, B.

<sup>11</sup> Gormlaith. B. reads, talḶ an pī a ṽonai ṽe ṽo Ḷṛi an enaipe an Ḷum ṽoṽṽa: "The king put his tunic off to have the button put on by Gormlaith."

<sup>12</sup> Wife. .i. bean Ḷṛiam, ocuṛ ṽo bi ṽṽi maṽaiṽ, 7c., B.

<sup>13</sup> Fire. Ocuṛ ṽo beṽt ṽṽeaiṽ ṽe ṽṽi ṽeṽe, B.: "She made a cast of it into the fire."

<sup>14</sup> Reproach. B. omits ic a cuṽṽa-cas ocuṛ.

<sup>15</sup> His son. This is better expressed in B., thus:—ṽoiṽ ba ṽoḶ ṽe moṽṽ-ṽanne no ṽaiṽṽe ṽo Ḷṛi ṽo neoḶ ele ṽaiṽ, .i. an nī naṽ ṽaom a ṽaiṽ no a ṽeṽaiṽaiṽaiṽ, ocuṛ aṽbeṽt pōṽ co ṽṽṽeṽo maḶ Ḷṛiam ai a ṽiāṽṽan ma ṽaiṽ, ocuṛ ṽāḶ ṽanne ṽeṽ aiṽoṽe: "For she thought it ill that service or vassalage should be yielded by him to any one, a thing that his father or his grandfather never yielded; and she said also that Brian's son would hereafter require it from his [Maelmordha's] son, and all other men afterwards."

ἔατο ἀρ ματιν τρε μιτ̄μπεραν πιδελλαῖτα .i. Μιρχᾶτο  
 ocup Conaing βαταρ ιε ιμιρε μιῖλλι, βα Μαιμορδα  
 αε τεγορε ἀρ Μιρχᾶτο, ocup πο τινκοιρε βειρε διαρβο  
 ελυῖ φορ Μιρχᾶτο. Ro περζαιῖετο Μιρχᾶτο, ocup ἀρ-  
 βειρε, ιρ τι τuc comarli do ḡallab in ται πο μεβατο  
 φορμυ. Ro πατο Μαιμορδα do, ὕερατο comarli ἀρυ  
 δοιβ, ocup ηι μεβατο φορπο. Αββειρε Μιρχᾶτο, ὕτο ιπ  
 ιβαρ ιμαριτ̄ accut ποθειν δοιβ. Ro περζαιετο Μαι-  
 μορδα, ocup τα ἔυαιτο τα ἔις lebῖta can ceḡacut can  
 celebrat̄.

Maelmor-  
 dha departs  
 in anger.

Brian sends  
 to recall  
 him.

LXXXIII. Ro ηιμιρετο γεν do ὕριαν, ocup πο ἔυιρ  
 ḡilla na διατο δια ἀρτατο εορηο ἀḡαλλεατο ὕριαν, ocup  
 εορηυεατο ερωτο ocup τυαραρτυλ λειρ. ιρ ἀπο γιν ρuc ιη  
 ḡilla παρ ι ερωτο ελαρ εῖλλι Ὀάλυα ἀλλαναρ, ocup  
 ρειγγυιιι ιε τυλ ἀρ α εῖ ἀπο. Τοηραιτο ριῖθορ ετυρηυ  
 ocup ιη ḡilla, ocup ιμοριρ ρυρηιη ḡilla, ocup do βειρε

<sup>1</sup> *Conaing*. "Conaing, son of Donn-  
 chuan," *Keating*, i.e., Brian's nephew  
 who was afterwards killed at the bat-  
 tle of Clontarf; but *Keating* adds, no  
 το ρῆρ τρηυιγε ἀρ ἔ Comorba  
 Caoimḡin ḡhlune τα λοῖ do βῖ ἀḡ  
 ιμιρε μιῖ Μιρχαῖτο. "Or accord-  
 ing to some it was [Conaing] succes-  
 sor of St. Kevin of Glendaloch that  
 was playing with Murchadh," mean-  
 ing, no doubt, Conaing O'Carroll, ere-  
 nagh of Glendaloch, whose death is re-  
 corded by the *Four Masters* at 1031.

<sup>2</sup> *Defeated*. *Keating* adds, ἀḡ caḡ  
 ḡlmmemama, "at the battle of Glen-  
 mama," which is evidently the defeat  
 alluded to.

<sup>3</sup> *Yew tree*. Alluding to Maolmordha  
 having concealed himself in a yew tree  
 after the battle of Glenmama, see ch.  
 lxxi., p. 119, *supra*. *Keating* softens  
 this insulting speech into α ρῖαν παοι  
 ρη, ἀρ Μιρχᾶτο, "I defy thee to do  
 it, said Murchadh."

<sup>4</sup> *Taking leave*. The whole chap-  
 ter is thus given in B.: Cῖo τρη

αῖτ ταρτα ριῖερορε ριḡῖλλ τορη  
 Μιρχαῖτο (mac ὕριαν), ocup  
 Conaing, ocup ιατο oc ιμιρε ριῖλλι.  
 Το τεαḡαρḡ Μαιμορδα βειρε  
 ἀρ Μιρχαῖτο τα ρυḡαḡ ελυῖτε  
 παρ. Ro περζαιḡετο Μιρχαῖτο  
 ιιον βειρε, ocup πο ρῆḡ ἀρ Μαι-  
 μορδα, ocup ἀρβειρε ρυρ: ἀρ  
 τι τuc αι εοηαιρτε τοηα ḡαλλαḡ  
 αι λα πο μεαḡατο φορπο. Ro  
 ριῖo Μαιμορδα ἀρ ηα ιμορε-  
 ḡαḡ co μορ: Το βειρα εοηαιρτε  
 τοῖβ ἀρυ ιρ ηοῖα ιιυḡε ορηα.  
 Αββειρε Μιρχαῖτο, ὕτο αιτῖῖβαρ  
 ηα ἀρητε ποτ τοῖη τα τuc, ἀρ  
 ρε. Το ἔυαιτο ρη λαḡεν τα τεḡ  
 lebῖta ḡαν ceαḡḡḡαḡ ḡαν ceῖle-  
 βρατο: "It happened also that he had  
 some hasty words with Murchadh, son  
 of Brian, and Conaing, who were playing  
 chess. Maolmordha taught a move  
 against Murchadh by which the game  
 went against him. Murchadh became  
 angry at this move, and he looked at  
 Maolmordha and said to him, Thou art  
 he who gavest advice to the foreigners

Murchadh the next morning, arising out of a casual controversy at chess; for as Murchadh and Conaing<sup>1</sup> were playing chess, Maelmordha was teaching against Murchadh, and he advised a move by which a game went against Murchadh. Murchadh became angry, and said: "It was thou that gavest advice to the foreigners when they were defeated."<sup>2</sup> Maelmordha said: "I will give them advice again, and they shall not be defeated." Murchadh said: "Have the yew tree<sup>3</sup> made ready for them by yourself." Maelmordha became angered, and retired to his bed-room without permission, without taking leave.<sup>4</sup>

Maelmordha departs in anger.

LXXXIII. This was told to Brian, and he sent a messenger<sup>5</sup> after him to detain him until Brian should converse with him, and until he should carry away with him cattle and pay. The messenger overtook him at the end of the plank-bridge of Cell Dálua, on the east side, and he was mounting his horse there. A dispute ensued between him and the messenger, and he turned on the messenger and gave him a stroke of a yew horse-switch on his head,

Brian sends to recall him.

on the day when they were defeated. Maolmordha said in great wrath, I will give them advice again, and they shall not be defeated. Murchadh said, Let the yew tree be ready for thee to sit on, said he. The king of Laighen went to his bedchamber, without asking permission, without taking leave." On comparing this passage with Keating's narrative, and with the context, it is evident that something is omitted in both MSS., and that we should read, "Maolmordha retired to his bedchamber, and next morning left the house, without asking permission or taking leave." Keating says, *Ἐπιξυρ* α μύα να μαρσνε, *οκυρ* παξβαρ αν βατε ζαν *κευλοβραδ* το *Ἰριαν*: "He arose early in the morning and left the place without bidding farewell to Brian."

<sup>5</sup> *Messenger.* Το *επιρ* *ξυλα* *ξυραδ* το *πειν* το *φορταδ* *ρι* *λαιξεν*, *ι.* *Co* *ζαριαν* *ανην* *αν* *ξυλλα*, *οκυρ* *βειρυρ*

αν *ξυλα* *παρ*, *οκυρ* *μαδριρ* *ρυρ* *κλοδ* *κο* *ρυξ* *Ἐρηνσ* *αρ* *κενσ* *τυαρ* *αρταλ* *ορι* *οκυρ* *ειττιξ*. *Ἰμπαρ* *αν* *ρι* *ρυρ* *οκυρ* *πε* *αρ* *εδ* *α* *κενσ* *ελαρ*. *Κυλλε* *οά* *λυα*, *οκυρ* *τιξ* *βεην* *τον* *εαδλαρ* *ιβαρ* *ξο* *ξυρ* *βρυρ* *κενηα* *αν* *κενσ* *υλε*, *οκυρ* *ιρ* *ιμαρ* *βαρ* *παρ* *κο* *τεαξ* *ρυξ* *Ἐρηνσ*, B.: "He sent an officer of his own to stop the king of Laighen. Cogarán was the name of the servant; and the servant gave him the message, and asked him to return to the king of Ireland for wages of gold and vestments. The king [Maelmordha] turned upon him, and he was on horseback at the head of the plank-bridge of Cell dá lua, [Killaloe], and struck him a blow with a horse-switch of yew, so that he broke all the bones of his head, and he was carried back to the house of the king of Erin." The next clause from *μαρ* *κυρ* *το* *ανην* *αν* *ξυλλα*, is omitted in B.

Maelmor-  
dha smites  
the messen-  
ger.

beim di eaðlaire idar do na ðenð, cor bryr enama in cind uli. Imarcur bai fear in gilla co Cend Coraid. Cocarán, ðna, ann in gilla. Robaid do fearuud ant toét ma ðiuid, ocuy can a leúð ar comat riacuá. Cribert ðuan ip for colba a ðaigi fein no iyrreao cori fear, ocuy in fell ma ðis fein do zenao fear.

He raises a  
rebellion  
against  
Brian.

LXXXIV. Ro roíð, imorro, Maelmorða in arðhi rin co sin Lear Abban, i nUib ðuoi .i. co teacð mic ðerðai, ruz ua mðuoi. Ro roíð moð arnamðacuá in Garðtamnaig, co teacð ðunlaing mic Tuacal .i. in Iarðair Lín, ocuy timairreter maði laigen ma comu co rici rin, ocuy ma comðal; ocuy inuioð doib miðauy ðagbal do, ocuy al bpreñu do tabairt ar fein, ocuy ar in eugeo uli. Ip i comairli for ar ðelaig leo imro ar ðuan, ocuy fearit teéta co Flaðbertað mac Muirce-  
tað Uí Heill .i. co ruz Alig, ocuy aðmte do cozao do ðenam riu Maelreclainð, ocuy riu hUltaib, raitep rerra ele co Ferðal ua Ruairc co ruz ðreñu, ocuy co hUalðarð ua Ciarda in Cairbu, ocuy poemat rin uli imro ar ðuan.

O'Neill  
with the  
kings of  
Cairbre  
and West  
Brefni  
plunders  
Meath.

Do roiu Flaðbertað creð i Mui, ocuy no inpetar forimor Mui lei. Cñ ðuioðe no marðao Orli mac ðubcnoð mic Imair, ferðrao do ðuan, ocuy Mormaer ða maeruib e, ocuy rocharðe ele. Do rouao creð moy ele ne hUalðarð ua Ciarda ocuy ne Ferðal ua Ruairc

<sup>1</sup> Pursue. Rop al ðforunn ann toét anteaðaró rí laigen, ocuy ðai a leigiu arð so mað riacuá, B.: "Some were anxious to pursue the king of Laigen and not to let him off until he made submission."

<sup>2</sup> Demand. Siyrreao, B.

<sup>3</sup> Treacherous. Ocuy in feall mar ðtig fein do zenam fear, B.

<sup>4</sup> Maelmordha. Maelmorða mac Muirceada, B.

<sup>5</sup> Arrived. Rann, B.

<sup>6</sup> Son of Berdaí. Co fein Lr Abban in uib ðuioðe co teð mic ðenðe, B.: "At Senlis Abáin [old Fort of

St. Abban] in Uí-Buidhi, to the house of the son of Benne."

<sup>7</sup> Early. For moð arnamðacuá, B. reads arnamacuá.

<sup>8</sup> Assembled. Ocuy no timairre-  
retar maðe an éinnoð uile ma  
éoinne ocuy ma éoinnoð, B.: "And  
the nobles of the whole province as-  
sembled to meet him, and in his pre-  
sence."

<sup>9</sup> Received. B. omits ðagbal do.

<sup>10</sup> Decision. Ip i comairle ar ar  
cinnearó aca, imroð ar ðuan, B.:  
"This was the decision that they came  
to, to turn against Brian."

and broke all the bones of the head. It was necessary to carry the messenger back to Cenn-coradh. And *Co-carán* was the name of the messenger. Some were anxious to pursue<sup>1</sup> him [*Maelmordha*] then, and not allow him to escape until he made submission. But *Brian* said it should be at the threshold of his own house he would demand<sup>2</sup> justice from him, and that he would not prove treacherous<sup>3</sup> to him in his own house.

LXXXIV. *Maelmordha*<sup>4</sup> arrived<sup>5</sup> that night at *Sen Leas Abáinn*, in *Ui-Buidhi*, viz., at the house of the son of *Berdai*,<sup>6</sup> king of *Ui-mBuidhi*. He arrived early<sup>7</sup> the next morning at the *Garbh Thamhnach*, at the house of *Dunlang*, son of *Tuathal*, king of *Iarthar Liphí*; and the nobles of *Laighin* assembled<sup>8</sup> to meet him at that place, and in convention; and he told them that he had received<sup>9</sup> dishonour, and that reproachful words were applied to himself and to all the province. The decision<sup>10</sup> that they came to thereupon was to turn against *Brian*; and they sent messengers to *Flaithbhertach*, son of *Muirchertach O'Neill*, i.e., to<sup>11</sup> the king of *Ailech*, exhorting<sup>12</sup> him to make war upon *Maelsechlainn* and *Uladh*; and other messengers were despatched to *Ferghal Ua Ruairc*, king of *Brefni*; and to *Ualgarg O'Ciardha*, king of *Cairbri*; and these all<sup>13</sup> consented to turn against *Brian*.

*Flaithbhertach* made a plunder in *Midhe*, and the greater part<sup>14</sup> of *Midhe* was ravaged by him. It was on this occasion was slain *Oсли*,<sup>15</sup> son of *Dubhcenn*, son of *Imar*, an officer of *Brian*, and one of his high stewards, and many more. Another great plunder was made by<sup>16</sup> *O'Neill* with the kings of *Cairbre* and *West Brefni* plunders *Meath*.

<sup>11</sup> *To.* B. omits, .i. co.

<sup>12</sup> *Exhorting.* Ὁ ἀνε το κογαδ το δαναη αρ Μαελεδλαιο. Ραιτερ περα ελε το ηλιαζαρζ ηνα Γιαηδα το ηι Καρρηε, οσυρ το Ρεζαλ ο Ρυαιρ το ηι Ὀρειρηε [οσυρ α ανε το κογαδ το δαναη αρ Μαελεδλαιο οσυρ αρ περαη Μηθε, οσυρ ιμροδ αρ Ὀριαν], B. : But it is evident that the clause within

brackets is a mere repetition by a clerical error of the scribe.

<sup>13</sup> *These all.* This clause is omitted in B.

<sup>14</sup> *Greater part.* Ηρηορ Μηθε υηε λειρ, οσυρ ιρ το ηοη, B.

<sup>15</sup> *Oсли.* Or *Fosli*; the *Flosa* or *Flosius*, of the *Sagas*.

<sup>16</sup> *By.* λε ηλιαζαρζ ηα Γιαηδα, οσυρ λε. B.

Maelsech-  
lainn de-  
feats them,  
A.D. 1012.

πορ Μαιλεχλαινθ, κορ απζηετ Γαλενγα, κορ μαρβρατ  
Domnall mac Donchad Ua Maelsechlainn, μξδομνα  
Temrae, ocyr Cepnae mac Flainn, μν λιμ, ocyr Senan  
Ua Leucan, μν Γαλενζ, ocyr ποχαρθε ele. Αρταρταζ  
Μαιλεχλαινθ ιαρημ ορτο, κο τuc Μαιλεχλαινθ τακυρ,  
ocyr κορ μαρβαθ λειρ Ualzaraz Ua Ciarda μν Cairbhι,  
ocyr Ταδζ Ua Cepnacan, απρη υρερη, ocyr ποχαρθε  
ele ανθ.

He plun-  
ders the  
foreigners  
as far as  
Howth.

Ἐα ροναθ κρεε ρε Μαιλεχλαινθ ιαρημ πορ γαλλαιβ,  
ocyr πο μρητ κο θεμθ εθαρ; ocyr πο αρηαθ ορτο  
Μαιλμορθα mac Μυρκαθα, ocyr Σιρμηuc mac Αmlaib,  
ocyr γαλλ ocyr λαζμ, ocyr πο μαρβρατ μν τηερ κρεαε  
θα κρεεαιβ υλι. Ιορκοαρ ανθ μν ελλβακαε mac  
Μαιλεχλαινθ, ocyr λορκαμ mac Εαετιζερηθ [μ]  
Ceneil Mecar, ocyr θα cet apoen ρμ.

His son and  
200 others  
slain.

The fo-  
reiguers  
and Lein-  
stermen  
plunder  
Meath.

Maelsech-  
lainn com-  
plains to  
Brian.

LXXXV. Ἐα ροναθ μορηλυαζεθ ιαρημ λα γαλλαιβ,  
ocyr ρε λαζμιβ, ocyr πο ημπεεθ Μιθι leo κο Ραβυρ  
Ρεθμ, ocyr ρυερατ βρατ μορ ocyr βυαρ διαρημυτι leo  
α Τερμυμθ Ραβαρ. Ἐα λοταρ τεαετα ιαρημ ο  
Μαιλεχλαινθ θα αcaμμ ρμ ρε υρηαν .ι. α ερη ca  
ημπεεθ, ocyr α macu ca μαρβαθ, ocyr ηαρηθαμ cocαθ  
γαλλ ocyr λαζεν ocyr υρερη ocyr Cairbhι ocyr Ceneil  
Εοζαμ μν oen abull ραρ.

<sup>1</sup> Upon. Αρ, B., "against."

<sup>2</sup> Royal heir. B. omits μξδομνα Temrae, and reads ocyr ζμρ μαρβρατ Cepnae mac Flainn. The Four Masters and Ann. Ult. call him Cearnachan.

<sup>3</sup> Liné. So in both MS. But we should read *Luighne*. See *Four Mast.* and *Ann. Ult.* 1012.

<sup>4</sup> Senan. Senae ó Lócán μν Γαλενζ; ζο ρυζηατ ρμμ Μιθε, ocyr Μαιλεχλαινθ πορηα, ocyr τυζηατ ταεαρ θα εελε, ζμρ μαρβρατ ανθ Ualzarac ua Ciarda ρζ Cairbhι, ocyr Ταδζ ó Cepnaean oμημζ υρηερη, ocyr θαηνε μθθα ele, B.: "Senach O'Lóchán, king of

Gaileng; until the men of Meath and Maelsechlainn overtook them, and they had a skirmish together, in which were slain Ualgarg Ua Ciarrdha, king of Cairpre, and Tadhg O'Cernachán, subking of Brefne, and many other men." The Four Masters read "Senán Ua Leochan, Lord of Gaileng."

<sup>5</sup> Overtook. Over αρταρταζ μν D. the original scribe has written no αρταρτο. i.e., "ο αρταρτο," a different form of the same word.

<sup>6</sup> After this. B. omits ιαρημ, and reads αρ γαλλαιβ ocyr πο ημρηαθ.

<sup>7</sup> But. B. reads ocyr ρuc ορηα. Αρηαθ μν μν ταρηεαθ.

Ualgarg Ua Ciardha, and by Fergal Ua Ruairc upon<sup>1</sup> Maelsechlainn; and they plundered the Gailenga, and they killed Domhnall, son of Donnchadh, grandson of Maelsechlainn, royal heir<sup>2</sup> of Temhair, and Cernach, son of Flann, king of Linè,<sup>3</sup> and Senan<sup>4</sup> Ua Leuchan, king of Gaileng, and many others. After this, Maelsechlainn overtook<sup>5</sup> them; and Maelsechlainn gave them battle, in which Ualgarg Ua Ciardha, king of Cairbri, and Tadhg Ua Cearnachan, sub-king of Brefni, and many others were killed by him.

Maelsechlainn defeats them, A.D. 1012.

A plundering expedition was made after this<sup>6</sup> by Maelsechlainn against the foreigners, and he ravaged as far as Benn Edair; but<sup>7</sup> Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, and Sitriuc, son of Amhlaibh, and the foreigners, and the Laighin<sup>8</sup> overtook them, and killed the whole<sup>9</sup> of one of their three plundering parties. There fell there the Albanach,<sup>10</sup> son of Maelsechlainn, and Lorcan, son of Echtigern [king]<sup>11</sup> of Cinel Mechair, and two hundred along with them.

He plunders the foreigners as far as Howth.

His son and 200 others slain.

LXXXV. A great expedition<sup>12</sup> was afterwards undertaken by the foreigners and the Laighin, and Midhe was plundered by them as far as Fabhar of Fechin; and many captives and cattle innumerable were carried off by them from the Termon of Fabhar. After which messengers went from Maelsechlainn to Brian, to complain of this, namely, that his territory was plundered and his sons killed, and praying him not to permit the foreigners and the Laighin, and the Brefni, and the Cairbri, and the Cinel-Eoghain, to come all together<sup>13</sup> against him.

The foreigners and Leinstermen plunder Meath.

Maelsechlainn complains to Brian.

<sup>8</sup> *And the Laighin.* B. has *ocuy 3000 3aigen* "and the foreigners of Laighen." *3u mapb3a*, B.

<sup>9</sup> *The whole.* B. omits *u3*. The Four M. (1012) read, *3p3ic 3ia 33p3-a3a3*, "one of his plundering parties."

<sup>10</sup> *The Albanach*, i.e., the Scotchman. Ann. Inisf. (Dubl.) and Four Masters read, "Flann, son of Maelsechlainn." For *30p3ocay*, B. reads, *ocuy 30p3ocay*.

<sup>11</sup> *King.* This word is inserted from B. The Four Masters say that it was the son of Lorcan, not Lorcan himself, who was slain on this occasion; and they add, "This was the defeat of Drainen," now Drinan, county Dublin.

<sup>12</sup> *Expedition.* This chapter occurs only in D.

<sup>13</sup> *Together.* *33bu33* is for *3a30ba33*, "at the same time;" *simul*.

Brian  
plunders  
Ossory and  
Leinster.

Murchad  
devastates  
the country  
from Gland-  
aloch to  
Kilmain-  
ham.

They block-  
ade Dublin.

LXXXVI. Ɔa ponad mor pluaġed fer Mumán ocuy  
Conaġt la Ɔrián iarrim in nOrrasib ocuy illasmb,  
ocuy ro mput Orrasib leo. Ɔa romi Murchad mac  
Ɔrián creġ mor illasmb, ocuy ro arġ in tir uli co  
roġt ramud Caimġin, ocuy ro mpeṛtar in tir uli ocuy  
ro loire, ocuy ruc brait mor leir, ocuy buar diaimti,  
ocuy ro roġt co CillMaġneud, co raġi Cġa Cliat. Ro  
ruaġt Ɔrián, am, ocuy in pluaġ ina comṛal, do ponat  
forbari ocuy forcomet for Cġ Cliat, ocuy forlonġport  
aio. Ɔatar anṛ riu ó feil Ciaran roġmar co noṛlai  
mor, ocuy in ro ruarġat gallic no lasin rruim oen gallic,  
no oen caġ, no oen coma do. O tarime doib alioin tamc  
Ɔrián da tarġ ro noṛlaiġ.

Brian ad-  
vances  
against  
Dublin.

LXXXVII. Ɔo ġmġer mor pluaġed ele la Ɔrián ar  
feil Paṛraic eppaġ, do ġabal for Cġ Cliat ocuy ar  
lasin. Oṛ cuadatar, tra, gallic in toġarṛul riu cucu,  
ro cucuṛ teġta ocuy peppa ar caġ leġ uaġib, do ġmol  
topeaġ ocuy roṛraio cucu, do peṛtal caġa do Ɔrián.  
Ro toġureṛ cucu, em Ɔroṛor iarla, ocuy Cmlab mac  
ru locland .i. da iarla Cairu, ocuy tuarġirṛ Saxan uli.

The auxili-  
aries of the  
foreigners.

<sup>1</sup> *After this.* B. omits iarrim.

<sup>2</sup> *Osraighe.* The clause within brackets is omitted in B.

<sup>3</sup> *The whole.* B. omits uli.

<sup>4</sup> *Caimhghen:* i.e., the religious house or monastery of St. Caimhghen, (St. Kevin,) of Glandaloch. According to the reading of D. this devastation was by Murchadh, son of Brian; but B., by omitting the words within brackets, makes Brian himself the devastator.

<sup>5</sup> *Country.* Ocuy ro hmṛaio an tir leir, ocuy ruc brait móri eirce, ocuy ro ruat co Cill Maġneann, co raġe Cġa Cliat cona pluaġ, ocuy do ponat forbari ocuy forcoméet for Cġ Cliat, ocuy do batar am ó feil Ciarian, 7rl., B.: "And the country was ravaged by him, and many captives taken by him, and he marched to

Cill Maighneann, to the green of Ath Cliath, with his army, and they made a siege and a blockade round Ath Cliath, and remained there from the Feast of Ciaran, &c."

<sup>6</sup> *To join him.* *Lit.* in his presence: i.e., Brian with his army came up to join his son Murchadh.

<sup>7</sup> *Great Christmas.* See above, p. 113 and p. 117.

<sup>8</sup> *Subsidy.* B. reads, in ro ruar-aiġreġ gallic inas laġin ias rruim an re riu in gallic, in caġ, no in comaġ.

<sup>9</sup> *Provisions.* Cġ lóimce, B.

<sup>10</sup> *On.* Im, B., "about."

<sup>11</sup> *In spring.* Om. B.

<sup>12</sup> *Attack.* Ɔo ġabal ar, B.

<sup>13</sup> *When.* O ro cuadatar imoṛro ġoil Cġa Cliat an toġeṛtal riu cucu cucuṛ peppa, ocuy teġta ar

LXXXVI. After this<sup>1</sup> the men of Mumhan and of Brian Connacht, under Brian, made a great expedition against the Osraighe and against the Laighin, [and Osraighe<sup>2</sup> was ravaged by them. Murchadh, son of Brian, made a great plunder of the Laighin], and he devastated the whole<sup>3</sup> country, until he reached the community of Caimbhghen,<sup>4</sup> and he ravaged and burnt the whole country<sup>5</sup>; and many captives were carried off by him, and cattle innumerable; and he came to Cill-Maighnenn, to the green of Ath Cliath. Then Brian and the army arrived to join him.<sup>6</sup> They made a siege and blockade round Ath Cliath, and an encampment there. They were there from the festival of Ciaran in harvest, to great Christmas<sup>7</sup>; and neither the foreigners nor the Laighin yielded him, during that time, one hostage, nor one battle, nor one subsidy.<sup>8</sup> So when their provisions<sup>9</sup> were exhausted, Brian retired to his home about Christmas.

Brian plunders Ossory and Leinster.

Murchad devastates the country from Glandaloch to Kilmainham.

They blockade Dublin.

LXXXVII. Another great expedition was made by Brian on<sup>10</sup> the festival of Patrick in spring,<sup>11</sup> to attack<sup>12</sup> Ath Cliath and the Laighin. But when<sup>13</sup> the foreigners heard of this muster coming against them, they sent messengers and ambassadors every where around them, to gather troops and armies unto them, to meet Brian in battle. They invited unto them Brodor, the earl, and Amlaibh, son of the king of Lochlann, i.e. the two earls of Cair, and of all the north of Saxon-land.<sup>14</sup> These two were

Brian advances against Dublin.

The auxiliaries of the foreigners.

ζαδ λετ υαταβ νο τινολ ρλυαζ, οσυ ροαυθε ευα, νο ρρηρταλ ατα νο θρηαν, B. It will be seen that D. reads ρηρταλ for ρρηρταλ, omitting the initial ρ, as usual in that MS.

<sup>14</sup> *Saxon-land*: meaning England. B. reads, Ρο τοειρηασο ευα ανηρη θρηοσαρ ιαυλα ααρη ηαυρασαλ μαα ρη λοχλανο, οσυ αυρασαλ ιαυλα ααρη ηαυρασαλ, ρη ρη ταυρηαυ σααν, οσυ ταυρηε λομηρη, ρηλ.: "They invited to them Brodar,

the Earl of Cair Ascadal, son of the king of Lochlann, and Ascadal, earl of Cair Ascadal, viz., king of the north of Saxon-land, and the chiefs of ships, &c." There is evidently some confusion in these readings. The Annals of Loch Cé call Brodar ιαυλα ααυρη ααυρηοιζ, "Earl of Caer Ebrec" [i.e., York], but this must be a mistake. The romantic tale, called "The Battle of Clontarf," has "Brodar and Asgal, two sons of the king of Lochlann."

Ταιριḡ longer ocuy inarbtaiḡ ocuy thanar iartair  
 Eorpa uli in diar rin, can ēazill, can aitari, can ēatuy,  
 can comarai do Ὅια no da tuni, do eill no do nemeatō,  
 ocuy rice cet thanar dian, doliz, dibercaē, diuperaideā,  
 do Anmarḡaēab allmarḡab inḡantaēab, aca cpeic,  
 ocuy ica paicleatō babein, no ar or ocuy ar arḡat ocuy  
 ar caē inuuy arēna. Hi bai, imorpo, thanar no  
 diberḡaē don riēt cet rin, can lupuz laithēpōa, taile,  
 tpenoualaiḡ, taitnemaiḡ, do iapunō aith apleḡā, no  
 duma inuuy nemeḡiḡi, ima toebaiḡ, ocuy inma ene-  
 riab leo o cennab co bonḡab.

Superiority  
 of the  
 Danish  
 armour.

Sigurd,  
 earl of  
 Orkney,  
 arrives with  
 an army  
 from the  
 Isles.

Ro toēpēd cucu, ḡna, Siucraio mac Lotair, iapla  
 inri Ore ocuy na inuuy arēna, ocuy comtinol rloiz  
 buirb, barbarḡa, diēillro, doēiye, doēomanio, do ḡallab  
 inri Ore, ocuy inri Cat; a Manaino, ocuy a Sci, ocuy a  
 Leotuy; a Cino Tiru, ocuy a hCiper ḡoethel, ocuy da  
 barun a Corp dpetnab, ocuy Corḡoabbliteoc a dpet-  
 nab Cilli Mini.

The sons of  
 the king of  
 France,  
 with  
 others, join  
 against  
 Brian.

Ro toēpēd cucu, ḡna, Capluy ocuy Ebric, da meic  
 iuz ppanc, ocuy plac, tpen milro loclairō, ocuy Conmael  
 tpeitel. Ὅa pōēt, tra, in longey rin ar caē arḡo co  
 hCē Cliaē. Ὅa, ḡna, pocraroi aduil mor i nCē Cliaē  
 baēin .i. tpi caēa comora comnerḡa. Ὅa pōēt, ḡna,  
 Moelmorḡa mac Murēaḡa mic pino, pi laḡen, ocuy  
 pocraroi laḡen ocuy Ua Centpelaiz leiḡ, co Cē Cliaē.  
 Tpi caēa mora diḡiḡe.

<sup>1</sup> *Danars.* This word, though originally signifying *Danes*, is often used in the sense of violent, villanous, ferocious, persons. It probably has this signification here, and is certainly so used again, lines 4 and 7, of this page. B. omits uli, "all."

<sup>2</sup> *Generation.* ḡan paēill, ḡan aitariu, B.

<sup>3</sup> *For man.* Ὅo Ὅia no dāme, ḡo naēn, no ḡo nemeo, B.: "For God or man, for saint or for sanctuary."

<sup>4</sup> *Two thousand.* Lit., "twenty hundred." So both MSS.; but the

*Ann. Ul., Four Mast., and Leabhar Gabhala,* read "one thousand."

<sup>5</sup> *Hard-hearted.* B. omits diuperaideac, and reads, diupēbercaē ḡo dhanmarcaēab, supplying the initial ḡ, which, as usual, is dropped in D.

<sup>6</sup> *Selling.* Cē na cpeic, ocuy ar na cenḡaē ar ēri, ocuy ar ionnuuy maraen iuu, B.: "Selling and hiring themselves for gold and for treasure, along with them."

<sup>7</sup> *There was not.* Hi paibe imorpo, B.

<sup>8</sup> *Triple-plated.* tpeḡoualaiḡ, B.



The forces  
of Brian.

LXXXVIII. Imēyρα, imorpio, Ὀριαν mic Cennediz  
μι Επειθο. Ro τινολιτ εἰσι ρειν ιιοῦ το ρεκαρι ε το  
ρειαυθ Επειθο .ι. τα cinceo Mumam ocuy Conaḗta, ocuy  
pυρ Μιθο; ocuy mi βα ταpυρi doypum pυρ Μιθο, uαρi τα  
pυτιρ ρεινi coτpειcepυτιρ ε ρε huḗt mi caḗa pυm, ce tan-  
caταρ ιp mi comēinol. Ocuy panceαταρ, τpα, co hCCḗ  
Cuaḗ. Ocuy pο ιnyat Ua Zabla, ocuy Ua Donḗατα, ocuy  
Pυm Zall uli leo. Ro loypco leo Cell Maizneno. Ro  
cypco, oνα, Donḗατο mac Ὀριαν ocuy Zlaplaḗ Taλcaρ,  
ocuy tpep caḗ Mumam pοp τυαḗαib λαzen, ocuy ιpοιατο  
na μιunτεp, δια naρcaam ocuy δια ιnoρiατο mi τιp. Oτ  
concaταρ na Zall na pοpλοpει i Pυm ocuy τυαḗ Eταp,  
tancaταρ ιna naζαιto i Maζ ηEλto, ocuy pοp comπιαpeḗt  
ocuy τυcepaτ a ιnoνα caḗa op apo.

He plun-  
ders all  
around  
Dublin.

Fingal and  
Howth  
burned.

Brian holds  
a council.

ιp αno βα Ὀριαν αnoρην ap pαḗi CCḗa Cuaḗ, ocuy  
μαḗi Taλcaρ mi αpεḗτυp, im Maelpclainno ocuy im  
Mypḗαto, ocuy im Conaηz, ocuy im Taotz mac Caḗal,  
ocuy im μαḗib Conaḗt apḗena, ocuy pυρ Mumam, ocuy  
pυρ Μιθο; αḗt maot enu ιny βα pυn oen pυρ ic pειαυθ  
Μιθο ρε caḗ, no ic Maelpclainno.

The march  
of Brian's  
army.

LXXXIX. Ta deḗapταρ Ὀριαν uαto ταpαηp co  
pacaπταρ uαto mi cυp comēpυιno, comop, cenζαλιto,

<sup>1</sup> Now. B. omits imorpio.

<sup>2</sup> King. Αpοpυ, B., "chief king."

<sup>3</sup> Obeyed. In neoḗ pο ppeccaρi ε, B. Lit., "responded to him."

<sup>4</sup> Conacht. B. reads, ocuy cuiḗeḗo Connaḗt, ocuy beccán to eἰḗeḗo Ulaḗo: "and the province of Connaught, and a small portion of the province of Uladh."

<sup>5</sup> Faithful. Rob eταηpυρi oḗ pαn pυρ Μιθο tanζαταρ na eἰnoḗ, oηp oḗiζ pο ppoη co τpειcepετταρ ε ρε huḗt an caḗa, B.

<sup>6</sup> And they. B. omits this clause.

<sup>7</sup> And U Gabla. Ro ιnoρiαto huα Zαḗpα, B.: "They plundered U Gabhra," &c., omitting and.

<sup>8</sup> All. B. omits uḗi leo.

<sup>9</sup> By them. B. reads, ocuy pο loypcoḗo Cluam Taḗlám, ocuy Cell

Maiznenn ιa Ὀριαν: "And Cluain Dalláin [Clondalkin], and Cill Maighnenn [Kilmainham] were burnt by Brian."

<sup>10</sup> New levies. Lit., "green levies." Co ηZlapαtoη, *Dubl. Ann. Inisf.*, which Dr. O'Conor translates "cum cœruleis militibus Dalcassiorum," and explains *Gallo-glass*, or soldiers painted a livid colour to excite terror, *Rev. Hib. Scriptt.* tom. ii. The romantic tale, "Battle of Clontarf," reads, co ηZlapαlam.

<sup>11</sup> Were sent. Ro τοḗcυpρεαḗo, B.

<sup>12</sup> Territories. ι pοpτυαḗαib, B.

<sup>13</sup> The country. Ta ιnoρiαḗo ocuy οα naρζαm, B., "to plunder and spoil."

<sup>14</sup> Saw. Oτ concaταρ, B.

<sup>15</sup> Fine. Pυm Zall ocuy αττυαḗ



coraēti caēta, co tai tar-taē, co cobrao cotnaē, co hoentadaē oemmeninnac, ic r-laizi in maēzi ēucu, ocuy .x. mepzi ocuy tpi pīōit oipio, do dery, ocuy do buiti, ocuy tuani, ocuy do enel caēa daēta; moni mepzi pīti rap puaēno, penta, panemai, puc buao [caēa] caēa ocuy caēa eliaēta, ocuy caēa congala, pū ap bypēto .iiii. caēa conicci innoao pū .i. mepzi opzuanemai Pēzai Ua Ruairc, apōpū tuaē ōpēpū ocuy Conmaci, ocuy Pēzai pēin apōpū, ocuy 'Domnall mac Razallai, ocuy Silla na Hoem mac 'Domnall ua Pēzai, ocuy maēti tuaē ōpēpū ocuy Conmaci apēna. Ocuy tair-catar zaipt on longpōit, ocuy da pāpōpētāp aō, ocuy tairc Pēzai ocuy na maēti map apabi ōpūia da azal-lam, ocuy da pēapapap ōpūia pailti cunōai capō-demai pū, ocuy pō epz Mupēao pēmi, ocuy pō pāpōpūm ma maō; ocuy pōbi ōpūia ic pīapapōit pēel dē, ocuy inōpūm dō, Cēd mac Ualzarz Ua Ciapōa, pū Cappū, dēmed tuaēt lēip dōcūm in ēaēta pū, dō cunzūm pē ōpūia; ocuy pō mallai ōpūia apōpū Ua Ciapōa ocuy Cappū, ocuy tuc bēnnaēt ap Pēzai ocuy ap pēapab ōpēpū apēna.

Another  
account.

XC. Dōaz ipēto inōpūit pāpēno co tapūic dō na hallmapaēab a tapapapal in naōaich pēmi pū dō caētūm, ocuy co pāncatar co ōemō Eōap, in tpaē at concatap na pōpōpōi ocuy in tūp icā hūpēto; uap tapcatap dō ōpūia in aōaiz pēmi capōi dōib co tpaēh epz apnambapāē, caī na pōpōpōi dō dēnūm, co tōcbaitūp na pēolēpāno, ocuy in impōdōap dōpūp; uap pūb ēgal Leo zarpēo Mupēao, ocuy 'Dālcap apēna.

<sup>1</sup> *Fergal himself.* This chapter occurs in D. and not in B. No mention of Fergal Ua Ruairc and his followers, as present in the battle, is to be found in the Annals, nor is he mentioned in the Book of Conquests, or by Keating.

<sup>2</sup> *Refused.* The MS. has dēmed, for dōpēmed, or dōpēmed.

<sup>3</sup> *Some.* Seanchardē, B., "historians."

<sup>4</sup> *Battle.* In aōhāz pōime, B., "the night before."

<sup>5</sup> *When they saw.* Cū tan aō-

silence, mutely, bravely, haughtily, unitedly, with one mind, traversing the plain towards them; and three score and ten banners over them, of red, and of yellow, and of green, and of all kinds of colours; together with the everlasting, variegated, lucky, fortunate banner, that had gained the victory in every battle and in every conflict, and in every combat; by which seven battles had been gained before that time, namely, the gold-spangled banner of Fergal Ua Ruairc, chief king of the territory of Brefni and Conmaicni; and Fergal himself<sup>1</sup> was there, and Domhnall, son of Ragallach, and Gilla-na-naemh, son of Domhnall, grandson of Fergal, and the nobles of the territory of Brefni and Conmaicni in like manner. And they came near the tent, and stopped there; and Fergal and the nobles advanced to where Brian was, to meet him, and Brian gave them a hearty friendly welcome; and Murchadh rose up to him, and seated him in his place. And Brian asked him the news, and he told him that Aedh, son of Ualgairg Ua Ciardha, king of Cairbri, refused<sup>2</sup> to accompany him to that battle in defence of Brian. And therefore Brian cursed Ua Ciardha, and the Cairbri, and gave a blessing to Fergal and to the men of Brefni also.

XC. Some,<sup>3</sup> indeed, have said that the pay of the pirates was spent the night before that battle,<sup>4</sup> and that they had gone *homewards* as far as Benn Edair, when they saw<sup>5</sup> the conflagration and devastation of the country; for they had offered Brian the night before,<sup>6</sup> that if he would delay the burning until the morrow's sunrise, they would raise<sup>7</sup> their sail-masts, and never return again<sup>8</sup>; for they dreaded the valour of Murchadh, and of the Dál Cais in general.

Another account.

conncatar na forloircte i Fingall, ocyr an tih ga hionturo. B.: "When they saw the conflagration in Fingall, and the country devastated."

<sup>6</sup> *Night before.* In a<sup>6</sup>az roinne ym, B., "the night before that."

<sup>7</sup> *They would raise.* Ocyr co tocrair, B.

<sup>8</sup> *Again.* Ocyr na hionp<sup>8</sup>o<sup>8</sup>oair so ru<sup>8</sup>o<sup>8</sup>ir, uair rob eccad<sup>8</sup> leo, 7c., B. D. has rub for rob, evidently an error of the scribe.

Assembling  
of the  
forces.

XCI. CĪO, TĪA AĒT, ſO ĩMPODAP ĩN LONGEAP, OCUP TAN-  
CATAſ ĩN OEN ĩMAD, OCUP GALL ACĒA CLĪAĒ, OCUP LAĒĪN, CO  
PAĒATAſ .UN. CAĒA COMOPĀ COMNEPTA. CĪO, ONA, AĒT BA  
OAL GLECAĒ, ŒONACĒ, ŒĪĪPTEACĒ, PULEACĒ, POPDOPĒ, AĒMAſ,  
AĒAPĪB, ĩPĒALACĒ, ĩN COMOAL PĪN OĀLCAP OCUP PEP MUMAN  
OCUP CONACĒT, OCUP PEP OPEPĪN, OCUP GALL, OCUP LAĒEN.

Description  
of the forces  
of the  
enemy.

ĪATAſ, ĩMOPĪO, OUN OAPĪNA LEĪĒ ĩN CAĒA PĪN ŒĪAM  
ŒĪONMAſ, ŒĪĪPMAſ, ŒĪLEACĒ, ŒĪALACĒ, ŒĪĪMAĒ, ŒĪAPĒBEODA,  
OUBAPĪĒ, OĪAN, OENĪĪETAĒ, OAPĀĒTACĒ, OICEĪĪĪO, OOCOĪP,  
ODOCOMUNO, BEODA, BOĪB, BAPĪBAPĒA, BOAODA, ACĒ, ACĒĪUM,  
ANĪAPĒACĒA, UPĪAM, ANĒBANO, ĩPĒALACĒ, NEMNEĒ, ĩMATA,  
NAMONEMAL OANAP; OANA, OUPĒAPĒOĒĒA, ANĪAPĒACĪ,  
ANĪBĪ, ALLĪAPĒO GALL, ŒOPĪNŒĪAPĒA, ŒENĪĪOĪ; CAN ĒAGĪĪ,  
CAN CACUP, CAN ACĪĪĪN, CAN COMAPĒĪ DO OĪA NO DO OUNĪ.

Their  
weapons.

ĪATAſ LEO PĒN DO PĒPTAL CAĒA OCUP COMĪANO APĒ CĪO,  
PĒAĒĪ PĒĒĪ, PĒOĒPĒACHA, PULEĒA, POPDOPĒĒA, PĪPĒĪPĪ, PĪPĒ-  
BACCANACĒA, ŒĒPĒA, ŒOPĒĪ, ŒĪNEĒA, AĒMAŒĒA, ACĒĪ, ACĒĒĪ,  
ĪMATA, NEMNEĒA AP ĪA PĒBĒED, OCUP AP ĪA POPĪAMĪAD, A  
PĪĪB OPECON, ĩP LOĒCENO, ĩP ODOBĪNACĒĪAC, ĩPĒPĒEC, ĩPĒOPĒ  
ĩP ONĒON ĩP NACĒPACĒ ACĒNEMNEACĒ, NECPANĪAL APĒĒENA, OĒ  
CANĪUM PĒN OCUP OĒ ĩNBĒICAD ĩN NĒPĒAĒĪB ANĒ, ĩP  
ĩPĒALĪ, ĩP ENĒĪNUMA. ĪATAſ LEOPEN PĒAĒĪTBUNĒE BAOĒA,  
BAPĪBAPĒO, OCUP BOĒAODA BĒACĒĪ BĒABUNOĪ; OCUP LAĒĪN  
LONNA, LEĒANŒĪAPĒA, ŒĒPĒA, ŒĒPĒA, TEMNĪO, Ī LAMĒAB LEĒ-  
MEĒA, OANA, OUPĒ OĪBERĒACĒ LEO. ĪATAſ LEO, TĪA, LUPĒĒA  
LANOPEPOĒA, LUCĒMAŒĒO, TĒPĒOUDALACĒA, TĒPĒOMA, TĒPĒENTĒEBĒAPĒO  
DO ĪAPĪNO ANĒ, ANĒLEĒĒA, OCUP OUMA ĩMĪNAP, NEMĒPĒĒOĪ,  
PĒ OĪĪĪN COPĒ, OCUP CĪEPĒ, OCUP CENOMULLANĒ, OĪB AP  
APĪANĒB ACĒĪ, ANĒBĒĒĪ, OCUP AP ĪPĒAEBĒANĒB, ĪĪB, AĒMAŒĒA.

<sup>1</sup> *One place.* CĪN AEN ĪONACĒ, B.

<sup>2</sup> *A conflict.* CĪO TĪA AĒT BA  
COMĒOAL, B.

<sup>3</sup> *Wounding.* Om., B. In the next  
line B. omits "and the men of Brefni,"  
and adds after "Laighin" pĒ CEĪLE,  
"together," or "with each other."

<sup>4</sup> *Of that battle.* ĪATAŒĒPĒ ONA OON  
OAPĒA LEĪĒ OON ĒACĒ PĪN, B. We  
have here an extravagant specimen

of the heaping together alliterative  
epithets, in which the Irish bardic  
writers took delight. To find English  
equivalents for such absurd verbosity  
is no very profitable or easy task: there  
are here something like twenty-seven  
adjectives strung together before we  
come to the substantive they are in-  
tended to describe. The corresponding  
passage in B. is as follows: ŒĪANĪ,

XCI. But now the fleet returned, and came to one place<sup>1</sup>; Assembling of the forces. both the foreigners of Ath-Cliath and the Laighin, and they formed seven great strong battalions. And then ensued a conflict,<sup>2</sup> wrestling, wounding,<sup>3</sup> noisy, bloody, crimsoned, terrible, fierce, quarrelsome: that conflict of the Dal Cais and the men of Munster, and of Conacht, and of the men of Brefni, and of the foreigners, and of the Laighin.

Now on the one side of that battle<sup>4</sup> were the shouting, Description of the forces of the enemy. hateful, powerful, wrestling, valiant, active, fierce-moving, dangerous, nimble, violent, furious, unscrupulous, untamable, inexorable, unsteady, cruel, barbarous, frightful, sharp, ready, huge, prepared, cunning, warlike, poisonous, murderous, hostile Danars; bold, hard-hearted Danmarkians, surly, piratical foreigners, blue-green, pagan; without reverence, without veneration, without honour, without mercy, for God or for man. These had for the purposes of Their weapons. battle and combat, and for their defence,<sup>5</sup> sharp, swift, bloody, crimsoned, bounding, barbed, keen, bitter, wounding, terrible, piercing, fatal, murderous, poisoned arrows, which had been anointed and browned in the blood of dragons and toads, and water-snakes of hell, and of scorpions and otters, and wonderful venomous snakes of all kinds, to be cast and shot at active and warlike, and valiant chieftains. They had with them hideous, barbarous, quivers; and polished, yellow-shining bows; and strong, broad green, sharp, rough, dark spears, in the stout, bold, hard hands of freebooters. . They had also with them polished, pliable, triple-plated, heavy, stout, corslets of double refined iron, and of cool uncorroding brass, for the protection of their bodies, and skin, and skulls, from sharp terrible arms, and from all sorts of fearful weapons. They had also with

ξλονηαρ, ξληροεé, ξληρηαρ, ξλαé, ξλεαé, ξηιοηαé, ξαρρε-  
 βεοóα, éρηαρε, éοηαρεα, éλοζαé  
 éαem, κυήοαéτα [ελορöhe], ηληή-  
 ηα, ηλορηá, ηληξεαα, ξεαρ, ξηαα,  
 ξεορηζληαρ, ληρηεé, λαρηαé, λαν-  
 οερóα, óερα, óιορηζα, οορηξεαα,  
 ρηρηεé οορη ρηζηηεóε λέó ηηί

λεορηαó οορη ηηί ηαρλεαé, οορη  
 ηηί ηαéεμα αηερ, οορη κορη, οορη  
 εεοηομυλλαξ οηβηηοβ. All that  
 follows in the text is omitted in B.  
 to the end of chap. xcii.  
<sup>5</sup> Defence. Lit., "over their heads:"  
 ηερταλ is for ηερταλ; the η omitted  
 as usual in D.

δαταρ, ονα, leo claidmi calma, curata, τρομα, τορ-  
bulleða, ταιλι, τρενα, ταιρβεεα.

Description  
of Brian's  
troops.

XCII. Δαταρ, μορρο, τον leið ele in caða rin,  
curato crotta, comēalma; σαρρατο, ζλανζερατα, λιεμαρα,  
letmeað, lançalma, mepta, μορρσημαð, uillað, clanno,  
allaða, bpuταð, bpuzað, boyypudach, mamta, nuazel,  
nemeptueð, azmar, enzað, ilbuatað; tpeit ocuy ταιρβ  
tpeitel, ocuy tpeumilid laeð zal, ocuy ζαιρειο, emz, ocuy  
engnuma tpeuo .i. In luato letrom po bny cað tpeu,  
ocuy po puin cað pot, ocuy po lusz cað docair, ocuy po  
lomair cað tpeu ðeno .i. Clanna Luzdeað mic Oenzupa  
Tupu, ny a pater Dálair Doraama, ocuy ζερατα ζλαν-  
ζατα σοedel ay oen pu.

Panegyric  
on the Dál  
Cais.

The Franks  
and Israel-  
ites of  
Ireland.

The lions of  
the Gael.

The wolf  
dogs of  
Ireland.

The hawks  
of Europe.

Cinnud mtamlazsteað rin pe macaib Mileato ay pu-  
taðt, ocuy ay polozuo, ay tpeoir, ocuy ay arberut, ocuy  
ay mpaζuo. Ppauic na Potla pondaipoi, ay ζlicuy, ocuy  
ay ζλανζαιρεο .i. Meic aibda, allu, uayli, ilbuataða,  
Ippaieil naðtpeuo illatazti, ay caoi, ocuy ay cumlaðt,  
ay ppuinu, ocuy ay mpaay. Leoman lonna, letapēaða,  
letmeða na nzoedel, ay zal, ocuy ay ζαιρεο, ocuy ay  
zmmuao. Onðoin aði, atluma na ðamba buataði, ay  
talci ocuy ay talcapeðt. Sebunc puapei paipēnga na  
hθopra allu, aduair, ny nap ζabaο cað no caipa no  
cliaταð no comloio puai pemupiu, no aoiyin pui.

Δα, ονα, leo do peptal caða ocuy comloio, opa cno,  
pleza puapei, pemneða, pēnaραða, ptoaimi, puamla pu  
allu puoðiuil. Depa booba bpuati, co puatnemai bpu,  
panemal, congpuai ταιρβmib, ζlana, ζlopua, ζlamoi,  
ta maai oibpucoo ppu haipuzti baiz ocuy ηzali. Δαταρ  
leo, ονα, lentu lebpa, lamdepa, cuana coema, cneyzela,  
cunza, copu, comðoema. Δαταρ leo, ονα, maip allu, illa-  
taða, cneyta, coema, cumtaða, ceptauanaða, ðoema,

Their arms  
and ar-  
mour.

<sup>1</sup> *Weight.* Luato. *Lit.*, "lead."

<sup>2</sup> *Nails.* The MS. D. has here  
conguzuan; but the ζη are a mani-  
fest mistake which the scribe probably

forgot to erase. The correct reading  
conguzuan has been adopted in the  
text.

them valorous, heroic, heavy, hard-striking, strong, powerful, stout swords.

XCII. But on the other side of that battle were brave, valiant champions; soldierly, active, nimble, bold, full of courage, quick, doing great deeds, pompous, beautiful, aggressive, hot, strong, swelling, bright, fresh, never-weary, terrible, valiant, victorious heroes and chieftains, and champions, and brave soldiers, the men of high deeds, and honour, and renown of Erin; namely, the heavy weight<sup>1</sup> that broke down every stronghold, and cleft every way, and sprang over every obstacle, and flayed every stout head, that is to say, the descendants of Lugaidh, son of Oenghus Tirech, who are called the Dal Cais of Borumha, and the stainless intelligent heroes of the Gaidhil along with them.

Description  
of Brian's  
troops.

These were a tribe worthy of being compared with the sons of Miledh, for kingliness and great renown, for energy, and dignity, and martial prowess. *They were* the Franks of ancient Fodhla, in intelligence and pure valour; the comely, beautiful, noble, ever-victorious sons of Israel of Erin, for virtue, for generosity, for dignity, for truth, and for worth; the strong, tearing, brave lions of the Gaedhil, for valour and bold deeds; the terrible, nimble, wolf-hounds of victorious Banba, for strength and for firmness; the graceful, symmetrical hawks of mild Europe, against whom neither battle, nor battle-field, nor conflict, nor combat was ever before, nor then was, maintained.

Panegyric  
on the Dál  
Cais.

The Franks  
and Israel-  
ites of  
Ireland.

The lions of  
the Gael.

The wolf  
dogs of  
Ireland.

The hawks  
of Europe.

And these had for the purposes of battle and combat, above their heads, spears glittering, well riveted, empoisoned, with well-shaped, heroic, beautiful handles of white hazle; terrible sharp darts with variegated silken strings; thick set with bright, dazzling, shining nails,<sup>2</sup> to be violently<sup>3</sup> cast at the heroes of valour and bravery. They had on them also, long, glossy, convenient, handsome,

Their arms  
and ar-  
mour.

<sup>3</sup> *Violently.* 111011 is for 110111, the MS. D., omitting the letter eclipsed according to the usual orthography of | in pronunciation.

comտարաճա ծար րւարտիւ րապի, րիճեկրա ԼԵՕ. Նատար ԼԵՕ, ծոս, րբե՛տ մորս, միլետս, երթո՛ւտս, ալլի, մլատաճս, զո  
comբարտիւ զօրն զբեմս, զօ րլաբարձսն քիւր ալլի քիւր  
քիւր, ալ րկերսն րօբրկանօ րօբրբերա՛ճ, րապի, րջանօ,  
րօճօմանօ, ԼԵՕ. Նատար ԼԵՕ, ծոս, զաճարիւր զրաճս, րօ  
րօրծս, զօ ղջեմսն ղլօրծս, ղլանօ, զօ ԼԵՂսն Լանօթրօս,  
Լօճմարս, մմ զենօսն քիւրաճ քիւր քիւր միլեօ. Նատար ԼԵՕ  
տիսճս զրօմս, զարձեճս, զրենս, զօլճօս, զարձեմաճս, ղքիւր,  
ղլուար, ղլանօ, Լեճնս, Լմեճս ԼօճԼաննաճս, մլանսն  
քիւրաճ, զօքիւր զարաճ, զրեթԷԼ, զօքիւր զրենմիլեօ, քիւր րլանօ,  
զօքիւր քիւր զարաճան քիւրաճ քիւրաճ քիւրաճ զօքիւր զօքիւր  
քիւր, ծոս, ԼԵՕ զարձմիւր զրաճիւ, զօմմերտս, զօլճօս, զօեմս,  
զօմմաճօտս, րլեմնս, րկերտս, րկերճեկս, ղքիւր, ղլանս, ղօրմ  
ղլարս, Լմնեճս Լարարեճս, Լանօթրօս, ղքիւրս ղքիւրս ղօքիւրս  
քիւր, աճի, աճԼմս, մմօքիւրս ղքիւրս, ղօրմմօճեկս, քիւրաճ զօքիւր  
քիւրմիլեօ ԼԵՕ, քիւր ԼԵՕ՞ զօքիւր քիւր ԼԵՂարձ, քիւր Լարաճ  
զօքիւր քիւր Լարձմսն զքիւր, զօքիւր զօքիւր, զօքիւր զօքիւրաճ զօքիւր.

Danger of  
an encoun-  
ter with  
them.

XCIII. Մարքս նա րօ ղջանս մմ մմմմքիւր քիւր ղօնեօճ  
նար ալ րարաճքիւրալ. Մարքս րօ ղօքիւրսն զ րօքիւրսն  
քիւրաճ րօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն. Մարքս րօ  
քիւրաճ ղօնեօճ նաճ քիւրաճքիւրալ; օքիւր քիւր քիւրսն մմ նաճարձ  
քիւրաճ; քիւր քիւրաճքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն; քիւր քիւր քիւր  
քիւրաճքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն; քիւր քիւրսն մմ ղօքիւրսն, մմ մմ ղօքիւրսն;  
քիւր ղօքիւրսն քիւրսն ղօքիւրսն, ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն  
քիւրսն ղօքիւրսն; ղօքիւրսն մմ քիւրսն մմ մմ քիւրսն քիւրսն ղօքիւրսն  
քիւրսն ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն  
քիւրսն ղօքիւրսն.

Disposition  
of the ene-  
my's forces.

XCIV. Ըրօ, զրա աճօ, րա օքիւրաճքիւր, զօքիւր րօ զօքիւրսն  
նա ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն. ղօքիւրսն զրա ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն

<sup>1</sup> Bronze. Բրոնզիւ. See above, pp. 50, 94, 115.

<sup>2</sup> Who did not yield. B. reads, ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն, "if it was possible to escape from it:" omitting "woe to those who aroused their anger."

<sup>3</sup> Pummelling. B. reads, զօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն.

<sup>4</sup> Swelling. Մարքիւրսն, B.

<sup>5</sup> It was. "And it was," զօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն.

<sup>6</sup> The fist. B. reads, զօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն մմ ղօքիւրսն.

<sup>7</sup> Attempt. B. omits ղօքիւրսն.

<sup>8</sup> For. ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն, B.

<sup>9</sup> Warriors. B. adds (after ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն) ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն ղօքիւրսն.

white, neat, well-adjusted, graceful shirts. They had on them also, beautiful, many-coloured, well-fitting, handsome, well-shaped, well-adjusted, enfolding tunics, over comfortable long vests. They had with them also, great warlike, bright, beautiful, variegated shields, with bosses of brass, and elegant chains of bronze,<sup>1</sup> at the sides of their noble, accomplished, sweet, courteous, eloquent clansmen. They had on them also, crested golden helmets, set with sparkling transparent brilliant gems and precious stones, on the heads of chiefs and royal knights. They had with them also, shining, powerful, strong, graceful, sharp, glaring, bright, broad, well-set Lochlann axes, in the hands of chiefs and leaders, and heroes, and brave knights, for cutting and maiming the close well-fastened coats of mail. They had with them, steel, strong, piercing, graceful, ornamental, smooth, sharp-pointed, bright-sided, keen, clean, azure, glittering, flashing, brilliant, handsome, straight, well-tempered, quick, sharp swords, in the beautiful white hands of chiefs and royal knights, for hewing and for hacking, for maiming and mutilating skins, and bodies, and skulls.

XCIII. Woe unto all who shunned not this people, who did not yield unto them.<sup>2</sup> Woe to those who aroused their anger, if it was possible to escape from it. Woe to those who attacked them, if they could have avoided attacking them; for it was swimming against a stream; it was pummelling<sup>3</sup> an oak with fists; it was a hedge against the swelling<sup>4</sup> of a spring-tide; it was<sup>5</sup> a string upon sand or a sun-beam; it was the fist<sup>6</sup> against a sun-beam, to attempt<sup>7</sup> to give them battle or combat; for<sup>8</sup> it is not easy to conceive any horror equal to that of arousing the fierce battle and hard conflict of these warriors.<sup>9</sup>

XCIV. So these battalions were arranged and disposed<sup>10</sup> in the following manner.<sup>11</sup> The foreigners and the

Danger of an encounter with them.

Disposition of the enemy's forces.

չրնի, օսւր ԲԱ զոլլ բաւաճ շօնան  
 ո ռոճ սքիս, օսւր քերպոմնե նա  
 լաճքրաճ քո ո ռոսւրճոճ.

<sup>10</sup> *Disposed.* B. omits օսւր ո ռո յոնրաչիւ.

<sup>11</sup> *Manner.* Ի ռո բաւաճ քո, B.

շալլաՅ օժւր յԵ ԼաշոՅ ըՈՆԱ ըՆԱԻՐՅ ԾԻԵՐՔԱՅ ԱԼԼՄԱՐԾԱՅ ԿՐՈ, ըՍ ԾՐՕՏԱՐ ԻԱՐԼԱ ՇԱՐՒ ԷԲՐՕՇ, ԿՐԻՐԵԱՇ ԾՆԱՐ, ԻՄ ՇՈՄԱԷԼ, ՄԱՇ Ա ՄԱՏԱՐ, օժՒՐ ԻՄ ՏՒԵԱՐՈ ՄԱՇ ԼՕՏԱՐ, ԻԱՐԼԱ ԻՄՐԻ ՕՐԵ, օժՒՐ ԻՄ ՔԼԱՏ, ԿՐԵՆ ԻՄԼԻՈ ՇԱԼ ՍԼԻ, օժՒՐ ԱՆՐԱՇ ՄԱՇ ԷԼԲՐԵ ՄԱՇ ՔԻ ԼՕՇԼԱՆՈ, օժՒՐ ՇԱՐԼԼՒՐ, օժՒՐ ԿՐԵՆՈ ըՍԵ, օժՒՐ ՏՍԻՆՈ, օժՒՐ ՏՍԱՆՈ, օժՒՐ ՄԱՇԻ ՇԱԼ ԻԱՐՏԱՐ ԹՐՔՐԱ Օ ԼՕՇԼԱՆՈ ԿԻԱՐ, ԱՐ ՕԵՆ ՔԻՍ ԿՐՈ. ԾԱ ՔՈՆԱՐՈ, ԻՄՈՐՔՐՈ, ՇՐԻ ՕԵՆ ՇԱՏԱ ՇՐԻՄՈ ՇՈՄՐ ըՍ ՇԱԼԻՅ ԱՇԱ ՇԻԱՇ ՍԼԻ, օժՒՐ ԿՐԵԱՐՈ ԻՆԱ ՆԵՅԱՐՈ ՔԵՆ Ե . Ի . Ի ՆՈՒԱՐՈ ՆԱ ՆԱՆՄԱՐՅԱՇ. ՔՐՈ ԲԱՏԱՐ ՔՈՄՔՐՐԻՈՇ, ԾՈՒՅՂԱԼ ՄԱՇ ԱՄԼԱԻՅ, օժՒՐ ՏԻԼԼԱՇԻԱՐԱՆ ՄԱՇ ՏԼԻՄԻԱՐԱՆՈ ՄԻՇ ԱՄԼԱԻՅ, օժՒՐ ԾՈՆՔԱՐՈ ՍԱ ԻՇՐԱՍԼԵ, օժՒՐ ԱՄԼԱԻՅ ԼԱՅՄԱՆՈ ՄԱՇ ՏՐՔՐԱՐՈ, . Ի. ՇԵՔՐԻ ՔԻՅՈՄՈՄՆԱ ՇԱԼ. ԾԱՏԱՐ ՔՈՄՔՐՈ, ըՆԱ, ՕՏՏԻՐ ըՍԵ, օժՒՐ ՏՐՒՐԻՆ օժՒՐ ԼՍՄԻՆ օժՒՐ ՏՆԱՐՇԱՐ . Ի. ՇԵՔՐԻ ՔՐՒՅ ՇԱԼ, օժՒՐ ՇԵՔՐԻ ԿՐԻՐՅ ԼՈՆՅԻ, օժՒՐ ՄԱՏԻ ՇԱԼ ԷՐԵՆՈ ԱՐՕԵՆ ՔԻՍ ՔԵՆ. ԾՐՈ ՔՈՆԱՐ ըՆԱ ՕԵՆ ՇԱՇ ըՍ ԼԱՅՈՒ, օժՒՐ ըՍԻՅ ՇԵՆՔՐԷԼԱՅ, օժՒՐ ԿՐԵԱՐՈ ՔԵ ՔԱԼԱԻՅ ԿՐՈ Ե. ԾԱՏԱՐ ՔՈՄՔՐՐԵՆ ըՆԱ, ՄՕԷՄՈՐԾԱ, ՄԱՇ ՄՍՐՔԱՐԾԱ, ՔԻՅ ԼԱՅԵՆ, օժՒՐ ԾՕԵՏԱՆ, ՄԱՇ ԾՍՆԼԱՆՅ, ՔԻ ԻԱՐՏԱՐ ԼԱՅԵՆ, օժՒՐ ԾՍՆԼԱՆՅ, ՄԱՇ ԿՐԱՇԱԼ, ՔԻ ԼԻՐԻ, օժՒՐ ԾՐՕՏՐԵՆԱՆ, ՄԱՇ ՇՈՆՇՈՒՐ, ՔԻ Ս ՔԱՅԻ, օժՒՐ ԾՈՄՆԱԼ, ՄԱՇ ՔԵՐՅԱԼԵ, ՔԻ ՔՐՔՒԱՏԻ ԼԱՅԵՆ, օժՒՐ ՄԱՏԻ ԼԱՅԵՆ ԱՐՔԵՆԱ.

Leaders of  
the Danes  
of Dublin.

Disposition  
of the Irish  
who were  
on the  
Danish  
side.  
Their  
leaders.

<sup>1</sup> *Placed in.* ԿՐԵԱՐՈ ըՆԱ, B. The meaning is, that the foreigners who had established themselves in Ireland, and who were in alliance with the Leinstermen, put their Danish and Norwegian auxiliaries in the front of the battle.

<sup>2</sup> *Murderous.* B. omits ըԻԵՐՔԱՅ.

<sup>3</sup> *Under Brodar.* B. reads, . Ի. ԾՐՕՏԱՐ ԻԱՐԼԱ ԿՐԻՐԵՇ ԾՆԱՐ; omitting "of Caer Ebroc."

<sup>4</sup> *Siucaid.* A mistake in the MS. D. for Siucaid. See above, p. 153, note <sup>10</sup>. B. reads *Sitriuc.*

<sup>5</sup> *Elbric.* "Anrad, son of Elbric," B.

<sup>6</sup> *Suanin.* ԻՄ ՇԱՐԼԼՒՐ օժՒՐ ԻՄ

ԿՐԵՆՈ ըՍԵ, օժՒՐ ԻՄ ՏՍԻՆՈ, օժՒՐ ԻՄ ՏՍԱՆՈ, B.: "With Carlus and with Torbend the black, and with Suimhni and with Suainni."

<sup>7</sup> *Along with them.* B. reads, ՄԱՏԷ ՇԱԼ ԷՐԵՆՈ ՍԼԵ ԱՐ ԱՍՆ ՔԻՍ ՔԵՄ, "the nobles of the foreigners of all Erin along with them."

<sup>8</sup> *Strong.* ՇՐԻՄՈ ՇԵՅԱԼԵ ՇՈՄՐ, B.

<sup>9</sup> *After.* ԻՆԱ ըՍԻԱՅ ՔԻՄ ԻԵ, . Ի. ԱՆՈՒԱՅ ՆԱ ՆՊԱՆԻԱՐԻՇ, B.

<sup>10</sup> *Head.* ԾԱՏԱՐ ՔՈՄՔՐԱ ԿՐՈ, . Ի B., where the names of the chieftains are given thus: "Dubhgall, son of Amlaf, and Donchad, grandson of Erulf, and Amlaf, son of Lagmann

Laighen placed<sup>1</sup> in the front the murderous<sup>2</sup> foreign Danars, under Brodar,<sup>3</sup> earl of Caer Ebroc, chieftain of the Danars; with Conmael, his mother's son, and with Siucaid,<sup>4</sup> son of Lotar, earl of the Orc Islands, and with Plait, the bravest knight of all the foreigners, and with Anrath, son of Elbric,<sup>5</sup> son of the king of Lochlann, and Carlus, and Torbenn the black, and Sunin, and Suanin,<sup>6</sup> and the nobles of the foreigners of western Europe, from Lochland westwards, along with them.<sup>7</sup> A line of one very great strong<sup>8</sup> battalion was formed of all the foreigners of Ath Cliath, and it was placed after<sup>9</sup> the above, that is after the Danmarkians. At their head<sup>10</sup> were Dubhgall, son of Amlaf, and Gilla Ciarain son of Glun-iaraind, son of Amlaf, and Donchad, grandson of Erulf, and Amlaf Lagmund, son of Goffraidh, the four crown princes of the foreigners. At their head also, were Ottir<sup>11</sup> the black, and Grisin, and Lummin, and Snadgair, four petty kings of the foreigners, and four chieftains of ships, and the nobles of the foreigners of Erinn along with them. A battalion<sup>12</sup> was also formed of the Laighin and of the Ui Cennselaigh, and it was placed behind<sup>13</sup> the above. And at the head of them were Maelmordha, son of Murchadh,<sup>14</sup> king of Laighin, and Boetan, son of Dunlang, king of western Laighin,<sup>15</sup> and Dunlang, son of Tuathal, king of Liphí, and Brogorban, son of Conchobhar, king of Ui Failghi, and Domhnall, son of Fergal, king of the Forthuagha of Laighin, and the nobles of Laighin likewise.<sup>16</sup>

Leaders of the Danes of Dublin.

Disposition of the Irish who were on the Danish side. Their leaders.

son of Gofraidh, four crown princes of the foreigners." But three only are mentioned.

<sup>11</sup> *Ottir*. B. gives these names thus: "Oitir the black, and Grifin, and Suanin, and Luimnin, and Sigraidh," omitting the description which follows, and adding only after the last name, *ocuy apō zall na hEreinn arāena arason nuu riu*, "and the chief foreigners of Erinn also along with them."

<sup>12</sup> *A battalion*. *Caē mōr*, B., "a great battalion."

<sup>13</sup> *Behind*. *Lit.*, "at the heels of." *Ar a rālab riu ē*, B.

<sup>14</sup> *Murchadh*. B. adds *mac Finn*. "Murchadh, son of Finn."

<sup>15</sup> *Laighin*. B. reads, *ru iarear lre, ocuy Drosarān, 7c.*, omitting the second Dunlang.

<sup>16</sup> *Likewise*. B. reads, *uile arason riuu riu*, "the nobles of all Laighin along with them."

Disposition  
of Brian's  
army.

The Dál  
Cais.  
Their  
leaders.

The other  
troops of  
Munster.  
Their  
leaders.

XCV. Tuccad imorro, topac caeta Briaun, ocuy maēi  
Epend arcena du damraio dem, diulans rempati,  
dun samantpauo zlan, zarta, zeta, zalas, znumas,  
zarzbeoda .i. do Oalcay curata connumas, ocuy do  
clannab Luigdeac arcena. Ba pompu rīde in hectoir  
mtamlaizteē ubuataē na hlltam clannu icenealaci  
allatai .i. Murcādo mac Briaun, eo Rorra, μισοραοι  
Epend; cenō zali, ocuy zarciō, ocuy znumata, emz  
ocuy engnuma, ocuy aebdaēta peap talman, pe pe, ocuy  
pe pemuy; oas in armit renčairi zoedel combeth  
don adamclannō pe pe pein oen dumi no congbaō rciatē  
compeptaib imbuaeta do. Baap, oia, ap oen pu riu,  
.i. Tapdelbaē a mac, in μισοmna a apu [r] pery ba  
in uEpuo, ocuy Conauz mac Doneuan, in tpey dumi iy  
toēu pu Briaun ba i nEpuo, ocuy Miall Ua Cunnō, ocuy  
Eochu mac Dunaōas, ocuy Cudulliz mac Cenōetiz,  
tpi cometōi Briaun, ocuy Domnall mac Diapmata, pu  
Copcubairiō, ocuy porzla laiē zali, ocuy zarciō  
Oalcay ap oen pu riu. Oa ponaō tpa oen caē  
comnart comop do zlepu rluas Mumau uli, ocuy tuccad  
pe palab ren ē. Baap pomporiōe Moēla, mac  
Domnall, miē Paelan, μz na Oeri, ocuy Mangnuy,  
mac Annčāda, pu uliaētan, ocuy tpeit ocuy tpeit na  
Mumau uli ap oen pu ren.

<sup>1</sup> *The front.* Tuccad topac caeta Briaun imorro, B.

<sup>2</sup> *To the.* Don damraio, dem, diulans, ocuy don zaihanraio zlom zlerca zarta, zalac, zno-  
niaē, zarzbeoda, .i. do Oal Cay, ocuy do Clannab Luigdeac arcena, B.

<sup>3</sup> *Heroes.* Samantpauo; "the Gamandraidh," were an antient warlike people of the Firbolg race in Erris, in Connaught; but their name is here used in the general sense of heroes, or warriors.

<sup>4</sup> *Adam.* B. reads, baio pompu riu, Ectay mepailaizce na hEpuo, .i. Murchaō: "There was

leading them the matchless Hector of Erin, viz., Murchadh," &c.

<sup>5</sup> *Yew of Ross.* One of the famous old trees of Ireland. See *O'Flaherty's Ogyg.*, Part iii., c. 60, p. 313.

<sup>6</sup> *Bravery.* B. reads, Cenōzale ocuy zarciō emz ocuy engnaia, ocuy aōbdaēta an talman ma rē, ocuy ma peimep. Ois in armit peanchaē co paē pe rē, ocuy pe pemuy ren, neē no congbaō rciat co ppeptaib imbuaeta do: "The head of the valour of bravery; munificence and liberality and beauty of the world in his time and in his career; for historians do not relate that there was any one in his time and in his

XCV. The front<sup>1</sup> of Brian's battalion and of the nobles of Erin with him, was given to the<sup>2</sup> aforesaid impetuous, irresistible, troops, to the fine, intelligent, valiant, brave, active, lively heroes,<sup>3</sup> viz., to the heroic, victorious Dal Cais, and to the Clann Luighdeach likewise. At the head of these was the matchless, ever victorious, Hector, of the many-nationed heroic children of Adam,<sup>4</sup> namely, Murchadh, son of Brian, the yew of Ross,<sup>5</sup> of the princes of Erin; the head of the valour and bravery,<sup>6</sup> and chivalry, munificence and liberality, and beauty, of the men of the world in his time, and in his career; for the historians of the Gaedhil do not relate, that there was any man of the sons of Adam in his time who could hold a shield in mutual interchange of blows with him. Along with him were also, Tordhelbach, his son,<sup>7</sup> the best crown prince of his time in Erin, and Conaing, son of Doncuán, one of the three men<sup>8</sup> most valued by Brian, that were then in Erin; and Niall Ua Cuinn, and Eochaidh, son of Dunadach, and Cudulligh, son of Cennetigh, the three rear guards<sup>9</sup> of Brian; and Domhnall, son of Diarmaid, king of Corcabaheiscinn, and the greater part of the men of bravery and valour of the Dal Cais along with them.<sup>10</sup> One very strong and great<sup>11</sup> battalion was also formed of the chosen hosts of all<sup>12</sup> Mumhain, and was stationed in the rear<sup>13</sup> of the former. At the head<sup>14</sup> of these was Mothla, son of Domhnall, son of Faelan, king of the Desii,<sup>15</sup> and Mangnus, son of Anmchadh, king of Uí Liathain,<sup>16</sup> and the brave and heroic of all Mumhain along with them.

Disposition of Brian's army.

The Dal Cais. Their leaders.

The other troops of Munster. Their leaders.

career that could hold a shield in mutual interchange of blows with him."

<sup>7</sup> *His son.* B. reads, αρ αον γυρ .ι. Τοιρρδεαδβαδ αν mac α αοιρ, οσυρ αν ριδαιηνα ρορ ρεαρρ ρο βα ι ηρυνν: "Along with him was Toirdhealbach [or Turlogh] the son of his age" [i.e., there was no other son of his time to be compared to him,] "and the best crown prince" [i.e., heir apparent to the crown,] "that was in Erin." He was at this time but fifteen years of age.—*Ann. Clonm.*

<sup>8</sup> *Men.* B. reads, αν τρερ ρερ αρ τοου λα θριαν ρο βα ι ηρυνν.

<sup>9</sup> *Rear Guards.* Cúlcomeasoaζε, B.

<sup>10</sup> *With them.* B. omits γιν; and reads τνα for τρα, next sentence.

<sup>11</sup> *Strong and great.* Κοιημόρ κοιηναρτ, B.

<sup>12</sup> *All.* B. omits υλ.

<sup>13</sup> *Rear.* Re α ράλαβ γιν έ, B.

<sup>14</sup> *At the head.* Ρομφορην .ι., B.

<sup>15</sup> *Desii.* Ρί να η'θέρη, B.

<sup>16</sup> *Uí Liathain.* Μαζηυρ mac Ccunnάδα ρι υα λιαεαιη οσυρ

The batta-  
lion of Con-  
naught  
and their  
leaders.

XCVI. Το πατασ, ονα, κατ̄ Conaēt im Maelruanasa  
Ua nEom, ocuy im Tatos Ua Cellas, p̄i Ua Mani, ocuy  
Moelruanasa mac Muirgiura, p̄i Muinripi Maelrua-  
nao, ocuy im Donnall Ua Concennio, p̄i Ua n'Diarmanas,  
ocuy im Ualzarz mac Cerni, ocuy im maēib Conaēt uli  
na oεgaso p̄ein.

Brian's  
Danish  
auxiliaries.

Τα κοιζεασ δεϊε μορμαρι θριαν cona ηzall  
porpatib ap̄i in daria cimari don caē. Τα κοιζεασ  
P̄ezal Ua Ruaric, ocuy u θruun, ocuy Conmacn umi,  
ap̄i in cimari cle don caē cetna.

The batta-  
lion of  
Maelsech-  
lain and  
the men of  
Meath.

Ro bai, ονα, Maelreclano, mac Donnall, p̄i  
Temraē, ocuy caē p̄er M̄ioi umi, ocuy in po p̄amirde  
comēoroēuo p̄e caē etir, uar̄i ba hi comar̄i zall in  
aosaē p̄em̄i dō, clao [do ēur] etop̄ro ocuy zall, ocuy  
m̄im̄i ηp̄raστir p̄iun zall, in ηp̄raστir zall iat̄rum,  
ocuy ip̄ amlao p̄in da p̄on̄ra, uar̄i po bi in op̄oēom̄ar̄i  
etop̄ro.

The post  
assigned to  
Murchadh,  
son of  
Brian.

XCVII. Ατβεραιτ, μορρο, αραιε γενεασι Muman,  
conio tpe caē Oep̄muman bai Muirēas, mac θριαν,  
ocuy a t̄ezlaē .i. p̄eēt̄ p̄ēit̄ mac p̄uz bai na commai-  
teaēt̄, uar̄i in p̄abi p̄uz oen tuat̄i in θp̄ino can a mac  
no can a br̄at̄ar̄i i t̄ezlaē Muirēas, uar̄i p̄ibe t̄izep̄na  
am̄raē θp̄eno, ocuy a macan ē, dar̄i heip̄ Αεσα Ūi Heill.  
Ατβεραιτ conio ap̄ro in ap̄ro batap̄ in da caē .i. caē  
Oep̄muman, ocuy caē Tuadmuman, ocuy ip̄ pollur ap̄ro  
conio p̄ir̄ p̄ein, uar̄i in tan batap̄ i corucuo na caē,  
dā euāō Muirēas eo up̄car̄i p̄e caē om̄p̄raστir zall.

τρεόν ocuy τρειτ̄ιλλ Muman uile,  
B.

<sup>1</sup> *Ua-n-Eidhín.* O ηC̄r̄om, B., i.e.,  
O'Heyne.

<sup>2</sup> *King.* Im p̄i, B.

<sup>3</sup> *Maelruanaidh.* B. reads, ocuy  
im Maolruanasaō mac Muirgiura,  
ocuy im Ualzarz mac Cern̄in,  
ocuy im maēib Conaēt uile na  
noεgaso p̄em̄.

<sup>4</sup> *Between them.* The two para-  
graphs beginning da κοιζεασ, line  
7, and ending etop̄ro, line 17, of this  
page, are omitted in B. The words  
do ēur, line 14, are inserted as neces-  
sary to the sense.

<sup>5</sup> *Historians.* B. reads, Ατβεραιτ  
μορρο αραιε ζονάσ p̄e caē  
Oep̄muman po bai Muirēas:  
“Others, however, say that it was

XCVI. The battalion of Conacht also, was led by Maelruanaidh Ua-n-Eidhin,<sup>1</sup> and by Tadhg Ua Cellaigh, king<sup>2</sup> of Ui Mani, and by Maelruanaidh,<sup>3</sup> son of Murghius, king of Muintir Maelruanaidh; and by Domhnall, grandson of Cuceninn, king of Ui nDiarmada; and with Ualgarg, son of Cerin, and with the nobles of all Conacht along with him.

The battalion of Connaught and their leaders.

The ten great stewards of Brian were drawn up, with their foreign auxiliaries, on one side of the army. Fergal Ua Ruairc, and the Ui Briuin, and the Conmaicne, were ordered to the left wing of the army.

Brian's Danish auxiliaries.

Maelsechlainn also, son of Domhnall, king of Temhair, and the battalion of the men of Midhe, with him, were next; but he consented not to be placed along with the rest; because the counsel of the foreigners on the preceding night was that he should put a ditch between him and the foreigners; and that if he would not attack the foreigners, the foreigners would not attack him; and so it was done, for the evil understanding was between them.<sup>4</sup>

The battalion of Maelsechlainn and the men of Meath.

XCVII. Some of the historians<sup>5</sup> of Mumhain, however, say that Murchadh, son of Brian, was placed, mixed with the battalion of Desmumhain, along with his company, namely, seven score sons of kings that were in attendance upon him; for there was not a king of any one tribe in Erin, who had not his son or his brother<sup>6</sup> in Murchadh's household; for he<sup>7</sup> was the lord of the volunteers of Erin, and of her sons, next to Aedb Ua Neill. They say that the two battalions were side by side, namely, the battalion of Desmumhain, and the battalion of Tuadhmunhain, and it is clear that this is true<sup>8</sup>; for when they were arranging<sup>9</sup> the battalion, Murchadh went forward beyond the rest a

The post assigned to Murchadh, son of Brian.

before the battalion of Desmumhain [Desmond, or South Munster] that Murchadh was placed."

<sup>6</sup> *Brother*. *Ḥo a bpaáair*, B.

<sup>7</sup> *For he*. *Ribe*, for *uib é*, D. *Uair*

*uib é Murchad tigeirna airad Erenno, ar éir Coáa i Héil, B.*

<sup>8</sup> *True*. *Connro sur rir rin*, B.

<sup>9</sup> *Arranging*. *Úg coruccad na ceat*, B.

Altercation  
between  
Murchadh  
and Domh-  
nall, son of  
Emin.

Ro cuir moorro Dhuán Donnall mac Emin, da ríad  
pe Murcádo ríabud ara culu co mbeir ardo in ardo  
ocur Dálcair. Da luid Donnall mac Emin, ocur ro  
raio rru Murcádo rein. Arberc Murcádo ba duirt  
meta a comairli, uair da mbeir a hoenui ar lar Feoá  
Sabli, in bearao oen trais ar culu pe peparab Epeno, cia  
dearao neč rru rēčeaó i ríadnairi gáll ocur zoedel.  
Ipeo, oia, pōdera mači Derymman uli do marbuo  
aró, trual lenmnaa Murcádo doib ic timcellao na  
gáll, ocur na nllnmarzao. Arberc Donnall mac  
Emin rru Murcádo, ir ole do gne, a ruz milio, ero mor  
do meirneč. Arberc Murcádo ba aduuz do, uair  
ižoairi do rpoč oclaičab no lecreao a cuir cača [do]  
rair co depeao lae. Arberc mac Emin in he rein no  
lecreao; ocur ba rru do rom rein uair da čomall.

XCVIII. Ro copazit na cača ardo in ardo iayru.

Dunlang  
O'Hartu-  
gan pro-  
phesies his  
own and  
Murchadh's  
death.

Ir ardo rru da deapair Murcádo peca ocur ic connac  
da leič deiy curi ina comarceit in toen oclaič mor  
menmač, mileta, meapōalač, ranemai, raruaiuo,  
ričanai, oata, oiyuč, deždenmač, .i. Dunlang O hAr-  
tuzan, ocur admžur e, ocur tue rru capcemi in azio,  
ocur tarbiriur poic do, ocur peparar rali rru, ocur  
ll žili, ar pe, ir pata co tanacair čuzano, ar pe,  
ocur ir mor in žrao mna, ocur elemna duir mo

<sup>1</sup> *Hand's east.* Hupēuir pe ccač  
oionnražio žall, B.

<sup>2</sup> *Then.* B. omits moirpo.

<sup>3</sup> *To tell.* Da ríadnaie Murcādo  
rōó ror cāla, B.

<sup>4</sup> *His counsel.* Domhnall, it seems,  
did not tell Murchadh that the counsel  
came from his father. B. reads, 'Do  
luid Doinnall ocur ro ríad le  
Murcādo clōo. Ro ríad Mur-  
cādo ro ba dūirt, meta a čo-  
nairle, 7c.

<sup>5</sup> *He was.* B. reads, ocur ro ríad  
oa.

<sup>6</sup> *Fidh Gaibhle.* "The wood of  
Gaibhle" (now *Figile*), King's county,

near Portarlinton. See above, chap.  
lxix.; from which it appears that the  
trees from this wood were in part the  
cause of the breach between Brian  
and Maelmordha, king of Leinster;  
and it is probable that the wood *Fidh*  
*Gaibhle* was one of the disputed border  
frontiers. This seems the real expla-  
nation of the above very obscure pas-  
sage. B. reads, ar lar peoá žaibhe,  
nī čūibrad aon trōiž ar ccača pe  
rparab Epeno, ocur ir luža ro  
teičreč.

<sup>7</sup> *Reason.* B. omits oia.

<sup>8</sup> *All.* B. omits uli.

<sup>9</sup> *Follow.* *Leamanna*, B.

hand's cast<sup>1</sup> to attack the foreigners. Then<sup>2</sup> Brian sent Domhnall, son of Emin, to tell<sup>3</sup> Murchadh to fall back until he should be on a line with the Dalcais. Domhnall, son of Emin, went and told this to Murchadh. Murchadh answered that his counsel<sup>4</sup> was timid and cowardly; for if he was<sup>5</sup> alone in the midst of Fidh Gaibhle,<sup>6</sup> he would not retreat one step backwards before the men of Erin, why then should any one ask him to retreat, in presence of the Gaill and Gaedhil. And the reason<sup>7</sup> why the nobles of all<sup>8</sup> Desmumhan were killed there, was because they endeavoured to follow<sup>9</sup> Murchadh to surround the foreigners<sup>10</sup> and Danmarkians. Domhnall, son of Emin,<sup>11</sup> said to Murchadh, "thy countenance is bad, O royal champion, although thy courage is great." Murchadh answered that he had<sup>12</sup> cause for that, because many a false hero<sup>13</sup> would leave his share of the battle to him at the end of the day.<sup>14</sup> The son of Emin<sup>15</sup> said that he would not leave his share. And he said truly; for he fulfilled his promise.<sup>16</sup>

Altercation between Murchadh and Domhnall, son of Emin.

XCVIII. The battalions<sup>17</sup> were placed side by side after that. Then Murchadh looked to one side and beheld approaching him, on his right side, alone, the heroic, courageous, championlike, active, beautiful, strong, bounding, graceful, erect, impetuous, young hero, Dunlang O'Hartugan; and he recognised him and made three springs to meet him, and he kissed him, and welcomed him; and "O youth," said he, "it is long until thou camest unto us; and great must be the love and attachment of some woman to thee, which has induced

Dunlang O'Hartugan prophesies his own and Murchadh's death.

<sup>10</sup> *Foreigners.* Ηα νγαλλ οσυρ να νΘανμαρρε, B. A distinction is here drawn between the *Gaill* and the *Danes*.

<sup>11</sup> *Son of Emin.* Αεβερε Οοιναλλ νε Μυρχαδ, B.

<sup>12</sup> *He had.* Ρο βαι, B.

<sup>13</sup> *False hero.* Οηοχ λαοχαιδ ρο λειρεαδ, B. The *οο* seems superfluous in D., and is therefore given within brackets.

<sup>14</sup> *Day.* Ραιρ νε νοριδε, B., "before that night."

<sup>15</sup> *Son of Emin.* Οοιναλλ, B.

<sup>16</sup> *His promise.* Οο Οοιναλλ ρη, οσυρ ρο εοιηαιλλ, B. This narrative seems to show that there was dissension or jealousy amongst the leaders of Brian's army.

<sup>17</sup> *The battalions.* The whole of this chapter is omitted in B.

քրքսորս, օսյ քրքսո Ծրսան, օսյ Conaռս, օսյ  
 Ծոնճար, օսյ մաճի Ծալար արճեռ, օսյ ածո  
 Երեռ օր անս. Երսս ըն, ան, ա ը, ար Ծոնլան, ի  
 մո մտանսյ օո քրքսյ օր, օա քրքարս է, .ա. եթա  
 ան ար, ան սաճ, ան իտո, ան անսյ, ան իքրս,  
 ար մաճսյ օո մաճսրան մո տալան ճան օո արճ,  
 օսյ նեմ ար մարճ անաճ, օսյ մունա ճուանքրս  
 արքր ըրս, ու տրքանո անքո; օսյ քոյ ա եթ իտան  
 ճան ար ճաճան մո ևա օա ճեթարս ար. ին արքսրս  
 ար անս, ան? ար Մարճո. Ծա ճեթ, ան, ար Ծոնլան,  
 օսյ օո ճեթ Ծրսան, օսյ Conaռս, օսյ սրոյ մաճի  
 Երեռ, օսյ Երթեթաճ օո մա. ին արճ մաճ անս  
 անոյս քր, ար Մարճո, օսյ օա արճ անոյս քր  
 ուտարքրատ օր; աճ ան ան, ար Մարճո, ի մեմ  
 տրքար ճանս և ըրճ, օսյ ի ըրքրս, մո եթա ըն,  
 օսյ նա անոյս, օսյ ուր քրքսյ օն անոյս մո տր,  
 ոո մո անս օր. Երթ քր, ար Ծոնլան, ար քր  
 Երս օո ճոյճան օր անոյս. իտո ան ըն, ար  
 Մարճո, ը քր քր անոյս ի տրքաճ անս, օսյ ի  
 քր անոյս քր անոյս անոյս անոյս, ար մոյս օսյ ար  
 տր, անոյս Ծրոյս, օսյ Ծրանս, օսյ Մալ-  
 մոյս, օսյ Լանս արճեռ. Լեռ անոյս, ան, ար Ծոն-  
 ան, Ծրանս, օսյ օա ըն անոյս ի մո, օո  
 ճեթ օո անոյս Եր քր. ին անոյս մո քրոյս ըն  
 ան, ար Մարճո, ա Ծոնլան, օա քրքարս է.

Order of  
the battle.

XCIX. Եր, քր, աճ, ին անոյս մո անոյս, օսյ  
 մո անոյս նա անոյս անոյս անոյս անոյս անոյս  
 անոյս անոյս, օո քրքր անոյս անոյս անոյս անոյս  
 անոյս անոյս անոյս անոյս անոյս անոյս անոյս

<sup>1</sup> *Delight*. The word is now spelt անոյս.

<sup>2</sup> *The hills*. իրան. See *O'Flah. Ogyg.*, III., c. 22, p. 200. This passage is a curious proof how long a belief in the Pagan deities of the Irish lingered in the country, mingled with Christianity. Dunlang declares that he was offered long life, worldly prosperity, and *heaven hereafter*, if he abandoned Murchadh; but he preferred cer-

tain death in battle to a breach of his engagement. Murchadh replies that he, also, had been offered in fairy mounds and palaces all worldly advantages, but never would abandon his country and his inheritance.

<sup>3</sup> *Cornabbliteoc*. Written *Corn-dabbliteoc*, p. 153, *supra*; and see also chap. xcix., p. 183, *infra*.

<sup>4</sup> *Drawn up*. B. omits օսյ մո անոյս.

thee to abandon me; and to abandon Brian, and Conaing, and Donnchadh; and the nobles of Dal Cais in like manner, and the delights of Erin until this day.” “Alas, O king,” said Dunlang, “the delight<sup>1</sup> that I have abandoned for thee is greater, if thou didst but know it, namely, life without death, without cold, without thirst, without hunger, without decay; beyond any delight of the delights of the earth to me, until the judgment; and heaven after the judgment; and if I had not pledged my word to thee, I would not have come here; and moreover it is fated for me to die on the day thou shalt die.” “Shall I receive death this day, then?” said Murchadh. “Thou shalt receive it, indeed,” said Dunlang, “and Brian, and Conaing, shall receive it, and almost all the nobles of Erin, and Toirdhelbhach thy son.” “This is not good encouragement to fight,” said Murchadh, “and if we had such news we would not have told it to thee; but, however,” said Murchadh, “often was I offered, in hills<sup>2</sup> and in fairy mansions, this world and these gifts; but I never abandoned for one night my country nor my inheritance for them.” “What man,” said Dunlang, “wouldst thou choose to be kept off thee this day.” “There are yonder,” said Murchadh, “sixteen men who are captains of fleets, and every one of them is a man to combat a hundred, on sea and on land; besides Brotor, and Cornabbliteoc,<sup>3</sup> and Maelmordha, and the Laighin also.” “Leave to me, then,” said Dunlang, “Cornabbliteoc; and if I can do more, thou shalt have my further aid.” “That is a severe service, indeed,” said Murchadh, “O Dunlang, if thou didst but know it.”

XCIX. The battalions were now arranged and drawn up<sup>4</sup> on both sides, in such order and in such manner, that a four-horsed chariot could run from one end to the other of the line, on both sides<sup>5</sup>; and the battalions then made a stout,

Order of the battle.

<sup>5</sup> Both sides. Ἐν ἑσέρῳ ῥῶν, ὀκυρ ῥῶν ἑσῳα, ὁ ῥεῖρεθὸν ἀρῖατ ἐστῖρ ῥῖατα ὄν ἑσῳ ὁ ἀρῖατε ῥῶν κατ ἐστῖρῶν ὄρ ἑσῳ, ἀρ ἑσῳσῶν, ὀκυρ ῥῶ ῥῖρῖατῶν βλοῦβῆμ, 7c, B. “In this order and

in this manner; so that a four-horse chariot could run from one end to the other of the lines on either side, on their heads” [*i.e.* on the heads of the soldiers standing in line], “so compact were they.”

ԲՈՍԾԱ, ԿԱՐԿԱՐՈՒՄ, ԾՈՒՆ ԿԱԷ՝ Ի ԸՆԾՈ ԱՐԱԷԼԵ. ԱԸ՝ ՏՈՒՆ, ԿԱ ՀԱՅՇԻ ՆԱՄԱՏ ԻՄ ԲՈԷ ՔԵՆ, ՕՍՄԻ ԻՆ ԿԱ ՀԱՅՇԻ ԿԱՐԱՏ ԻՄ ԸՄԻՄ. ՕՍՄԻ ՔՈ ԸՄՈՒՆՑ ՇԵՒՏԱՐԾԵ ՏՈՒՆ Ա ՏԻՋՏԻՐԱ ԾԱՐԱԷԼԵ. ՕՍՄԻ ՔՈ ԻՆԲԱՅ ԿԱԷ՝ ԱՐԱԷԼԵ ՏՈՒՆ. ՕՍՄԻ ԿԱ ԻՆ ՏՈ ԻՆՑՆԱՏՈՒՆ ԿՐԱԿՏԱ ԿԱՐԱՐԵԿԱԼ ԻՄ ԵՐՈՒՄՅԵՐԱ ՔԻՆ ՏՈ ԻՄՈՒՔԻՆ. ՔՈ ԵՐՄՑ ԵՄ, ԿԱԾՆ ԾԻՐԵՐ, ԾԻՆԱՆ, ԾԵՆՈՒՄԵՏԱԸ՝, ԾԱՐԱԿՏԱԸ՝, ԾԱՐ, ԾԱԿՐԵԸ՝, ԾԵՇԸՆՑՏԱԸ՝, ԸՐԱԿՈՒՄ, ԸՐՈՍԱ, ԸՐԱԿԱՏԵԿ, ԸՈ ԿԱ ԻԸ ՔԵՐԵԸՔԱՐՈ ԱՐ ԼԱԿԱՄԱՆ ՕՐ Ա ԸՆՈՒՆԱԾ. ՔՈ ԵՐՅԵՏԱՐ ԱՄ ԿԱՄԱՆԱՅ, ՕՍՄԻ ԿՈՇԿԱՆԱՅ, ՕՍՄԻ ՀԵԼԻՏԻ ՀԼՈՒՄ, ՕՍՄԻ ԱՄԱՏԻ ԱՇԿԱԼԼ, ՕՍՄԻ ՔԻԱԾՐԱ, ՕՍՄԻ ՔԵՆԵՈՒՄ, ՕՍՄԻ ԾԵՄՈՒՆԱ ԱՇՄԻԼԻՏԻ ԱՇՈՒՔ, ՕՍՄԻ ՔԻՔԱՄԱՄՈՒՄԻ, ՕՍՄԻ ՔԻԱԿԱՐՔԻԱՅ ԾԵԿԻԼ ԾԵՄՈՒՆԱԸ՝, ԸՈ ՄԿԱՏԱՐ Ա ԸՈՄՑՔԵՐԱԿՏ՝, ՕՍՄԻ Ի ԸՈՄՄՈՐԱԾ ԱՅ ՕՍՄԻ ԻՔՏԱԼԻ ԼԵՈ.

Birds and  
 demons  
 expecting  
 their prey.

The combat  
 of Domh-  
 nall, son of  
 Eimin,  
 with Plait.

Ը. ՔՈ ԸՈՄՔԱԿԵՏԱՐ ԱՐԾԱՐ ԱՆՏ ՔԻՆ, ԾՈՄՈՒՆԱԼ ՄԱԿ ԷՄԻՆ, ՄՈՐՔԱԿԵՐ ԱԼԿԱՆ, Օ ԾՐԱՆ, ՕՍՄԻ ՔԼԱՏ ՄԱԿ ՔԻ ԼՈՇԼԱՆՏ, ԵՐԵՆ ՄԻԼՈ ՀԱԼԼ ; ԱՐ ՆԱ ՔԱԾ ՏՈ ՔԼԱՏ ԻՆ ԱՇԱԿ՝ ՔԵՄԻ, ԻՆ ՔԱԿԻ Ի ՆԷՐԻՆՏ ՔԵՐ ԿԱԾ ԻՆՈՒՄԼԱՆՏ ՏՈ, ՏՈ ՀԱԾ, ԻՄՈՒՔԻՈ, ԾՈՄՈՒՆԱԼ ՄԱԿ ԷՄԻՆ ՏՈ ԼԱՄ Է՝ ՔԱՇԵՐՈՒՔ, ՕՍՄԻ ԿԱ ԸՄՈՒՄՆԸ ՇԵՒՏԱՐ ԾԵ, ԱՐ ՄԱՏԻՆ. ԻՔ ԱՐՔԻՆ ԵՄՈՒՆ ՔԼԱՏ Ա ԿԱԷ՝ ՆԱ ԼԱՐԵԱԸ՝ ԱՄԱԿ՝, ՕՍՄԻ ԱՐԿԵՐԵ ՔՈ ԷՐԻ, ՔԱՐԱՐ ԾՈՄՈՒՆԱԼ ? Ի. ԿԱՏ ԻՏԱ ԾՈՄՈՒՆԱԼ ? ՔՈ ՔԵԿԱՐ ԾՈՄՈՒՆԱԼ, ՕՍՄԻ ԱՐԿԵՐԵ, ՏԱՆՏ, Ա ՔՈՒՇՈՒՆՑ, ԱՐ ՔԵ. ՔՈ ԸՈՄՔԱԿԵՐԵՏԱՐ ԻԱՐՔԻՆ, ՕՍՄԻ ՔՈ ՀԱԾ ԿԱԸ ԻԸ ԱՐԼԼԵԸ՝ ԱՐԱԷԼԵ ՏՈՒՆ, ՕՍՄԻ ԻՐՈՐԱՐԻ ՇԵՒՏԱՐ ՔԵՐԱԷԼԵ, ՕՍՄԻ ԻՔ

<sup>1</sup> Each other. Ծա ԵԵԼԵ, Բ.

<sup>2</sup> At a feast. ԱԸ՝ ՏՈՒՆ, ԿԱ ՀԱՅՇԻ Ե ՆԱՒԻԱՏ ԻՄԲԱՅ, ՕՍՄԻ ՆԻՔ ԼՈ ՀԱՅՇԻ Ե ԿԱՐԱՏ ԻՄ ԸՈՄՏՈՒՆ. ՔՈ ԸՄՈՒՄՈՒՆՑ ԿԱԸ ՏՈՒՆ ՇԵՒՏԱՐԾԵ Ա ՏԱՅՑ, ՕՍՄԻ Ա ԱՍՄԻ ՏԱ ՔՈՒԷ, ՕՍՄԻ ԿԱ ԿԱՆՈՒՄՈՒՆԱԾ ԿՐԱԿՏԱ, ԴԸ., Բ.

<sup>3</sup> To relate. ՔԵ Ա ԻՄՈՒՔԻՆ, Բ.

<sup>4</sup> There arose. ՔՈ ԵՐՄՑ ՏՈՒՆ ԿԱԾՆ ԾԻՆԱՆ ԾԻՐԵՐ, Բ.

<sup>5</sup> Screaming. ԸՈ ՄԿԱ ՏԱ ՆՑՐԵՐԱԿՏ՝, Բ.

<sup>6</sup> Also. ԾՈՒՆ, Բ.

<sup>7</sup> Maniacs. ՀԵԼԻՏԵ ՀԼՈՒՄԵ, ՕՍՄԻ ԱՄՄԱՐԵ, Բ.

<sup>8</sup> Destroying. Բ. ՕՄԻՏ ԸՈՄԻԼԻՏԻ.

<sup>9</sup> Firmament. ՔԻՐՈՒՄՈՒՄԵ, Բ.

<sup>10</sup> Both parties. Բ. ՐԵԱԾ, ՕՍՄԻ ՔԻԱԿԱՐ ՔՐԵԱՅ ԾԵՄՈՒՄՆԵՇԸ ԸՈ ՄԱԿԱՏԱՐ ՕՇԿԱ ՆՑՔԵՐԱԿՏ՝, ՕՍՄԻ ԱՏԱ ԸՈՄՄԱՐՈՇԻՆ ԻՆ ԱՅԻՏՈ՝ ԱՅՑՈ՝ ՕՍՄԻ ԻՔՏԱԷԼԵ.

<sup>11</sup> First. ՔՈ ԸՈՒՔԱԿԵՏԱՐ ԱՄՈՒՔԻՆ ԱՐ ԵՐԻ, Ի. ԾՈՒՄՈՒՆԱԼ, ԴԸ., Բ.

<sup>12</sup> On Brian's side. Բ. ՕՄԻՏ ՕԾՐԱՆ.

<sup>13</sup> Night. ԻՆՈՒՇԵ ՔԵՄԻՆԵ ՆԱԸ ՔԱՅԻՆ ԻՆ ԷՐՈՒՄ, Բ.

<sup>14</sup> Immediately. Բ. ՕՄԻՏ ԻՄՈՒՔԻՈ ԱՄ ԻՔ ԸՇԵՐՈՒՔ.

<sup>15</sup> In the morning. ԱՐ Ա ՀԵԱԼԱԾՈ՝ ԱՐ ՄԱՏԱՄ. ԱՐ ՔԻՆ ԵՄՈՒՆ ՔԼԱՏ, ԴԸ., Բ.

furious, barbarous, smashing onset on each other.<sup>1</sup> But, alas! these were the faces of foes in battle-field, and not the faces of friends at a feast.<sup>2</sup> And each party of them remembered their ancient animosities towards each other, and each party of them attacked the other. And it will be one of the wonders of the day of judgment to relate<sup>3</sup> the description of this tremendous onset. And there arose<sup>4</sup> a wild, impetuous, precipitate, furious, dark, frightful, voracious, merciless, combative, contentious, vulture, screaming<sup>5</sup> and fluttering over their heads. And there arose also<sup>6</sup> the satyrs, and the idiots, and the maniacs<sup>7</sup> of the valleys, and the witches, and the goblins, and the ancient birds, and the destroying<sup>8</sup> demons of the air and of the firmament,<sup>9</sup> and the feeble demoniac phantom host; and they were screaming and comparing the valour and combat of both parties.<sup>10</sup>

Birds and demons expecting their prey.

C. First<sup>11</sup> then were drawn up there, Domhnall, son of Eimin, high steward of Alban, on Brian's<sup>12</sup> side, and Plait, son of the king of Lochlainn, brave champion of the foreigners; because of Plait having said the night<sup>13</sup> before, that there was not a man in Erin who was able to fight him, Domhnall, the son of Eimhin immediately<sup>14</sup> took him up, and each of them remembered this in the morning.<sup>15</sup> Then Plait came forth from the battalion of the men in armour, and said three times, "Faras Domhnall,"<sup>16</sup> that is, "where is Domhnall?" Domhnall answered and said, "Here, thou reptile," said he. They fought then,<sup>17</sup> and each of them endeavoured to slaughter the other; and

The combat of Domhnall, son of Eimin, with Plait.

<sup>16</sup> *Faras Domhnall*. B. reads, *Ἐυεῖρη Ὀοῖναλλ, Ἐυεῖρη Ὀοῖναλλ?* Συνα ἀρ. Ὀοῖναλλ. This word *Faras*, or *Fueris*, seems an attempt to represent the old Danish.

<sup>17</sup> *They fought then*. B. gives the remainder of this paragraph thus: *Ῥο δὸμηρεῖρεταρ ἰαριῆ, οὐρ Ῥο ζᾶβ καὶ οἷβ ἀε ἀρλεᾶς οὐρ ἀῆδῦμα ἄ ἐεῖλε ἄ κῆσοῖρ. Ἐρὸ τῆρ ἀῆτ ἰτροκραταρ κομπαιτιῖ Ῥο*

*ἄεῖλε, οὐρ ἰραῖλασ Ῥο Ῥεῖτ ἰσῶ ἀρ ἢ ἢ ἰάραῆ, οὐρ Ῥοτ κῆτταρ. ῶε ἰ Ῥσοῖη ἀραῖλε, οὐρ ἄ κῆλαῶμε τῆρ ἄροῖδῖβ ἄ ἐεῖλε: "They fought then, and endeavoured each to slaughter and mangle the other. And they fell slain by each other, and they were found in the morning thus—the hair of each in the fist of the other, and the sword of each through the heart of the other."*

amlaid ro tuiret ocuy claidium ceḡtar de tpe cpiḡi  
apale, ocuy folc ceḡtar de i nduird a cele. Ocuy ro  
be rin a cet comlonḡ na derri rin.

The combat  
of Dunlang  
of the Lif-  
fey with  
the Uí  
Briuin and  
Conmaicni.

CI. Ipe ḡan bi ar imell caḡa na nallmaḡaḡ,  
Dunnall mac Tuatail, in lipi, .x. cet per naḡnaḡ  
incomlainḡ. Tairilla do i cimar caḡa ḡriam eucu  
ren a comlin ocuy a comatuir ar arium, ocuy ar imat,  
.i. Pepsal uRuairc, ocuy Donnall mac Raḡailiḡ, ocuy  
ḡilla na noem mac Donnall O Pepsal, ocuy maḡi  
O ḡriam ocuy Conmaicni arḡena. Aḡtmaḡ oen in cena,  
ḡa epomatuir ren ara celi, ocuy ro delazetaur on caḡ  
mor amacḡ, corabi peḡ curboir etoprio don leit atuaro  
don mor caḡ, ocuy ro ḡabatuir ic tpeḡḡat, ocuy ic tpen  
tepcat apale. Ro ba comatuir, am, arim, ocuy  
eprius, ocuy ecorc ceḡtar de dibren. ḡas in tuc  
nec dib ren do uir no ḡa aru olc ḡa nerpaid i  
Cluan Tairb in la rin, aḡt in nerpataur fein etoprio  
ḡule ocuy deraintu pe ḡele, aḡt ipual nar maḡbatuir  
rin uli aceli, ocuy in armit renḡarḡi co nḡeḡarḡo ḡO  
ḡriam ocuy do Conmaicni ar, aḡt oen cet ar oen pe  
Pepsal, ocuy ro dilairḡit uli u Cenḡrelaḡ arḡ, ocuy  
mebair popto pḡoḡeoir co caḡ na lupḡ. Uair roba  
ḡairt in call comarḡi uaḡib iat, ocuy a peirḡm caḡa  
popto, ocuy a nduird rin; cor po arḡrim imcaḡtar  
.i. bur do teglacḡ Pepsal ar Dunlang mac Tuatail,  
ocuy ro maḡbḡat é, ocuy ro dicenḡtar Mac in Tḡim é,  
taireac loḡta taḡi Pepsal epem, ocuy tuc leit in  
cend cum Pepsal ḡa comuirdum rin. Ocuy teat  
iarim, in becan ro batuir, i cend caḡa ḡriam, ocuy i  
nḡeḡarḡo merḡi Muḡḡarḡo, ocuy merḡi Pepsal accu  
arḡrim, etrubuar arḡotim a merḡeḡarḡo uli, ocuy ar  
maḡbat a tḡepnaḡ .i. x. merḡi ocuy tḡi riḡit.

Dunlang  
beheaded.

<sup>1</sup> *Pirates.* The word used is *all-*  
*maḡaḡ.* The whole of this chapter is  
omitted in B.

<sup>2</sup> *Dunnall.* This must be intended  
for Dunlang, son of Tnathal, king of

Leinster, who died the same year (but  
not in the battle), according to the  
Ann. of Ulster and Four Masters. He  
is called Dunlang lower down in this  
chapter.

they fell by each other, and the way that they fell was, with the sword of each through the heart of the other; and the hair of each in the clinched hand of the other. And the combat of that pair was the first [of the battle].

CI. The person who was on the flank of the bat-  
 tion of the pirates,<sup>1</sup> was Dunnall,<sup>2</sup> son of Tuathal,  
 king of Liphe, with ten hundred men armed for battle. The combat of Dunlang of the Lif-fey with the Ui-Briuin and Conmaicni.  
 There met him on the flank of Brian's forces, against these, their equal in numbers and in might, namely, Ferghail Ua Ruairc, and Domhnall, son of Raghallach; and Gilla-na-Noemh, son of Domhnall O'Ferghail, and the nobles of the Ui Briuin and Conmaicni also. But now these attacked each other, and they detached themselves from the great body of the army, until there was the distance of a bow shot between them, on the north side of the great body; and they began to stab and hew each other. But these parties were equally matched in arms, in vesture, and in appearance. And none of them paid any attention to any evil that was done at Cluain-Tarbh on that day, excepting the evil and contention which they mutually occasioned against each other. But they very nearly killed each other altogether; and historians do not relate that there survived of the Ui Briuin and Conmaicni, more than one hundred, with Ferghal Ua Ruairc; and the entire of the Ui Cendse-laigh were routed there; and they were afterwards pursued to the battalion of the mail-clad men; for there was a wood of shelter near them, and they were in order of battle with their backs towards them; and it was then that nine of the household of Ferghal overtook Dunlang,  
Dunlang beheaded.  
 the son of Tuathal, and killed him; and Mac an Trin, who was the captain of Ferghal's household, beheaded him, and he brought the head to Ferghal to congratulate him on it. And they went then, the few of them that were left, into Brian's battalion, and behind Murchadh's standard; and they had Ferghal's standard floating there, after the fall of all their other standards, and the killing of their chiefs, namely, ten standards and three score.

The assault  
of the  
Dal Cais  
upon the  
Danes.

CII. Ro comraicepet iarpin caé dolis, uiberzaé, dur-  
craoéaé, duabreé, dian, denmnetáé, daraátaé, na  
nllnmarzaé, ocuy in damraio dian, díulanio, dircepa,  
ocuy zamairiaó zlan, zaroa, zepata, zarbeoda, zalaé,  
zinniaé, rizoa, raémar, roblaóaé, <sup>1</sup>Óalcar, ocuy macu  
llillella ullam in oen inao. <sup>2</sup>Ócuy po pepao caé  
riéoa, rulaach, rruéir, poroerz, porruamanda, peócar,  
peroa, peramaíl, annuio, azarb, anniaéa, epcaioemal,  
etuppo diblinab; ocuy po zab caé ar leoo ocuy letpaio  
ocuy ar tpezoao, ocuy ar tepcao, ar arleaé, ocuy ar  
acumma a éele oib, ocuy po currebit, ocuy po zerrao  
cuirp coema, cuanna, cumóaéa roerclano ruarc,  
rezanno, roóomanno, roerberaé, andren etuppo. <sup>3</sup>Da  
comrac oa comeraio, ocuy comaculum oa con-  
traraoa in oen inao rein. <sup>4</sup>Ócuy ni ruac in ni ruz ba  
ramáta, ocuy nuz bec in ni dar ba coméarmall top-  
aioeley talc, taléar, tinneiyáé, ocuy tpeéan teno,  
tren, tarbteé, na muuiri ru leé ar leé. <sup>5</sup>Da com-  
éarmal lium em amal bas hi in nuzmanuio ilberc,  
illaáé, nzaiaé, no leicpeao rruay rruum tarolenaz  
dareatlannab ruéneab dar tonio znuirib in talman.  
No amal bas é rruennzemneé reomoa ruznenoa na  
nell naró naepoa, ica oimarc ocuy ica combpuo do  
na zoéab ilib, epamla, cenó i cenó. No amal ba  
hi in nuu ino, no in nuuz meap, moaobul, ocuy  
zreoa zarb zlipreé na cetru nzoé ngluar, nglanuo,  
comeraio, coir, contraraoa, ac taramech a muioelano

<sup>1</sup> *Then.* Ro comraiceatpar ann-  
rim, B.

<sup>2</sup> *Danmarkians.* B. reads, nll-  
núraé, ocuy daíuaraó, dian, dir-  
lanz, dircepa.

<sup>3</sup> *Champions.* "Gamhanraidh."—  
(See above, p. 166, note 3.) B. reads,  
zainairiaó zlanzoroa, znioiaé,  
zarocbeoda, ruzoa.

<sup>4</sup> *And.* Om., B.

<sup>5</sup> *Furious, bloody.* B. reads, Ro  
pearaó caé rruéir, ríéoa, rulaé,

poroerz, peócar, porruamanda,  
perao, peramaíl, annuio.

<sup>6</sup> *And.* Om., B.

<sup>7</sup> *Clear.* Cé leoo ocuy az leopaio  
arale, az tpezoao, ocuy az teap-  
cao, acc arleaé, ocuy acc acúma  
a éele oib. Ro currebit cuirp  
ruerclann roberaé rocumann  
etopra, B.

<sup>8</sup> *Moving.* B. reads, ocuy ba coir-  
potaí.

CII. Then<sup>1</sup> the fearful, murderous, hard-hearted, terrific, vehement, impetuous, battalion of the Danmarkians,<sup>2</sup> and the vehement, irresistible, unanswerable phalanx; and the fine, intelligent, acute, fierce, valorous, mighty, royal, gifted, renowned, champions<sup>3</sup> of the Dal Cais, and all the descendants of Oilioll Olum met in one place; and<sup>4</sup> there was fought between them a battle, furious, bloody,<sup>5</sup> repulsive, crimson, gory, boisterous, manly, rough, fierce, unmerciful, hostile, on both sides; and<sup>6</sup> they began to hew and cleave,<sup>7</sup> and stab, and cut, to slaughter, to mutilate each other; and they maimed, and they cut comely, graceful, mailed bodies of noble, pleasant, courteous, affable, accomplished men on both sides there. That was the clashing of two bodies of equal hardness, and of two bodies moving<sup>8</sup> in contrary directions, in one place.<sup>9</sup> And it is not easy to imagine what to liken it to; but to nothing small<sup>10</sup> could be likened the firm, stern, sudden, thunder-motion; and the stout, valiant, haughty billow-roll of these people on both sides. I could compare it only to the variegated, boundless, wonderful firmament,<sup>11</sup> that had cast a heavy sparkling shower of flaming stars over the surface<sup>12</sup> of the earth; or to the startling<sup>13</sup> fire-darting roar of the clouds and the heavenly orbs, confounded and crashed by all the winds, in contention, against each other. Or to the summit of heaven,<sup>14</sup> or to the rapid, awfully great sea, and the fierce, contentious roaring of the four transparent, pure, harsh, directly opposing winds, in the act of breaking loose<sup>15</sup> from the order of their respective positions.

The assault of the Dal Cais upon the Danes.

<sup>9</sup> *Place.* B. omits *pem*, and adds *ocuy nīr bo puaill.*

<sup>10</sup> *Small.* Lit., "Small is not the thing to which could be likened." B. reads, *ocuy nīr becc an nī ruy ba coimcorhual toranncler tailc, talcair, timneriuaē, ocuy tpeaāan teno tarhpeuaē, 7c.*

<sup>11</sup> *Firmament.* *Da corhual lem aihual buō ī an fūrmament ilūreac mzanuaē, iluaāuaē, no leicpeuaē fpar tptom taōleuaē, B.*

<sup>12</sup> *Surface.* *Tomhsumr, B.*

<sup>13</sup> *Startling.* *Spenoagemneac raig-nenoua na nēll naerōa, aza ocumyrē ocuy aza ccombuarōmeaē, ocuy aza ccombrūāāōa ōona gao-āaib ilūb examlauē cenō i cceuo, B.*

<sup>14</sup> *Summit of heaven.* Lit., "heaven's head." B. omits these words, and reads, *no aihual buō ī muru mep mōr aobaē,* "or to the noise of the awfully great sea."

<sup>15</sup> *Breaking loose.* *Acz taēmeaē*

ic pcaliud. No amail bas he in bpaḱ baile boḡp-  
pudaḱ tṛpaṭ oap cumṛucuo ṽ ḡo oṽpcailiud comoenta,  
na cetaṛ dula cumṡaḡṡi, ḡo bṛuo, ocuṽ ḡo biḱ bṛeḱtaṡ  
in ḡoṡain ḡuino ṽ ḡaḡa ap a cenḡ. Ḭa pamaḡta  
lem ṽe caḱ nṽ oib ṽin, bloḡbeim baile, baḡba, baṽ-  
baṽḡa ṽiaḱ ṽiaṡḡa, ṽelbocodech, ṽiḱneḱ, ṽiaḡo  
ṽetlannaḱ, clainni ḡudeaḱ, ṽo ṽuaḡaib ṽalei ṽaḡle-  
ḱaib na nanap nṽṽ nḡibeṽcaḱ, ṽea comaḱ, ocuṽ ṽea  
comṽuṽo, ocuṽ ḡleḡen ḡluap ḡlainṽo claiḡium cṽuaṽo,  
colḡoṽiṽuch Ḭalcaṽ, ac cocceṽul cṽuaṽo, comṽeṽe, ṽṽ  
ḡuṽeḱaib ḡiḱṡaṽa, ḡainḡeṽḡa, ṽeḡuaḡalaḱa, ṽaḡḱi, ṽṽen  
ṽṽeṽaṽo na nanṡaṽḡaḱ aḡḡaṽḡa ṽcnaim comaḱ corṽ,  
ocuṽ cenḡmullaḱ ṽṽu, corabi a nuaim ocuṽ a ṽoḡoṽ  
ocuṽ a macalla ṽen ṽ nuaṡaib, ocuṽ in nallaṽaib,  
ocuṽ ṽ callṽib comaiṽṽib ḡoib. Cor ba ṽeṽim aḡbul-  
ṡoṽ caḱaib ceḱṽaṽa imḡanaṡ a ṽoṽḡ ṽino ḡlap,  
ocuṽ a nḡuaṡo nḡlan ḡaṽṽa ṽoṽ na cṽṽṽib ṽṽoṡa  
ṽenḡoṽi ṽo ṽaṽṽiṽ ṽṽḡmṽṽo Clainni ḡuḡoeach a  
hinṽib aiṽi aiḡbeli na claiḡium ḡuṽneḱ ḡainḡeṽḡa,  
ac ṽuaḡḡeḡo, ocuṽ ic ṽṽeṽaṽi na ḡuṽeḱ, ḡṽoṽoṽṽilineḱ  
oib. Ocuṽ ṽo ṽoṽḡṽeṽṽaṽ na ḡaḡḡ ocuṽ na ḡaḡḡ-  
ṽeaḱa baṽaṽ uaiḱib ac ṽeḱṽium ap ṽcṽṽeḡo Ḳḱa Claiḱ  
eḡ ṽaḡaṽc, ḡo ṽaṽṽiṽ ṽaṽḡeana ṽenḡoṽi ṽon aṽṽ  
eṽaḡbul ap caḱ leḱ uaiḱib.

The battle  
seen from  
the towers  
of Dublin.

Account  
given by  
Maelsech-  
lainn, king  
of Tara.

CIII. ṽṽ nṽ ḡa oṽḡeall ṽin in ṽuaṽaṽeḱaḱ ṽuc Maḡl-  
ṽeclainḡo mac Ḭoṡṡaḡḡ, ṽi ṽeṽṽaḱ, ṽoṽṽṽṽ nṽṽaṽcaim  
ṽin, in ṽan baṽaṽ Clainna Colṽain ic ṽaṽṽaḡḱi ṽuaṽ-

ocuṽ aḡ ṽṽeṽeḱaḱeḡo im nṽ, nṽ  
aiḡaḡ biḡ ḡ an bṽaḱ baile boḡp-  
ṽaḡach ṽioṽaḡ ḡo cumṽucchaḡo  
ocuṽ ḡo ṽiaṽṽeḱaḱeḡo, ocuṽ ḡo  
bṽṽeḱeḡo comaeṽtaḡo, B.

<sup>1</sup> *Crush.* Ḭo bṽṽeḱeḡo ocuṽ ḡo biḱ  
bṽeḱeḱaḡo an ḡoṡain, B., omitting  
the remainder of the sentence.

<sup>2</sup> *Strong.* B. omits baḡba.

<sup>3</sup> *Target-bossed.* Scellḡoḡḡaḱ ṽi-  
ṽeṽṽuaḡo, B.

<sup>4</sup> *Ludech.* B. reads more correctly,  
Clainne ḡuḡoeach; "the Clann Luigh-

dech," or descendants of Lugaid; as  
in line 18 of this page. See Geneal.  
Table III., *Append.* B.

<sup>5</sup> *Glassy.* ṽaḡḡeaḱa na nḬanaṽ,  
B.

<sup>6</sup> *Powerful.* Co cṽuaṽo, B.

<sup>7</sup> *Free.* ṽṽṽ ḡuṽṽeḱaḱaib ḡiḱṡa-  
ṽaib ḡainṽeṽḡaib na nḬanaṽaṽc  
nḲḲḡaṽḡa, B.

<sup>8</sup> *With them:* i.e., with their swords.  
B. omits ṽṽu.

<sup>9</sup> *So that.* Co ṽaṽṽe a ṽṽuaim,  
ocuṽ a nṽṽoṽcaim, ocuṽ a macalla

Or to the stern terrific judgment-day that had come, to confound, and break down the unity of the four surrounding elements, to crush<sup>1</sup> and finally shiver the compact world, and to take vengeance on it. To all these could I compare the smashing, powerful, strong,<sup>2</sup> barbarous, shield-shining, target-bossed,<sup>3</sup> red, sparkling, starry onset of the Clann Ludech,<sup>4</sup> under the stout bright axes of the stern, murderous Danars, mutilating, and crushing them; and the gleaming, bright, glassy,<sup>5</sup> hard, straight swords of the Dal Cais, in hard, powerful<sup>6</sup> clashing against the free,<sup>7</sup> sparkling, thrice-riveted, stout, powerful, protective armour of the piratical Danmarkians, smashing with them<sup>8</sup> the bones of their bodies and their skulls, so that<sup>9</sup> the sound of them, and the uproar of them, and the echo of them were reverberated from the caverns, and from the cliffs, and from the woods in the neighbourhood; and it became a work of great difficulty to the battalions<sup>10</sup> on both sides to defend their clear sparkling eyes, and their flushed bright cheeks from the heavy showers of fiery sparks which were sent forth by the royal champions of the Clann Lughdech from the sharp fearful points of their bright gleaming swords, in hacking and cutting<sup>11</sup> the firmly hooked mail-coats off them; and it was attested by the foreigners and foreign women<sup>12</sup> who were watching from the battlements of Ath Cliath, as they beheld, that they used to see flashes of fire from them in the expanse of air on all sides.

The battle seen from the towers of Dublin.

CIII. Another attestation<sup>13</sup> of this is the description which Maelsechlainn, son of Domhnall, king of Temhair, gave of that crush,<sup>14</sup> when the Clann Colmain asked

Account given by Maelsechlainn, king of Tara.

1 nuamaib, ocup anaillaib, ocup 1 cooilteib coirpoirib, B.

<sup>10</sup> *Battalions.* Το πορεαβ ρυτο-  
 γλαρα να ccaτ cceτapδa ιngλanaτ  
 να ρύλ, ocup να ησρuaτ ησapτa  
 ap να cιpυb τpoma τεινπτιδε ρο  
 ταιρτοίρ, γc., B.

<sup>11</sup> *Cutting.* Αξ ρραηελατ ocup  
 αξ epopccain να ληpεατ noρoν,  
 noρuιmeατ, B. omitting oib.

<sup>12</sup> *Foreign women.* D. reads να ηγαλλ

ocup να ηγαλλpεac, which is un-  
 grammatical. The reading of B. has,  
 therefore, been followed, where the  
 whole passage is as follows:—Ocup  
 ρο φοηccεcταp να ηαλλ ocup να  
 ηαλλpεα βατταp ap pεmιlea-  
 τaib Ατa Cιaτ co paccίp epo  
 παδαηc uaταib να pαηηena  
 τεινπτιδε pón ap ap ηac λeτ.

<sup>13</sup> *Attestation.* Φοηηελλ, B.

<sup>14</sup> *Crush.* Αη ιμεpοpccain, B.

apcaba in cača dó. 1p and apberz, nuču nacaqa cač mař e pıan, ocuy nočo cuala a čorımal, ocuy cıo anzel de do bepađ a tuapaqebal ıř dıčreıtmı lem da pıpađ. Ačt oen ni pořp a tapılla mařıpea and, in tan po compıarep a cetoıř po řab cač ic tpeřpađ a celi dıb. Da řorı ocuy cladı etpaınnı ocuy ıat, ocuy in epıpađ řoeč epıčadı tapıtıb cıcaıno, ocuy ni řadı na pıpađ řıř a mbıřıpea bó, no da bai, bamap and, in tan nač tıbpeđ dınnı don da cač ačnı ap celi, cıde a mac no a bpačapı bap compařıř do, mınnı čıřpađ aıčnı ap a řıč, no a řıř pınnı accı in tıpađ a mbıpađ, ap nař lıpađ etep cenđ, ocuy ařıđ, ocuy etıč, do bpoenřal na pıla řopııamandı la řořıan na řoeti řlanřıapı, bai tapıtıb čıcaıno. Ocuy řıđ deřenřnum bap al dınnı do denum, ni pıřpaııapı; đas řo cenřalıt, ocuy po cııbıřıř a nřae op a cenıab da pıltıab řıpıđ po čapıno in řoet cıřanıno, ap na tıřpađ do cladımıb colřorıřıb, ocuy do čıpařıab tapılečıab, corı ba let monıř dınnı beč ic pıdıřıřıđ ocuy ıca čapıneáč. Ocuy ba do beccaıb řpenđ ap ap mo deřıřnum don lıčt po đıam in meřapřanı řınnı nař dınnı řořmačtıan a pıřčıa can točt pı řıpač no ap pıapıřıđ.

The combat of Dunlang O'Hartigan with Cornabliteoc.

CIV. Đala Đunlangı, mořıřpo, tanıc ma cač na nallmapač ocuy ni čıc caclı ap neč dıb, uapı ni řadı cıpa do řallab accı etepı. Ocuy po ıřıpařı Copıablıteoc ocuy tıc cač ačıřan anınnı ařapı anıapıapıpač da čeli dıb. 1p and řınnı tancaıapı řıřıř do mınnıřı Copıablıteoc ap a belıab, ocuy tıcřpađ řıřı řadı in oenpıčt ap Đunlangı. Ačt mađ enı čına

<sup>1</sup> *Asked him.* C cıno nıř na deřpađ řınnı ař pıapıřıđı řčel de, B.: "At the end of a month afterwards, asking him for an account of it."

<sup>2</sup> *He said.* From this place the differences between the two MSS. are so frequent and considerable that, instead of loading the pages with various readings the Editor has given the text of B. at full in the Appendix C. Keating, from another source, has inserted

this narrative in his history. Dr. O'Donovan gives Lynch's Latin translation of it, *Four Mast.*, p. 776.

<sup>3</sup> *And it is.* These words, to the end of the chapter, are omitted in B. Keating reads, ba đıřıř lınnı nař nıđ đılc đon đpıomř bıapı řan řıpač ıona đınnı pılonř a bıřapıřıone řan ap nıđol ap řıomıneal, ocuy ap řolıamınnı. "And it is doubtful to us whether those engaged in the

him<sup>1</sup> for an account of the battle. It was then he said,<sup>2</sup> "I never saw a battle like it, nor have I heard of its equal; and even if an angel of God attempted its description, I doubt if he could give it. But there was one circumstance that attracted my notice there, when the forces first came into contact, each began to pierce the other. There was a field, and a ditch, between us and them, and the sharp wind of the spring coming over them towards us; and it was not longer than the time that a cow could be milked, or two cows, that we continued there, when not one person of the two hosts could recognise another, though it might be his son or his brother that was nearest him, unless he should know his voice, and that he previously knew the spot in which he was; we were so covered, as well our heads as our faces, and our clothes, with the drops of gory blood, carried by the force of the sharp cold wind which passed over them to us. And even if we attempted to perform any deed of valour we were unable to do it, because our spears over our heads had become clogged and bound with long locks of hair, which the wind forced upon us, when cut away by well-aimed swords, and gleaming axes; so that it was half occupation to us to endeavour to disentangle, and cast them off. And it is<sup>3</sup> one of the problems of Erin, whether the valour of those who sustained that crushing assault was greater than ours who bore the sight of it without running distracted before the winds or fainting."

CIV. We must now speak of Dunlang.<sup>4</sup> He rushed on the host of the pirates, and spared not one of them, because he had no friendship at all for the foreigners. And he approached Cornabliteoc, and each of them made a rough, fierce, unmerciful assault on the other. Then came three of the people of Cornabliteoc in front of him, and they made three simultaneous thrusts at Dunlang. But, it was

The combat of Dunlang O'Hartigan with Cornabliteoc.

battle sustained more evil than the men who endured the sight of it without going mad or distracted."

<sup>4</sup> *Dunlang*. This evidently means

Dunlang O'Hartigan (see chap. xcvi.) The whole of this chapter is omitted in B., as is also ch. xcvi., in which Dunlang was first mentioned.

in hincib rin eter po bi oil acobair Dúnlaing, aēt i  
 Corinablitheoc, uair tuc aēcuran ammin, azarb, oenhorā,  
 fair du zae, noē da ēozair a įano, ocur noē da  
 metair a menma, ocur noē do lin a luāzairned, zor  
 zāb arhano ammin tremeit etir corir ir cneretiud.  
 Za parein reis do muntir Corinablitheoc da ruži-  
 tar epō dāzen, dibracēeaē, dūrcaradeē, ma timcell,  
 ocur tucratar na tpi coecat da batari annazair  
 in oen abull ar Dúnlaing. Aēt oenni cēna, nīr catour,  
 ocur nīr čomarai da tizerina in tanacul rin; dāz  
 da čoit pe Dúnlaing caē oen roan pe himzūm, ocur  
 pe himbualad dib, conaē raba eterina etorpo co  
 tucratar rati įantaā, ocur builleta brata da cele.  
 Aēt maō oenni cēna, ipe rin in tper compac ir dolzi  
 bai i Cluan Tarb in nūgnar i nōerna Murčad do  
 enam comāē cēno ocur coland. Tois ba tpenruāčar  
 tarb acci rein, ocur ba ručen rīz miled. Aēt enī  
 cēna, įualnab comčūritim dūn dāna caēmīlīd rin, aēt  
 ipe Dúnlaing do dičeno erum.

Combat of  
 Conaing  
 and Mael-  
 mordha,  
 king of  
 Leinster.

CV. Dala Conaing; po įraiz reis ru lāgen .i. Mael-  
 morā mac Murčada, ocur do marbad .ii. rīr dec  
 do muntir caē rīr dib ar belair a tizerina, cor  
 compācper rein, cor comčōitper pe cele .i. Conaing,  
 ru Dērmuman, ocur Maelmorā, ru lāgen.

The battle  
 between  
 the army of  
 Connaught  
 and the  
 Danes of  
 Dublin.

CVI. Dala Conaēt, imorpo, po įraizidair rein Zall  
 Aēa Cliaē, ocur do zabadair ar cele, ocur ipe rin in  
 bualad dedenaē bai ar in mūz rin, uair da marbad  
 uli leē ar leē and iat, uair in tanic beo ar do  
 Conaētair aēt oen cēt, ocur niču dečard du Zallair  
 Aēa Cliaē aēt oen rīčī, ocur ic dpočut Dubzall po  
 marbad in fer maderēad dib .i. Arnall Scot .i. įriat  
 po marb e luēt tairi Tairz Uī Cellair. Dala imorpo  
 comlann in caēa rin ocur a ečta nī mo ina ic Dia  
 ita a rīr, uair caē oen ir mo ica mīad a rīr dpoč-

<sup>1</sup> *Combats*: meaning single combats, the other two being recorded, chaps. c. and ci.

<sup>2</sup> *Conaing*. He is afterwards called "King of Des-mhumha," or Desmond; but B., in both places, calls him "Co-

nang, son of Donnucan;" showing that Conaing, Brian's nephew, was intended. See *Genealogical Table III.*, Append. B.

<sup>3</sup> *Twenty*. B. says, "but nine." See Appendix C.

not on them Dunlang's desire and attention were fixed, but on Cornabliteoc; for he gave him a rough, fierce, rapid blow of a spear, by which his ardour was excited, and his spirit roused, and his active mind occupied; for its rough point passed through him, both body, and body-armour. When this was perceived by Cornabliteoc's people, they formed a firm, compact, hard-hearted circle around him; and the thrice fifty of them that were there, turned themselves at the same time against Dunlang. However, it is certain, that their defence procured neither respect nor mercy for their chief, for by Dunlang fell every one of them who waited to be wounded and beaten, until there remained no interposition between them; and they dealt ardent thrusts and fearful blows at each other. And this was one of the three hardest combats<sup>1</sup> that took place at Cluain Tarbh, besides what Murchadh performed, of bone-breaking of heads and bodies. For his was the fierce rushing of a bull, and the scorching path of a royal champion. But to return, these brave champions nearly fell by each other; Dunlang, however, beheaded him.

CV. We must next speak of Conaing.<sup>2</sup> He faced Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, king of Laghin, and sixteen men of the people were killed, each man of them, in front of his lord, before they themselves met, and fell by each other, viz., Conaing, king of Des-mhumha, and Maelmordha, king of Laghin.

Combat of Conaing and Maelmordha, king of Leinster.

CVI. We speak next of the men of Conacht. They advanced to the foreigners of Ath Cliath, and they attacked each other. And that was the decisive defeat that took place on the plain; for they were [almost] all killed, on both sides, there, for there escaped alive from it of the men of Conacht, one hundred only; and there escaped of the foreigners of Ath Cliath, but twenty,<sup>3</sup> and it was at Dubhgall's Bridge the last man of these was killed, viz., Arnail Scot, and those who killed him were the household troops of Tadhg Ua Cellaigh. The full events of that battle, however, and its deeds, God alone knows; because every one besides who could have had knowledge of it fell there on either side; and every man had sufficient

The battle between the army of Connaught and the Danes of Dublin.

paTap auro leč ar leč, ocup bai obair cač oen dib a  
pīr a tapuēta pen ar met a eoni.

Panegyric  
on Mur-  
chadh, son  
of Brian.

CVII. Imtura, imorpo, Murčaird mic Driann, in pi-  
milid. Ro zabirde a da claidium epota commerta .i.  
claidium ina deir, ocup claidium ina cle, uair ip pe  
pīn dūni dedenač pi ba comdeir imbualta da deir  
ocup da cli bai in nEirind. Ipe dūni dedenač iprabi  
in pīrzarced in Eirind é. Ipe tuc a bpečip pīrlas  
nač bepaō oen tpaiz teižčiro pēipin cinnud doenna uli,  
ar coma pa bič, ačt monbad cinnuti leir can ec tpe  
bičhu. Ipe dūni dedenač iprabi comlonō cet in  
Eirind e. Ipe dūni dedenač po napb cet in oen lo e.  
Ipe corceim dedenač puc in pīrzarced in Eirind e.  
Oaiz iped mūpīr penčairi na nSoedel, morpēipur  
amaīl Murčaird comlonō Mac Shamain, ocup .iii. amaīl  
Mac Shamain comlonō Luza laza, ocup .iii. amaīl  
Luž laza comlonō Conaīl Cernaiz, ocup .iii. amaīl  
Conaīl Cernač comlonō Luza lamapata mic Etlenn,  
ocup .iii. amaīl Lož lamapata comlonō hečtopir  
mac Pīuam. Ocup conud iat pīn uirēda ocup imtečta  
in pīmzarpeid o tap in domain, ocup žunač beič  
in pīmzarped peim hečtop, uair nauōin e comci  
pīn, ocup nīp mennuma e po hocci, ocup cona beič  
iap Murčaird; uair penoir epūčāč epinōibliri e o  
hin amač. Ocup cormaīliup aip dūneta tomten-  
aizit anlaid pīn don žairced ocup don domūn ar  
mūtamlužud mēliuēta. Ro be pīn mēčtopir mētam-  
lažtech na Epenō, ilbuatōaiz, ar epēdium, ocup ar  
žail, ocup ar žairced, ar eneač, ocup ar ennum.  
Robe pīn in Saipōn pīuapc, pocomainō, pēžōainō,  
pōepberač na nEbrairi, in počar ocup in paipī a  
atapaōa ocup a ceneoīl pe pé pen, ocup pe amipī. Ro  
berin mēčpcoīl totačtač tapapī po pēpīp, ocup po

<sup>1</sup> Because it: meaning apparently the world. "Before Hector the world was in its infancy; after Murchadh it shall be in its old age and dotage."

<sup>2</sup> Religion. Cp. epēdium, "in faith." The three lines, from Ro

berin to ar ennum, are omitted in B.

<sup>3</sup> Race. B. has improved the sense by omitting the words "for the prosperity and freedom of his fatherland and of his race."

to do to know his own adventures, from the greatness of his distress.

CVII. To return to Murchadh, son of Brian, the royal Panegyric on Murchadh, son of Brian. champion. He grasped his two valiant strong swords, viz., a sword in his right, and a sword in his left hand, for he was the last man in Erin who had equal dexterity in striking with his right and with his left hand. He was the last man that had true valour in Erin. It was he that pledged the word of a true champion, that he would not retreat one foot before the whole of the human race, for any reason whatsoever but this alone, that he might die of his wounds. He was the last man in Erin who was a match for a hundred. He was the last man who killed a hundred in one day. His was the last step that true valour ever took in Erin. For this is what the historians of the Gaedhil say, that seven like Murchadh, would be a match for Mac Samhain; and seven like Mac Samhain, a match for Lugh Lagha; and seven like Lugh Lagha, a match for Conall Cernach; and seven like Conall Cernach, a match for Lugh Lamha-fada, the son of Eithlenn; and seven like Lugh Lamha-fada, a match for Hector, the son of Priam. Such are the degrees and variations of illustrious championship from the beginning of the world; and there was no illustrious championship previous to Hector, because it<sup>1</sup> was only an infant till his time, and was not fit for action, nor shall there be after Murchadh, because it shall be a palsied drivelling dotard ever after. And thus championship and the world are compared with human life, according to intellectual metaphor. He was the metaphorical Hector of all-victorious Erin, in religion,<sup>2</sup> and in valour, and in championship, in generosity, and in munificence. He was the pleasant, affable, intelligent, accomplished Samson of the Hebrews, for promoting the prosperity and freedom of his fatherland and of his race<sup>3</sup>, during his own career and time. He was the second powerful Hercules,<sup>4</sup> who de-

<sup>4</sup> *Hercules*. D. reads,  $\text{m} \tau \text{C} \text{o} \text{i} \text{l} :$  |  $\text{C} \tau \text{c} \text{o} \text{i} \text{l}$ , which has, therefore, been introduced into the text. but B. gives the true reading,  $\text{a} \text{n} \tau$

deleapir piarta ocuy toraēru a hEirno, no rir laēa, ocuy liri, ocuy uamanna, na foela ponthardi, ar naē rabi dun no digenn ir in domun. Robe in luē lamata comeormail, no lins caē docar, ocuy no lomair caē trenceo, ocuy no reryr, ocuy no marb sully ocuy allmaratū a hEirno. Robe in comla caēa, ocuy in eliaē ugra, ocuy in doī diten, ocuy in tor bryti biobao, a aēarda ocuy a ceneoil re pé, ocuy re nemir.

His assault upon the enemy.

CVIII. Oē connac in ruzmlio romor poēalma rin ocuy in cur epoda comnar in meparisan, ocuy in-pputolum tucpat Danair ocuy Anmarzaiē allmaroa rru Dalcar, ir amail bay no biē anin do roinneitair doīom rein, comaroud Gall rru, ocuy no gab rery diera dīmor e, ocuy bryē boīpādaē, aobulmor, no gab met menman ocuy aenid. Aēraē en gali ocuy zairid no, comba ar luaman of hinib ocuy of anail. Ocuy ruc taēim tpen, tpucc, tarbteē, tinneryaē, po caē na nllnmarzā, amail dam dian, denmnetā, darāētaē ar na oīoēgabail, no amail leomon lono, letarpat, luēmar, lanēalma, toduyēir, ocuy epatir ima culenab, no mar boīpūaēur dian bunni dīleno, bryrreay ocuy brecar caē ni cor a pucc, ocuy ruc beirno curad, ocuy latair mīleo, dar caē na nllnmarcaē. Porylit a eparyt da heir .i. penēaroi Gall ocuy lazen, cor ēuit .l. da dery, ocuy .l. da eli, don ruāēur rin; ocuy nry aēēray beim riam do neoē aēē oen beim, ocuy nry gab rēiaē na lūreāē rru beim dib rin riam, can leod curp, ocuy cenomullaz, ocuy enam maroen dib. Cīo tpa aēē, no rāēē tpeyin caē rpar co ba tpi mar rin. Ro lenat e, imoyro, damraro dian, dīulanz, dīrepra, dermar, Clannu luīzōaē ocuy

<sup>1</sup> *Danmarkians.* Anmarzaiē for Danmarzaiē. B. reads, Danair ocuy allmaraz, "Danars and pirates."

<sup>2</sup> *Testified.* Over the word porylit in D. is the gloss no imoyr, "or it is told."

<sup>3</sup> *Historians.* From this it appears

that there were Irish historians of the side opposed to Brian, and favourable to those Norsemen who were allies of the king of Leinster. But their works are now unfortunately lost. They are here appealed to as admitting the great prowess of Murchadh.

stroyed and exterminated serpents and monsters out of Erinn; who searched the lakes, and pools, and caverns, of noble-landed Fodhla, whom no fortress or fastness in the world could resist. He was the Lugh Lamha-fada, who, like him, sprang over every obstacle, laid bare every brave head, and exterminated and expelled the foreigners and pirates out of Erinn. He was the gate of battle, and the hurdle of conflict, and the sheltering tree, and the impregnable tower, against the enemies of his fatherland and of his race during his time and during his career.

CVIII. When this very great, very valiant, royal champion, and brave powerful hero saw the crushing and the repulse which the Danars and the piratical Danmarkians<sup>1</sup> gave to the Dal Cais, it operated on him like death, or a permanent blemish, to see the conflict of the foreigners with them; and he was seized with a boiling, terrible anger, and an excessive elevation, and greatness of spirit and mind. A bird of valour and championship arose in him, and fluttered over his head, and on his breath. And he made an active, brave, vigorous, sudden rush at the battalion of the Danmarkians, like a violent, impetuous, furious ox, that is difficult to catch; or like a fierce, tearing, swift, all-powerful lioness, that has been roused and robbed of her whelps; or like the fierce roll of an impetuous, deluging torrent, which shatters and smashes every thing that opposes it; and he made a hero's breach, and a soldier's field, through the battalion of the Danmarkians. It is testified<sup>2</sup> by his enemies after him, viz., the historians<sup>3</sup> of the foreigners, and of the Laighin, that there fell fifty by his right hand, and fifty by his left, in that onset; and he never repeated a blow to any one, but only the one blow, and neither shield nor mail-coat was proof to resist any of those blows, or prevent its cutting the body, the skull, or the bone of every one of them. Thrice, now, passed he through the battalion in that manner. He was followed, too, by the great, impetuous, irresistible, matchless, phalanx of the Clann Luighdech, and the fine, lively,

His assault  
upon the  
enemy.

ḡamanōraio ḡlanḡarta, ḡerata, ḡalae, ḡnimač, ḡar-  
beođa, a čeglač badem .i. iii. pīit meic piz batap ma  
čeglač, ocup tpiča ceo in pep ba luḡu tučup dib yin.  
Ro lenat e co hat, ačlum, imetrum, co mbenao bono  
pui bono, ocup ceno pui ceno, ocup cney pui cney, da  
eir cač conair ma pancatap. Ocup pui do pamailpet  
yin dani Ača Chiač, batap popy na pcemlib, icca  
peḡao, conap ba lia leo pppčlazi etrunnar o moḡ  
mečil ic buan ḡoipet corai, cid da cač no tpi do  
ḡreiptea pa, odoap polt op ḡač uačib, ap na letpa  
do čuagab troma tarolečai, ocup do claiobib lan-  
nepda lapanna; cono apu yin aḡberp mac Alaiab,  
ba ap pcemlao a ḡriacan paim aca peḡao. Ip mač  
benat na ḡall in ḡoipet, apye, ip mođa pppčlazi lec-  
caat uačib. Ap depeo lai ip tecapta, ap inḡen ḡriacan,  
.i. ben [meic] Alaiab.

Duration of  
the battle,  
from high  
water at  
sunrise to  
high water  
at sunset.

CIX. Cio tpa ačt, batap ap in linipen, ocup ap in  
nimbuadao iat, o tpačh epzi co iarnom. Ip munō, on,  
ocup in cen bir in muip ic tiačt ocup ic tulī ocup ic  
linao. Oaḡ ip a lai maḡa tancatap amiač na ḡall  
do cup in cača ip in matin, ocup do pōčt in muip ma  
hinao cetna doḡipi in depeo lae, in tain po munō apua  
ḡallai, ocup puc in lai maḡa a lonḡa uačib, ḡo nač  
pabi accu pōdeoit leač no teičpitiḡ, ačt ip in paḡzi,  
ap maḡbao ḡall na lupeač uli do Oalcap apčena.  
Ro maio poen po maōma ap ḡallai ocup laḡnib, co  
oḡap in oenpēčt, ocup po ḡaripetap a commape  
cniči, ocup a caipnerpa comtinenai, cum tečō ocup  
cum tpeim ḡabala; ocup ipēo po čēčpetap ip in paḡzi,  
oaḡ in pabi accu let no tečpetiḡ cena, uap po bay  
etupru ocup ceno oḡočaot Oubḡall, ocup po bay

Total de-  
feat of the  
Danish and  
Leinster  
troops.

<sup>1</sup> *Champions*. Lit., "Gamanraidh." See above, p. 166, note <sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *Townland*. The phrase tpiča ceo, was used to signify a barony or townland. So that the meaning is: not one of these followers of Murchadh

that was not the owner of at least a townland.

<sup>3</sup> *Working*. D. reads, ḡeiptea, which is a mistake of the scribe. ḡreiptea, the reading of B., has been substituted.

valiant, brave, fierce champions,<sup>1</sup> of his own household, namely, seven score sons of kings that were in his household; and the man of smallest patrimony amongst them was lord of a townland.<sup>2</sup> These followed him sharply, quickly, and lightly, so that they touched each other foot to foot, and head to head, and body to body, behind him in every place that they came to. And it appeared to the people of Ath Cliath, who were watching them from their battlements, that not more numerous would be the sheaves floating over a great company reaping a field of oats; even though two or three battalions were working<sup>3</sup> at it, than the hair flying with the wind from them, cut away by heavy gleaming axes, and by bright flaming swords. Whereupon the son of Amhlaibh, who was on the battlements of his watch tower, watching them, said, "Well do the foreigners reap the field," said he, "many is the sheaf they let go from them." "It will be at the end of the day that will be seen," said Brian's daughter, namely, the wife of [the son of<sup>4</sup>] Amhlaibh.

CIX. However, now, they continued in battle array, and fighting from sunrise to evening. This is the same length of time as that which the tide takes to go, and to flood, and to fill. For it was at the full tide the foreigners came out to fight the battle in the morning, and the tide had come to the same place again at the close of the day, when the foreigners were defeated; and the tide had carried away their ships from them, so that they had not at the last any place to fly to, but into the sea; after the mail-coated foreigners had been all killed by the Dál Cais. An awful rout was made of the foreigners, and of the Laighin, so that they fled simultaneously; and they shouted their cries for mercy, and whoops of rout, and retreat, and running; but they could only fly to the sea, because they had no other place to retreat to, seeing they were cut off between it and the head of Dubhgal's Bridge; and they

Duration of the battle, from high water at sunrise to high water at sunset.

Total defeat of the Danish and Leinster troops.

<sup>4</sup> *Son of.* D. reads, ben Cmlab, "Amlaff's wife;" but this is an evident mistake; and therefore the reading of

B., ben meic Cmlab, has been adopted. Sitric, son of Amlabh, or Amlaff, was married to Brian's daughter.

ετυρηο οκυρ καλλ τον λειτ̄ ele. Cio tpa aēt, po t̄eēretar ipin parzi, amail elta bo ap aibell, pe po t̄erbaē, ocyr pe cpeib, ocyr pe culib ocyr po lenait co hait, aēlum, imetrum, ocyr po baēt co d̄imor̄ in̄ti na ḡaill, co mb̄itir na capnaib ocyr na cet̄aib comco-marct̄i ar na p̄capct̄an pe ciallaib ocyr pe cet̄paḡaib cor̄p̄arḡaib, p̄er̄in tuar̄cain t̄eino t̄aip̄ym̄iē, ocyr p̄er̄in coct̄uc̄ud comlan, c̄p̄uaḡar̄aḡech, ḡa p̄onaḡar̄ ḡalcair pu, ocyr Conaēt̄a, ocyr i p̄abi aḡo ar̄c̄ena ḡo maēt̄ib p̄er̄ ḡp̄eno.

Tordelbach,  
Brian's  
grandson,  
drowned at  
the weir of  
Clontarf.

CX. Ip̄ aḡorein ḡa cuar̄o T̄air̄delbaē, mac M̄ur-  
c̄air̄o, mic ḡp̄rian, i n̄deḡair̄o na n̄ḡaill ip̄ in parzi, co tuc  
in bunni p̄obar̄ta bulli p̄air̄ in caqm̄o Cluana T̄air̄b,  
ocyr ip̄ amlair̄o po baēt̄o e, ocyr ḡaill p̄ae, ocyr ḡaill  
ina ḡeir̄, ocyr ḡaill maēle, ocyr cualli na caḡar̄o t̄p̄it̄.  
Ni p̄abi ina aip̄ pen ḡuni bar̄o p̄er̄p̄ eneaē no enḡnam  
in ḡp̄un̄o, ocyr ni p̄abi aḡbur̄ p̄iḡ bar̄o p̄er̄p̄. ḡaḡ  
enḡnum a at̄ar̄ aḡo, ocyr p̄iḡaēt̄ a p̄enaḡar̄, ocyr n̄p̄  
p̄lan aēt̄ .u. bliar̄ona ḡēc ḡo aḡp̄in. Ip̄e p̄or̄ in t̄p̄er̄  
ḡuni ip̄ mo po maḡb inla pen e.

Altercation  
between  
the son of  
Amlaff and  
his wife.

Ip̄ aḡo rin po p̄air̄o inḡen ḡp̄rian ben [meic] Ḍmlair̄b,  
Ip̄ ḡoiz Lem̄pa, ap̄p̄i, po ben̄paḡ na ḡaill pe n̄duēp̄.  
Cio pen, a inḡen, ap̄ mac Ḍmlair̄b. Na ḡaill ic ḡoēt̄  
ip̄ in parzi, ait̄ ip̄ ḡual ḡaib, ap̄p̄i, nuēu net̄ar̄ in  
aibell p̄ail op̄t̄o, aēt̄ in anaḡ pe m̄bleḡun maḡeḡo. Ro  
p̄er̄ḡaḡeḡo mac Ḍmlair̄b p̄ia, ocyr tuc ḡoḡun̄o ḡi.

Exploits of  
Murchadh,  
son of  
Brian.

CXI. Im̄t̄up̄, im̄oḡp̄o, M̄ur̄c̄air̄o mic ḡp̄rian. Ḍp̄  
p̄oēt̄an ḡo t̄p̄i caēt̄ na n̄ḡaill ocyr ḡo ḡap̄p̄ar̄o ḡalcair̄  
ap̄ oen p̄p̄up̄, amail po p̄emp̄ar̄oḡem, uap̄ ḡa bat̄ar̄ ḡp̄em  
ḡo caēt̄m̄leḡaib na n̄ḡaill p̄iam, can t̄eḡeḡo ip̄in parzi,  
eteḡ noēt̄ ca p̄abi ciall ip̄ cumni ḡib, aēt̄ po boḡa leo

<sup>1</sup> *In the sea.* Lit., "in it;" but B. reads, ip̄in p̄p̄ar̄p̄e, "in the sea."

<sup>2</sup> *Under him.* B. omits the "foreigner under him;" making two foreigners only to have perished with him.

<sup>3</sup> *Amhlaibh's son.* Here again the reading of B. has been followed. See note, p. 191. He is called Amhlaibh's

son in the next line, which proves that the omission of the word mac, in D. is a mere clerical error, although it occurs in two different places.

<sup>4</sup> *Blow.* B. adds, ḡi ḡup̄ ben p̄ia-  
caḡ ar̄a ceann, "which knocked a  
tooth out of her head."

were cut off between it and the wood on the other side. They retreated therefore to the sea, like a herd of cows in heat, from sun, and from gadflies, and from insects; and they were pursued closely, rapidly, and lightly; and the foreigners were drowned in great numbers in the sea,<sup>1</sup> and they lay in heaps and in hundreds, confounded, after parting with their bodily senses and understandings, under the powerful, stout, belabouring; and under the tremendous, hard-hearted pressure, with which the Dal Cais, and the men of Conacht, and as many as were also there of the nobles of Erin, pursued them.

CX. It was then that Tordhelbhach, the son of Murchadh, son of Brian, went after the foreigners into the sea, when the rushing tide wave struck him a blow against the weir of Cluain-Tarbh, and so was he drowned, with a foreigner under him,<sup>2</sup> and a foreigner in his right hand, and a foreigner in his left, and a stake of the weir through him. There was not of his age a person of greater generosity or munificence than he in Erin; and there was not a more promising heir of the kingdom. For he inherited the munificence of his father, and the royal dignity of his grandfather; and he had not completed more than fifteen years at that time. He was also one of the three men who had killed most on that day.

Then it was that Brian's daughter, namely, the wife of Amhlaibh's son<sup>3</sup> said, "It appears to me," said she, "that the foreigners have gained their inheritance." "What meanest thou, O woman?" said Amhlaibh's son. "The foreigners are going into the sea, their natural inheritance," said she; "I wonder is it heat that is upon them; but they tarry not to be milked, if it is." The son of Amhlaibh became angered, and he gave her a blow.<sup>4</sup>

CXI. To return, however, to Murchadh, son of Brian. When he had passed through the battalions of the foreigners, accompanied by the champions of the Dál Cais, as we have said before, there was a party of soldiers of the foreigners still before him, who had not rushed into the sea as yet, who retained their senses and their memories, and who preferred enduring any amount of suffering rather

Tordelbach,  
Brian's  
grandson,  
drowned at  
the weir of  
Clontarf.

Altercation  
between  
the son of  
Amhlaif and  
his wife.

Exploits of  
Murchadh,  
son of  
Brian.

He attacks  
Siucrad,  
Earl of  
Orkney,

cað etualanḡ ar domon dulanḡ mar a mbaðad. 1r anð  
ren it conairc Murðad Siucrao, mac Lotair, iarla  
1hri Orc, ar lar caða Dal Cair, ica narpleað ocuy  
ica naðcumá, ocuy bá lunní latraino ðar maḡ leir  
etupru, ocuy in ḡeibtir penna no ilfaiar é, ocuy in  
brio teno nað trairgeno, ocuy in brio tuis nað tanaircno.  
1r anð rin pucairtair Murðad pucaðar po tren ðain-  
raḡio, ocuy po timlaic bullí borb, tren, bput bpuceð,  
na lama leitmiðí luatèðtaíðí ðeiri ðeḡ ðairao, ðin-  
raḡio coel in cuirp, ocuy cenḡal in caðbairi ḡallta  
ḡranemal bai po ðeño, cor ḡerpairtair na enair, ocuy  
cenḡal, ocuy iata, ocuy na corairḡí batar ic conḡbal  
in caðbairi, ocuy tucairtair clairium na lama ailí  
ainðeiri ða arpleð, ocuy ða atðuma, ar toiriti a cað-  
bairi ar a cul ðe, cor ḡerpairtair coel in cuirp cor  
traicair in tren milio rin ðo ða beim comtenna  
comðeḡra mar ren.

and slays  
him.

Ebric, son  
of the king  
of Loch-  
lann, at-  
tacks the  
Dal Cais.

CXII. 1r anðrin tanc in caðmilio curata, anḡbair,  
allata, Airairo mac Ebrie, mac ruḡ Loðlano i curlað,  
ocuy i ceptmedon Dal Cair, ocuy ba laðir mileo, ocuy  
ba beḡno curao no leicðea ðo cað conair ma teḡeo,  
ocuy ðo rinu rinmair ḡo let eino in caða imacuarit  
ðo bemennab borba barbarða, ocuy ðo bulleðab  
aḡmará amairmarða. Rodreicir Murðad in in rin,  
ocuy ba ḡal eirao leir, ocuy po impo riarðairina po  
cað na luprað cor marb .u. ḡallu ðec ða ðeiri, ocuy i  
cure ðec ða eli ðonneoð ima rabi luprað co riacð [mac]  
Elbrie mac ru Loðlano. Har roberin cenð ḡaili, ocuy  
ḡairero rluair Loðlano, ocuy ḡall uli arcena, ocuy po  
cuirpirtair comlonð reḡ reoðair rulað forðeḡ, ocuy  
ḡleicḡarb ḡlirðeoð co hannin aḡarb epcarðemal. 1r

Murehadh  
rushes to  
meet him.

<sup>1</sup> *Siucraid*. "Sitruic," B.

<sup>2</sup> *Neck*. Lit., "the narrow part of the body." This bombastical description is omitted in B.

<sup>3</sup> *Warrior*. It is possible that an-  
pað, the word here rendered "warrior,"  
may be intended as the proper name  
of this champion, and that we should

read "Anrad, son of Ebric," &c. The  
romantic tale called *the Battle of Clon-  
tarf* so understands it. But there is  
evidently some confusion; for the hero  
here called "son of Ebric," is a little  
lower down called "Elbrie," which  
ought to be "[son of] Elbrie." B.  
calls him here, when he is first men-

than be drowned. It was then that Murchadh perceived Siucraid,<sup>1</sup> son of Lotar, Earl of Insi Ore, in the midst of the battalion of the Dál Cais, slaughtering and mutilating them; and his fury among them was that of a robber upon a plain; and neither pointed nor any kind of edged weapon could harm him; and there was no strength that yielded not, nor thickness that became not thin. Then Murchadh made a violent rush at him, and dealt him a fierce, powerful, crushing blow from the valiant, death-dealing, active right hand, in the direction of his neck,<sup>2</sup> and the fastenings of the foreign hateful helmet that was on his head, so that he cut the buttons, and the fastenings, and the clasps, and the buckles that were fastening the helmet; and he brought the sword of the graceful left hand to hew and maim him after the helmet had fallen backwards from him; and he cut his neck, and felled that brave hero with two tremendous, well-aimed blows, in that manner.

He attacks Siucrad, Earl of Orkney,

and slays him.

CXII. Then came the heroic, valiant, noble, renowned warrior,<sup>3</sup> the son of Ebric, son of the king of Lochlann, into the bosom and centre of the Dál Cais, and it was the clear stage of a warrior, and the breach of a hero was opened for him wherever he went; and he trampled to a litter one end of the battalion, dealing in all directions fierce, barbarous strokes, and victorious irresistible blows. Murchadh perceived this, and it was a heart-ache to him, and he turned obliquely upon the battalions of the mailed-men, and killed fifteen foreigners on his right, and fifteen on his left, who were mail-clad, until he reached [the son of] Elbric, the son of the king of Lochlainn, for he was the head of valour and bravery of the army of Lochlainn, and of all the foreigners also. And they fought a stout, furious, bloody, crimson combat, and a fierce, vehement, rough, boisterous, implacable battle. And the sword

Ebric, son of the king of Lochlann, attacks the Dal Cais.

Murchadh rushes to meet him.

tioned, "Elbric, son of the king of Lochlann," and in the second place "Ebric, son of the king of Lochlann," transposing the names given him in D., but in neither place speaking of

"the son of Ebric" or Elbric. The same person is evidently meant in both places, and the name intended was probably *Eohric* or *Eric*; or perhaps *Elfric*.

αυλατο βαι ελασιουμ Μυρῆατο ανθρην αρ να ιμφα,  
 ocuy elta det batap aeci po leσrαt pe po teipbaē  
 ιμυατα, ocuy do oλuσ in elasioum te alaim ιλλαταp  
 a μυσαιpηto coprell. Sellap in ni pη, ocuy po lae in  
 elasioum uat, ocuy po sab cenomullaē in σαλλ, ocuy  
 po hupe a λυπῆ θαp a cenθ pαp, ocuy po cuipet  
 σλειc ιμπαpεατα ιαpηm. Ro cuip Μυρῆατο pα in σαλλ  
 a ηpε lampυσ, ocuy po sab elasioum in σαλλ pειn  
 ιαpηm, ocuy po pαῖ ι cleiῆ ocῆta in σαλλ e co pιαῖt  
 talman tpuῆ potp. Tapait θan, in σαλλ a pειn pειn,  
 ocuy tic τασαλλ do Μυρῆατο co po tall a ιουι uli ap,  
 ocuy cop ταυpεt ap λαρ ινα pιαθναp. Ro ῆυpεt  
 epεῆa, ocuy τανα ιαpηm ποp Μυρῆατο, ocuy ni po pεt  
 ιητεῆt, ocuy po comtauῆt apoen ανθpηm, in σαλλ ocuy  
 Μυρῆατο, acῆ oen ni cena po ben Μυρῆατο a cenθ θun  
 σαλλ, ocuy ni po μαpῆ Μυρῆατο in αθαcη pη ιap, co  
 τραῖ epεσ ιpηαθαpαῆ co ταpαιθ epεpα, ocuy comna,  
 ocuy απυσ, ocuy cop ῆαῖ copp Cpηt, ocuy co ηθεpηa  
 apηti, ocuy a ῆιηna.

Both  
 mortally  
 wounded.

Elric be-  
 headed.  
 Murchadh  
 lives to the  
 following  
 day.

The adven-  
 tures of  
 Brian, king  
 of Ireland.  
 He kneels  
 in prayer,  
 desiring his  
 servant to  
 watch the  
 battle.

He in-  
 quires of  
 the servant  
 the pro-  
 gress of the  
 fight.

CXIII. Ιηταp ιηοpπο θpηαιn ηuc Cenneῆσ, pηpηm pe  
 pη, ap comuaῆtan θona caῆan po pεaleθ a pell pae,  
 ocuy po opῆaic a pαλταp, ocuy po sab ι clapecul allam,  
 ocuy ic apηnaσ θαp ep na caῆ, ocuy ni pabi neῆ na  
 apuθ acῆ a σιλλα pειn .ι. latean a aηm, [o ταῆ O latean  
 ποp ηp in Μυμιαn.] Cpβεpε θpηαιn pηpη in σιλλα, pεσ na  
 caῆa, ocuy na comlonna, co ησabuηa na pαλmu. Ro sab  
 .ι. pαlm, ocuy .ι. opῆan, ocuy .ι. πατεp, ocuy po ιηcomape  
 θon σιλλα ιαpηm eηηap batap na caῆa. Ro pεcap in  
 σιλλα, ocuy apβεpε atcumacpη, ocuy atcumηpῆa comoluῆi  
 na caῆa, ocuy po pιαῖt caῆ ιη σlocan a cele θib. Ocuy  
 ni po λια lempa tpoptbeim ι caλλ Tomap, ocuy .ιιι.  
 caῆa ιca teipεaθ ιηηa tpoptbeim ι cenθanb, ocuy ι

<sup>1</sup> *Cushion*. Pell, lit. a skin, i.e. a carpet, rug, or cushion made of fur, or skin.

<sup>2</sup> *From whom*. The clause within brackets occurs in both MSS., but is inconsistent with the early date of this

work; it is evidently the interpolation of some transcriber.

<sup>3</sup> *Prayers*. Lit., *Orate's*: meaning probably litanies, or prayers consisting of the words *ora*, or, *orate pro nobis*.

of Murchadh at that time was inlaid with ornament, and the inlaying that was in it melted with the excessive heat of the striking, and the burning sword cleft his hand, tearing the fork of his fist. He perceived that, and cast the sword from him, and he laid hold of the top of the foreigner's head, and pulled his coat of mail over his head forward, and they then fought a wrestling combat. Then Murchadh put the foreigner down under him, by the force of wrestling, and then he caught the foreigner's own sword and thrust it into the ribs of the foreigner's breast, until it reached the ground through him, three times. The foreigner then drew his knife, and with it gave Murchadh such a cut, that the whole of his entrails were cut out, and they fell to the ground before him. Then did shiverings and faintings descend on Murchadh, and he had not power to move, so that they fell by each other there, the foreigner and Murchadh. But at the same time Murchadh cut off the foreigner's head. And Murchadh did not die that night, nor until sunrise the next day; until he had received absolution, and communion, and penance, and until he had taken the Body of Christ, and until he had made his confession and his will.

Both mortally wounded.

Elric beheaded.

Murchadh lives to the following day.

CXIII. Let us speak now of the adventures of Brian, son of Cenneidigh, during this time. When the forces met in combat, his cushion<sup>1</sup> was spread under him, and he opened his psalter; and he began to clasp his hands and to pray after the battle had commenced; and there was no one with him but his own attendant, whose name was Latean [from whom<sup>2</sup> are the O'Lateans, still in Mumhain]. Brian said to the attendant, watch thou the battles and the combats, whilst I sing the psalms. He sang fifty psalms, and fifty prayers,<sup>3</sup> and fifty paternosters, and he asked the attendant after that what the condition of the battalions was. The attendant answered and said, "Mixed and closely confounded are the battalions, and each of them has come within the grasp of the other; and not louder in my ears would be the echoes of blows from Tomar's Wood, if seven battalions were cutting it down, than are the re-

The adventures of Brian, king of Ireland.

He kneels in prayer, desiring his servant to watch the battle.

He inquires of the servant the progress of the fight.

enamaib, ocup i cenomullasib etorpo. Ocup no iarpais cinnar bi merzi Murčaid, ocup arbert in gilla, ita na ferrum, ocup moran do merzodab Dal Cair umi, ocup imda cenō ca dibrugud cuci, ocup ilač corcair, ocup comarom i leir do cennaib na ngall. Ir mač in pcel rin, am, ar ħrian.

Ro hatarize a pell paei, ocup no gab na paln, ocup na horčan, ocup na patri pon cor cetna, ocup no iarpais don gilla cinnar batar na cača, ocup no pecair in gilla, ocup atbert:—Mi puil beo ar talum nec do berad aiči ar neč reč a čele dib. Dais itrocair porzla in cača cečtarōa, ocup innoč ir beo no linaic do ħraenčal na zola poruannaicōi eter cenō, ocup corp, ocup etiuō innař nač tiberō a atair aiči ar a mac uar neč dib, ocup batar merc ar merc. Ĥi ica iarpaisicō cinnar bai merzi Murčaid. Arbert in gilla pu bata uača e; ocup no ročt tper na cačair riar, ocup bai ina heřrum por. Arbert Ĥrian ir mač betit pu Ĥpenō, arpe, cen biar in merzi rin na heřrum, dais biarō a merneč pein, ocup a nenžnum in zač duni dib i cen iticerať in merzi rin.

Ro hačirzed a pell po Ĥrian, ocup no gab .l. paln, ocup .l. orčan, ocup .l. pater, ocup no bar icun imualad por puřin. Ro iarpais iarpin, don gilla cinnar batar na cača. Arbert in gilla. Ir amail rin amail po bi caill Tomair ar loread a minbaiz, ocup a hoc epuno, ocup na rečt cača coecair ar miř ica žerpat, [ocup a palze po inōra, ocup a dairze dōiořora ina ferraič. Ir aičlaič rin atād na cača ceičtarōa ar ttuicim a pporōa uile, ačt uačač da tpeinfeiraič, ocup da tpeinmleadačaič na ferraič. Ir aičlaič atad na cača cečtarōa rōř ar na ttollaič, ocup ar na tpeažōač, ocup ar na řecaičleō, ocup atad žo hanorōažče imaccuairť, ocup bleiřh muřlinn tuaičřil orpa, ocup

<sup>1</sup> From him, i.e. from Murchadh.

<sup>2</sup> Underwood. Here the MS. D. ends imperfectly. The conclusion has been supplied from B.

<sup>3</sup> A month. B. reads, ocup na

rečt cača caicřōř ar miř aža caičeič, ocup a palze po inōra, řc, as in the text.

<sup>4</sup> Wrong way. Lit., "turning northwards," or to the left-hand.

sounding blows upon heads, and bones, and skulls, on both sides." Then he asked what was the condition of Murchadh's standard ; and the attendant said—"It is standing, and many of the banners of the Dal Cais are around it ; and many heads are falling around it, and a multitude of trophies, and spoils, with heads of the foreigners are along with it." That is good news, indeed, said Brian.

His cushion was readjusted under him, and he sang the psalms, and the prayers, and the paters, in the same manner as before. And he asked of the attendant, again, what the condition of the battalions was ; and the attendant answered and said—"There is not living on earth one who could distinguish one of them from the other. For, the greater part of the hosts at either side are fallen, and those who are alive are so covered with splatterings of the crimson blood, head, body, and vesture, that a father could not know his son from any other of them, so confounded are they." He then asked what was the condition of Murchadh's standard. The attendant said that it was far from him,<sup>1</sup> and that it passed through the battalions, westwards, and was still standing. Brian said, "The men of Erin shall be well while that standard remains standing, because their courage and valour shall remain in them all, as long as they can see that standard."

His cushion was readjusted under Brian, and he sang fifty psalms, and fifty prayers, and fifty paters ; and the fighting continued all that time. He asked then of the attendant, in what state were the forces ? The attendant answered—"They appear to me the same as if Tomar's Wood was on fire, and the seven battalions had been cutting away its underwood<sup>2</sup> [and its young shoots, for a month,<sup>3</sup> leaving its stately trees and its immense oaks standing. In such manner are the armies on either side, after the greater part of them have fallen, leaving a few brave men and gallant heroes only standing. Their further condition is, they are wounded, and pierced through, and dismembered ; and they are disorganized all round like the grindings of a mill turning the wrong way,<sup>4</sup> and the foreigners are now defeated, and Murchadh's



standard has fallen." "That is sad news," said Brian; "on my word," said he, "the honour and valour of Erin fell when that standard fell; and Erin has fallen now, indeed; and never shall there appear henceforth a champion comparable to or like to that champion. And what avails it me to survive this, or that I should obtain the sovereignty of the world, after the fall of Murchadh, and Conaing, and the other nobles of the Dál Cais, in like manner." "Woe is me," said the attendant, "if thou wouldst take my advice, thou wouldst mount thy horse, and we would go to the camp, and remain there amongst the servants; and every one who escapes this battle will come unto us, and around us will they all rally. Besides, the battalions are now mixed together in confusion; and a party of the foreigners have rejected the idea of retreating to the sea; and we know not who may approach us where we now are." "Oh God! thou boy," said Brian, "retreat becomes us not, and I myself know that I shall not leave this place alive; and what would it profit me if I did. For, Aibhell,<sup>1</sup> of Craig Liath, came to me last night," said he, "and she told me that I should be killed this day; and she said to me that the first of my sons I should see this day would be he who should succeed me in the sovereignty; and that is Donnchadh; and go thou, Laidean," said he, "and take these steeds with thee, and receive my blessing; and carry out my will after me, viz., my body and my soul to God and to Saint Patrick, and that I am to be carried to Ard-macha; and my blessing to Donnchadh, for discharging my last bequests after me, viz., twelve score cows to be given to the Comharba of Patrick, and the Society of Ard-macha; and its own proper dues to Cill da Lua, and the churches of Mumhain; and he knows that I have not wealth of gold or silver, but he is to pay them in return for my blessing, and for his succeeding me.<sup>2</sup> Go this night to Sord, and desire them

Brian's lamentation on the fall of Murchadh.

Brian's will.

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means an ecclesiastical successor, had never that meaning exclusively, but signified an heir or inheritor of land or office, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

ionlacad uatathrem co Daibiac Cuanain, ocuy tiono-  
laccert rin me so Luighaigh, ocuy ticcerd Maolmhuire  
mac Eochada coimharba Patraic, ocuy muntrip Ard-  
macha in aghid so Luighaigh.

CXIV. An tan batтар poppan ceoimrad rin atconairc  
an siolla buidheir dona gallaibh eua. Ire do bi ann  
rin brodar iarla, ocuy diaf oclac amalle ruyr.  
Daime euccann anro bar an siolla. Cionar daime  
ias ale, ar Brian. Daime glara lomnocta, ar in  
siolla. Trias rin, ar Brian, sioll na luiread rin, ocuy  
ni do denaib do leirpara ceisat. Ar cuma ro bai  
asa rada, ocuy ro eirigh, ocuy tucc coireim don fell  
amaid, ocuy do noct a cloidheib. Teit brodar rada, ocuy  
ni tuc da uith e. Arbert an trear fear bai ina parpad,  
ocuy ro oclac do Brian fein e, Cing, cing, ar fe, ar  
e ro an ri. No, no, aet prirt, prirt, ar brodar, ni  
head, ar fe, aet rarasat uasal. Ce roir, ar ant oclac, an  
ri mor Brian, ata an. Ro impo brodar ar rin, ocuy  
ir aiblad ro bai, ocuy tuas caidleach tairneidac trog-  
tanaid ina lam, ocuy ionnrima na ramtarste ina meid.  
Oe conairc Brian e, ro bai asa feid, ocuy tucc beim  
cloidheib do sur teire an cor ele de asa glin, ocuy  
an cor deir asa trairid. Do bert an gall buile do  
Brian sur dluisi an ceid co leir, ocuy ro marid Brian  
an para fer bai irparad brodar, ocuy ro tuictar  
an diaf rin comitrim.

Panegyric  
on Brian.

CXV. Hocha deirad iar ceirdeid in Erin aet  
oirleed chinn Corbmaic mic Cuilennain, aongmoib buid mo  
ina rin. Rob e rin, iaraid, an trear sem ar ferir rugad  
an Erin maib, ocuy an trear fer rodar Erenn .i.  
Luigh Lampada, ocuy Fionn mac Cuinail, ocuy Brian  
mac Ceinneitigh. Doigh ire ro fuarlac fir Erenn,  
ocuy a mnad o daire, ocuy o doar gall ocuy allidaraid.

<sup>1</sup> *Three*. This seems to include Bro-  
dar, who, with his two followers, made  
three. One of them had been in  
Brian's service, and called out in the  
language of the Norsemen, "Cing,

"Cing"—i.e., king; for the Irish C is  
always pronounced as the hard K.  
Brodar's answer, "No, no,—prist, prist,"  
i.e. priest, is also an attempt to repre-  
sent the language of the "foreigners."

to come to-morrow, early, for my body, and to convey it from thence to Damhliag, of Cianan; and then let them carry it to Lughmhagh; and let Maelmuire Mac Eochadha, the Comharba of Patrick, and the Society of Ard-macha come to meet me at Lughmhagh."

CXIV. While they were engaged in this conversation the attendant perceived a party of the foreigners approaching them. The Earl Brodar was there, and two warriors along with him. "There are people coming towards us here," said the attendant. "Woe is me, what manner of people are they?" said Brian. "A blue stark naked people," said the attendant. "Alas!" said Brian, "they are the foreigners of the armour, and it is not to do good to thee they come." While he was saying this, he arose and stepped off the cushion, and unsheathed his sword. Brodar passed him by and noticed him not. One of the three<sup>1</sup> who were there, and who had been in Brian's service, said—"Cing, Cing," said he, "this is the king." "No, no, but Priest, Priest," said Brodar, "it is not he," says he, "but a noble priest." "By no means," said the soldier, "that is the great king, Brian." Brodar then turned round, and appeared with a bright, gleaming, trusty battle-axe in his hand, with the handle set in the middle<sup>2</sup> of it. When Brian saw him he gazed at him, and gave him a stroke with his sword, and cut off his left leg at the knee, and his right leg at the foot. The foreigner dealt Brian a stroke which cleft his head utterly; and Brian killed the second man that was with Brodar, and they fell both mutually by each other.

CXV. There was not done in Erinn, since Christianity, any greater deed than this. In fact he was one of the three best that ever were born in Erinn; and one of the three men who most caused Erinn to prosper, namely, Lugh Lamha-fada, and Finn Mac Cumhail, and Brian Mac Ceinneidigh. For it was he that released the men of Erinn, and its women, from the bondage and

Panegyric  
on Brian.

<sup>2</sup> *The middle.* The meaning seems | the handle being fixed in the middle  
to be that the axe was a double one, | between the blades.

17 é po bhay cunc caṯa p̄cēt p̄p̄r ḡallaib, ocuy p̄p̄r  
 macib, ocuy p̄p̄r m̄ḡayb amal po p̄ap̄remay p̄oḡann.  
 Compared Rob é ym an tOctavian aobda ilbuac̄aḡ m̄p̄oḡay, ocuy  
 to Augustus Caesar; m̄p̄ap̄oḡaḡt a aṯayp̄ḡa ocuy a ḡneoil, pob é an tClax-  
 to Alexander; anḡay tate, talcay tanayp̄te ay tpeoil, ocuy ay  
 to Solomon; oip̄bep̄t, ocuy ay m̄p̄ayḡh̄oḡ ay ḡathab̄, ocuy ay coṗce-  
 to David; p̄ab̄, ocuy pob é an Solab̄ p̄ona, p̄ap̄ḡip̄, p̄ioḡamab̄,  
 to Moses. na ḡḡaoidel, pob é an Oant̄ oil oioḡra deḡmeim̄naḡ  
 ocuy ay coḡḡeitt̄ p̄lat̄em̄ḡay. Rob é an Maoip̄ m̄oḡḡa  
 minett̄p̄oḡt ay cunḡla, ocuy ay ḡaḡḡe ep̄ab̄t̄iḡe.  
 Brian's age and length CXVI. C̄io t̄pa aḡt̄ top̄cay an p̄i oip̄ḡeayc̄ ilbuac̄haḡ  
 of his reign. p̄m̄ p̄e ḡallaib̄ ym̄ oc̄t̄maḡ bliac̄ḡan oc̄t̄moḡat̄ a ayi,  
 ocuy ym̄ oc̄t̄mat̄ bliac̄ḡan t̄p̄eac̄ a p̄lat̄iḡya a M̄un̄ḡan,  
 ocuy ym̄ ḡap̄a bliac̄ḡan deḡ ma ayḡp̄oc̄che na h̄ep̄enn.  
 Prophecies of the fall C̄io t̄pa aḡt̄ po t̄unt̄ ep̄e ḡou b̄ay p̄m̄ ḡp̄ian, ocuy tan-  
 of Ireland. ḡḡḡay na t̄ip̄c̄ant̄a, ocuy po coḡḡallit̄ na p̄ayḡm̄eḡḡa  
 ḡep̄enn ḡo p̄éip̄ na naemh, ocuy na p̄p̄ip̄én, aḡḡal  
 ayb̄ep̄t̄ ḡep̄chan—

Oo p̄aḡt̄ an t̄p̄aḡi ym̄ ḡaḡi  
 ḡonn p̄m̄ bonn.  
 ḡoil̄ iḡ ḡaḡoḡil̄ m̄ulc̄ ḡe;  
 ḡioḡ p̄oḡḡep̄c̄ a c̄com̄p̄aiḡḡe.  
 ḡioḡ oic̄ b̄iaȳ Ep̄e ḡe,  
 ḡioḡ p̄oḡḡep̄ḡ a c̄com̄p̄aiḡḡe;  
 O p̄m̄ cō laḡḡe an bh̄aṯa,  
 Meḡya ḡaḡa haent̄p̄aṯa.  
 11i b̄ia cell̄ na caṯaȳ caḡḡ,  
 11i b̄ia ḡunaḡḡ na p̄iḡp̄aḡḡ,  
 P̄ioḡḡlaȳ na maḡ na maḡḡep̄,  
 ḡan̄ oil̄ uile a nan̄p̄laṯep̄.

Effects of  
Brian's  
death.

Ro p̄ceim̄ḡ ḡa t̄p̄m̄an̄ eim̄ḡ, ocuy enḡnam̄a o Laoḡab̄  
na h̄ep̄enn̄ le cloip̄ḡeḡt̄ an̄ p̄ceoil̄ym̄. Ro p̄ceim̄ḡ ḡa

<sup>1</sup> *Octavin*. Meaning, no doubt, Augustus Caesar, whose original name was Octavianus.

<sup>2</sup> *Eighty-eighth*. Upon this authority the Four Masters record Brian's birth at A.D. 926; but the Ann. Ult.

iniquity of the foreigners, and the pirates. It was he that gained five-and-twenty battles over the foreigners, and who killed and banished them as we have already said. He was the beautiful, ever-victorious Octavin,<sup>1</sup> for the prosperity and freedom of his country and his race. He was the strong, irresistible, second Alexander, for energy, and for dignity, and for attacks, and for battles, and for triumphs. And he was the happy, wealthy, peaceable Solomon of the Gaedhil. He was the faithful, fervent, honourable, gallant David of Erin, for truthfulness, and for worthiness, and for the maintainance of sovereignty. He was the magnificent, brilliant Moses, for chastity, and mostentatious devotion.

CXVI. However, that illustrious, all-victorious king, fell by the foreigners, in the eighty-eighth<sup>2</sup> year of his age, and in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, in Mumhain; and in his twelfth year in the chief sovereignty of Erin. In short, Erin fell by the death of Brian; and the predictions came to pass, and the prophecies were fulfilled to Erin, according to the saints and the righteous ones, as Berchan said—

The noble and the plebeian fell  
 Foot to foot.  
 The Gaill and the Gaedhil will be the worse of it;  
 Blood-red shall be their conflicts.  
 Evil shall be to Erin from it.  
 Blood-red shall be their conflicts;  
 Thence to the judgment day;  
 Worse shall they be every day.  
 There shall not be a pure church or city;  
 There shall not be a fortress or royal Rath;  
 A green wood, nor plain, nor good,  
 But all shall degenerate into lawlessness.

Two-thirds of the dignity and valour of the champions of Erin fled on hearing this news. Two-thirds of the

Compared to Augustus Caesar;  
to Alexander;

to Solomon;  
to David;

to Moses.

Brian's age and length of his reign.

Prophecies of the fall of Ireland.

Effects of Brian's death.

---

tell us that he was born A.D. 941, | was slain. This is a very much more  
 which would make him 73 when he | probable date.

τρῖαν κοῦνλα, οὐρ εραβηαῶ ο κλειρῖβῆ Ερῆνν τον  
 ρεελ ρῖν. Ὅο εὐαῖῶ α νάρη, οὐρ α ηγεῖνμναγεῖτ  
 ὁ μναῖβῆ Ερῆνν τον ρεελ σεῖνα, ἀμαῖλ ἀρβερτ Ὀεζ μαε  
 Ὅέ:—

Ἰαῖῶ βυαρ ἀν τομῆαν ζαν ὄαρ.

Ἰαῖηε δεαρβαῖῶ ἀρ ὄζῖνμναῖβῆ,

Ἰαῖῶ ζαε τῖρ ζαν τρεαβηαρ τρελλ.

Ἰῆ ρῖζε ρῖ ἐνεελλαν.

Ὅο εὐαῖῶ ὄα ττρῖαν λαῖτα ο σεῖτραῖβῆ ρορ τον ρεελ ρῖν.

The chief-  
 tains killed  
 on the side  
 of the  
 enemy.

CXVII. Ἄετ ἀτα νῖ ἔνα τορρεαταρ ἰρῖν οεαῖ ρῖν  
 ρορζλα λαῖζαλε ζαλλ, οὐρ ζαοῖδελ ἰαρταρ Ἰορρα ἠλε  
 ἀρ ἀον λαῖαρ. Τορρεαρ ἀνν Ὀροδαρ μαε Οἰρῖ, ἰαῖλα  
 Καῖρῖ ηἸεβροε, οὐρ τορρεαρ .x.c. Ὅαναρ διβερζαῖβῆ ζαε-  
 ρναῖβῆ οὐρ Lochlannaῖβῆ ἀρ ἀον ρῖρῖν. Τορρεαρ ἀνν  
 Σῖτρυε μαε Λαῖαρ ἰαῖλα Ἰνορῖ ηἸορ. Τορρεαρ ἀνν  
 .xx.c. ὄο ζαλλαῖβῆ Ἄῖα Κῖαῖ, ἰμ Ὅυβζαλλ μαε Ἄμλαῖβῆ,  
 οὐρ ἰμ Ἰῖλλα Κῖαῖρῖν μαε Ἰῖλμῖαῖρῖν, οὐρ ἰμ Ὅον-  
 χαῖῶ Ἰα νἸρῖνῖβῆ, οὐρ ἰμ Ἄμλαῖβῆ μαε Λαζμῖν, οὐρ  
 ἰμ Ερῖαῖλ Scot.

Τορρεαταρ ἀνν ὄνα Οἰτῖρ ὄυβῆ, οὐρ Ἰρῖρῖν, οὐρ  
 Λῖμῖνῖν, οὐρ Σῖοζῖραῖβῆ, σεῖτρε ἠυρραῖῶ ζαλλ, οὐρ  
 σεῖτρε ταῖρῖζῆ Λοῖνζῖρ; Τορρεαρ ἀνν ὄνα Καῖρῖν, οὐρ  
 Κῖαῖρῖν ὄα μαε ρῖζῆ Λοῖλλαν, οὐρ Ἰοῖρτῖλῖν Ἰαλλ, οὐρ  
 Ἄμῖονῶ μαε Ὅυβζῖν, ὄα ρῖζῆ Ρῖρῖτ Λαρσεε, οὐρ Σῖμονῶ  
 μαε Τῖρῖζῖρ, οὐρ Σερραῖῶ μαε Σῖμῖν, οὐρ Ὀερναρῶ  
 μαε Σῖαῖνῖν, οὐρ Ἰον Ὀαῖρῖν, οὐρ Ρῖκαρῶ, ὄα Ἰῖαε  
 να ἠῖνζῖνε Ρῖαῖῶε, οὐρ Οἰρῖλλ, οὐρ Ραζῖναλλ, ὄα  
 Ἰῖεῖε Ἰῖῖαρ ἠα Ἰῖῖαρ. Ροβαῖῶ ὄυτῖαῖῶ ὄο Ὀρῖαν α  
 ττρῖτῖμ ρῖν Λεῖρ, οἰρ ἰρ λε Μαῖῖῖαῖῖαν, οὐρ λε Ὀρῖαν  
 ὄο ἠαῖρῖαῖῶ ἠλε α ναῖῖρεῖῶ ἀζ εοῖρῖαῖῖ ἀρρεῖρῖαῖῖν ὄυτῖαῖῖ  
 ρῖν.

Ἰῖ ἔανῖε μαε Ἄμλαῖβῆ ρῖν .i. ρῖ Ἄῖα Κῖαῖ ἰρῖν ἔαῖ  
 ἀν λα ρῖν, οὐρ ἰῖῖ ρῖν ρο δερῖα ζαν α Ἰῖαῖρῖαῖῶ, ἠαρ ἰν

<sup>1</sup> *Tribute.* Eneclann, " honor-  
 price," the tax paid to a chieftain for  
 his protection.

<sup>2</sup> *Crisin.* We ought, perhaps, to  
 read *Grisin*.

purity and devotion of the clerics of Erin vanished at that news. Their modesty and chastity departed from the women of Erin at the same news, as Bec Mac De said :

The cows of the world shall be without the bull,  
 Modesty shall be wanting to young women ;  
 Every territory shall be without mansions, for a time.  
 No king shall receive his tribute.<sup>1</sup>

Two-thirds of their milk also departed from quadrupeds at that news.

CXVII. Moreover, there were killed in that battle together the greater part of the men of valour of the Gaill and the Gaedhil, of all the west of Europe. There was killed there, Brodar, son of Osli, Earl of Caer Ebroc, and along with him were killed a thousand plundering Danars, both Saxons and Lochlanns. There was killed there Sitriuc, the son of Ladar, Earl of Innsi Orc. There were killed there two thousand of the foreigners of Ath Cliath, with Dubhghall, son of Amhlaibh, and with Gilla Ciarain, son of Gluniarann, and with Donnchadh O' hEruilbh, and with Amhlaibh, son of Laghman, and with Ernal Scot.

The chief-  
 tains killed  
 on the side  
 of the  
 enemy.

There were killed there, too, Oitir the black, and Grisin,<sup>2</sup> and Luiminin, and Siogradh, the four leaders of the foreigners, and the four commanders of fleets. There fell there, too, Carlus, and Ciarlus, the two sons of the king of Lochlainn, and Goistilin Gall, and Amond, son of Duibhghin, the two kings of Port Lairge, and Simond, son of Turgeis, and Sefraid, son of Suinin, and Bernard, son of Suainin ; and Eoin, the Baron, and Rickard, the two sons of the Inghen Ruaidh ; and Oisill, and Raghnaill, the two sons of Imhar, grandson of Imhar.<sup>3</sup> It was the natural right of Brian that these should fall with him, for it was by Mathgamhain, and by Brian, in defence of their country and inheritance, that all the fathers of these were slain.

The son of Amhlaibh himself, king of Ath Cliath, went not into the battle on that day, and that was the reason

<sup>3</sup> Grandson of Imhar. Perhaps we should read here *ṽα meic ṽṽṽṽ ṽṽ* | ṽṽṽṽ, "two sons of Imhar, grandsons of Imhar."

The Irish  
chieftains  
slain on  
the Danish  
side.

Total loss  
of the  
enemy.

The chief-  
tains killed  
on Brian's  
side.

deachaid gall maínech ar beó da ttanic ann ; ocuy po  
pasctai ar Aeth Cliaē rór ai la rin muna beit mac  
Ainlaib, ocuy an luēt bai malle ppyr. Topcay ann  
ona Maolmorōa mac Murchaōa, yu laizen, ocuy Bro-  
garban mac Conōobay, yu Ua Paizge, ocuy Doimnall mac  
Peyzail yí Forpuat laizen ; ocuy po loiteiō Dunlany  
mac Tuatail yí Lye, conoth de robatō mayb, ocuy .xx.c.  
do laizneacat amalle ppyr, ocuy én .c. decc oib Ceinn-  
relaiz. Aēt aon ní, ye .c. ocuy tpu picyt .c. eaybatō  
an dapa leite don cat mayrin.

CXVIII. Topcay ann don leit ele don cat Brian  
Uoroinne, mac Cinnreitiz, meic Iorcan, arōry Erenn  
ocuy Alban, ocuy Saran ocuy Uretan, ocuy iaytary  
Eorpa, aīnail ayberc ai pily :—

Da yí ay Sarat na réo,  
Mac Cinnreitiz na tproiméō,  
Da hoipdepc yim domian toy,  
Imayōor Brian hi Ppangcoib.

Topcay ann Murchaō mac Brian, ocuy Toyppdel-  
bach a māc. Topcay ann Conany, mac Dunneuan,  
mic Cinnreitiz, mac derbraatay Brian, yiz ēanayrte  
toāctat na hErenn. Topcay ann Eochia mac Duna-  
dhaō, ocuy Cuduiliz mac Cinnreitiz, ocuy Miall O  
Cunn, tpu cúlōimeitizge Brian, ocuy ropecla Dal eCay  
ayraon yiu. Topcay ann Doimnall mac Diarmata,  
yí Corcobayreio, ocuy Moēla mac Paolan, yu na nDeiy,  
ocuy mac Annchaōa, yí Ua laēam, ocuy Gebennaē  
mac Dubazan, yu Perymūze, ocuy Duibadobypenn mac  
Doimnall, ocuy Loingreē mac Dunlany, ocuy Secannlan  
mac Caēail, yí Eōzaiatā loā Léin, ocuy Baēdan mac  
Muyēpetaiz, yu Ciaypāde luācra, ocuy Maolpuaatō  
Ua hEiōin, yí Aīōne, ocuy Taōz Ua Ceallaiz, yí Ua

<sup>1</sup> Niall O'Cuinn, or O'Quin. See  
Geneal Table in O'Donovan's *Battle  
of Magh Rath*, p. 341.

<sup>2</sup> Rear-guards. Coimēe, *Ann. Ul.* ;  
coemētiz, *Four Mast.*, "companions."

<sup>3</sup> *Ua Liathain*. The MS. reads *Ua-*

*thain*, and a later hand has written  
over the word "vel Uaithne." But  
both are wrong. The true reading  
is "king of *Ua Liathain*," which  
has accordingly been adopted in the  
text.

why he was not killed, for no foreigner of any rank appeared in it who left it alive; and Ath Cliath would have been attacked on that day also, were it not for the son of Amhlaibh and the party he had with him. There fell there also Maelmordha, son of Murchadh, king of Laighin, and Brogarban, son of Conchobhar, king of Ui-Failghe and Domhnall, son of Ferghal, king of Fortuaithe Laighen; and Dunlaing, son of Tuathal, king of Lifé, received a wound of which he died, and two thousand of the Lagenians along with them, and eleven hundred of the Ui-Ceinnsealaigh. In a word, six hundred and three score hundreds was the total loss of the enemy's side in this battle.

The Irish chieftains slain on the Danish side.

Total loss of the enemy.

CXVIII. On the other side of the battle there fell Brian Boromhe, son of Cenneidigh, son of Lorcan, high sovereign of Erin, and Albain, and of the Saxons, and Britons, and of the west of Europe, as the poet said:—

The chieftains killed on Brian's side

He was king over the Saxons, the wealthy,  
 The son of Cenneidigh of the heavy hundreds.  
 Illustrious in the eastern world  
 Was the conduct of Brian among the Francs.

There fell there Murchadh, son of Brian, and Toirrdhelbhach, his son. There fell there Conaing, son of Donnchuan, son of Cenneidigh, the son of Brian's brother, the wealthiest royal heir of Erin. There fell there Eochaidh, son of Dunadhach, and Cuduiligh, son of Cenneidigh, and Niall O'Cuinn,<sup>1</sup> the three rear-guards<sup>2</sup> of Brian, and the greater part of the Dal Cais along with them. There fell there Domhnall, son of Diarmaid, king of Coreobhaiscinn; and Mothla, son of Faelan, king of the Desii; and the son of Anmhaidh, king of Ua Liathain<sup>3</sup>; and Gebennach, son of Dubhagan, king of Fera-Muighe; and Dubhdabhorrenn, son of Domhnall, and Loingsech, son of Dunlaing, and Scannlan, son of Cathal, king of the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein; and Baedan, son of Muirchertach, king of Ciarraighe Luachra; and Maelruanaidh Ua hEidhin, king of Aidhne; and Tadhg Ua Cellaigh,

The army of Munster encamps on the Green of Dublin. Maíne, ocuṛ Doínnall mac Eúinn, ocuṛ ré éét déce do mhaíbh Erienn ar aon ríu. Ar maṛbáð na maíthe rin uile ar zach leth, ocuṛ ar maíðm for ḡallaib ro éiompaḡeðar fir Muínan uile ḡo haoin ionað; ocuṛ ro ḡabað foráð, ocuṛ lonḡporc leo ar faéðe Áða Cliaé, ocuṛ ro ba cað díob acc iarrað a éapaṛ, ocuṛ a éuibheṛta, ocuṛ ro báðar dá lá co na noiðéib acc riuṛnaíðe Donnchað mic Úrman; ocuṛ do maéṛpíðe cona cpeich moir leir im eapapaṛṛain oiðe donnaíḡ caṛce, díḡ ar dia haime cáṛce ro cuṛeað an caé, .i. a naoi calaíno Maí, ocuṛ muícaṛce hi raíṛpað an bḡiaðain rin.

Funeral of Brian and Murchadh. Tanḡar a naḡaíð Úrman maṛ do opṛaíḡ, ocuṛ ruḡað ḡo hÁṛṛmaáca é, ocuṛ Muṛchað amaíle riuṛ, ocuṛ do íc Donnchað ḡo maíð a ceṛðate, ocuṛ ro éoiñall a éiomna da éir maṛ do opṛaíḡ Úrman péin.

Slaughter of the enemy's cattle on the Green of Dublin. CXIX. Oðt ḡabaða ríðet tuce Donnchað leir, ocuṛ ro maṛb ar raíðe Áða Cliaé uile íað, ocuṛ ro íob-ṛaðar na ḡoil do bí in Áð Cliaé teét amaé do éabaṛ caéa do Donnchað, ocuṛ da raíðe beó ann do Dál cCaí, uar ba mē móṛ leo a mbuaṛ do maṛbáð ina ríaðnaí; ocuṛ tanḡar amaé o mac Áñlaib da raða riu maṛṛ ḡaá ríðet do bṛeíð leo, ocuṛ na ba uile ṛpaccbáil aét rin. Áṛbeṛt Donnchað, ní ar tuapaṛṛal mēic ímaíṛ ḡuṛ annu aṛamaíðe, ocuṛ ní mo beíro o ríun amaé, oir ṛar linn ar ṛpoma a caé ar fṛolta pe éele, ocuṛ an éuio do bí beo dona buab do maṛbáð annrin íað hi fṛíaðnaí ḡall Áða Cliaé, ocuṛ ro eimḡeðar na ḡoil an caé ar eccla Donnchað ocuṛ Dál cCaí.

Burial of the slain on the field of battle. Do rocaðar ar na maṛaé ḡuṛ in aṛíñáé, ocuṛ ro aðlaíṛioṛ ḡáé aon ro aéíuḡeðar da muínnṛuṛ ann, ocuṛ do roíṛat ríuio, ocuṛ cṛoðar don luét ro ba

<sup>1</sup> *Little Easter*: i.e., Low Sunday. The chronological data here mentioned prove that the battle was fought A.D. 1014, not 1013, as in the Four M.

<sup>2</sup> *Oxen*. The word is ḡabaða, which signifies, literally, spoil or booty; the context shows that oxen are meant, and the word is therefore inserted.

king of Ui Maine; and Domhnall, son of Eimhin, and sixteen hundred of the nobles of Erinn along with them. When all these nobles were killed on both sides, and after the foreigners were defeated, all the men of Mumhain collected to one place; and they stationed themselves and encamped on the Green of Ath Cliath. And each sought for his friends and his acquaintances; and they remained two days and nights awaiting the return of Donnchadh, son of Brian; and he arrived with a great prey at the hour of vespers on the night of Easter Sunday; for it was on the Friday before Easter the battle was fought, viz., the ninth of the kalends of May; and little Easter<sup>1</sup> was in the summer of that year.

The army of Munster encamps on the Green of Dublin.

Brian was met, as he had directed; and he was taken to Ard-Macha, and Murchadh along with him; and Donnchadh paid in full their bequests, and fulfilled Brian's will after him as he had himself directed.

Funeral of Brian and Murchadh.

CXIX. Donnchadh brought with him a spoil of eight-and-twenty oxen,<sup>2</sup> and they were all slaughtered on the Green of Ath Cliath; and the foreigners who were in Ath Cliath threatened to come out to give battle to Donnchadh and to such of the Dal Cais as were alive there, because it was great pain to them to have their cows killed in their presence. And a message came out from the son of Amblaibh telling them to take an ox for every twenty, and to leave all the oxen behind except that number. Donnchadh said, "We have not been hitherto in the pay of the son of Imar, nor shall we be so in future; for it appears to us that our hostility to each other is now greater than ever;" and such of the oxen as were yet alive were then slaughtered in the sight of the foreigners of Ath Cliath; but the foreigners declined the battle from fear of Donnchadh and the Dal Cais.

Slaughter of the enemy's cattle on the Green of Dublin.

On the next day they went to the field of battle and buried every one of their people that they were able to recognise, there; and they made sledges and biers for those of them who were alive although wounded; and they carried thirty of the nobles who were killed there

Burial of the slain on the field of battle.

beóξonta díβ, ocuy pucað deiçenbar ap púit dona  
 maíuβ po maíbað ann da ccealluib dúteçura péin zach  
 dú hī paðatar ap púo θpenn.

Revolt of  
 the troops  
 of Des-  
 mond, or  
 South  
 Munster.

CXX. Ac̄et ip Longþorot ap leiç po bac aξ Ðermuñ-  
 neaçaib in oiðce rin, ocuy Longþorot ap leiç aξ Ðonn-  
 chað, ocuy acc Ðál cCair. Ocuy ip iat do poine an  
 çoiñarpe rin in aghaið Ðal cCair .i. Cian mac Maol-  
 muaið, ocuy Ðoiñnall mac Ðuibðaðoirpenn. Tançatar  
 rompa ap rin co Maξ Maírtēn, ocuy po pçarpac pe  
 çēile, ocuy po ceip menma Ðermuñneç ap Ðal cCair  
 apā nuac̄te ocuy ap iomat a naera çonca, ocuy do bí  
 cað aça ráða pe çēile díob. Ðiaið menma meic  
 Ðriain opaiβ acc iarpaið tiçermai, ocuy neipc aññal  
 po çab a açaip, ocuy da pua a teað, bað doiçce a  
 ppeccra ma anora. Añ coññarpe do ponaç Ðer-  
 muñniñiç teçca do çur ço Ðonnchað mac Ðriain, ocuy  
 bpaíçce oiapñaið pai, ocuy a tuðpaçap do çapaçpian  
 aça açaipñum, ocuy aξ bpaçai, a aça, ocuy ní, bo  
 pypai leóran a beipñum acapoiñ çac pe ppeçt, uai,  
 ba comouçaiç díob an púçce. Añberp Ðonnchað mac  
 Ðriain naç da noçéoin po bapapoiñ aξ a açaip, ma aξ  
 bpaçai, a aça açt Muñña uile do bpeiç do Ðriain o  
 çalluib ma, nap çualaiç Ðermuñniñiç a corpññ,  
 ocuy atberp naç tuðpað péin çeil no eiçipeða díob  
 co bpaç, ocuy çamað cóiññlion épéin púipar leiç ap  
 leiç nach paçðai, uað çomað puaçáç do iat, ocuy an  
 uai, do çiað lion ba lia ço ccuññneoçaið díob an  
 tupaðall rin.

The Des-  
 mond  
 troops  
 advance  
 against the  
 Dal Cais.

Rannic an pūp rin ço Ðermuñneachaib. Ro eiçce-  
 çap, ocuy do çaðapaç a napma do çur caça pe Ðál  
 cCair, ocuy tançapaç da noññpaiçúð. Ocuy apberp  
 mac Ðriain, Cuipú ap pe na pua çonca, ocuy oçpai,  
 uile hī Ráiç Maírtēn aññpúo, ocuy bioð ba, pcpian

<sup>1</sup> *Father.* The MS. reads bpaçai-  
 pñum, "his brother;" but the Editor  
 has taken the liberty of substituting  
 açaipñum, "his father," which the  
 sense absolutely requires. They had

been subject to Brian, Donnchad's fa-  
 ther, and to Mathgamhain, Brian's  
 brother, but now they thought it was  
 Donnchad's turn to be subject to them.  
 Cian, lord of Desmond, who headed

to their territorial churches, wherever they were situated all over Erin.

CXX. But on that night the men of Deas-Mumhain, and Donchadh with the Dal Cais, had separate camps and there came together to take counsel against the Dal Cais, Cian, son of Maelmuaidh, and Domhnall, son of Dubhdabhoirenn. They marched forward from that to Magh Maisten, and they separated there; and the attention of the men of Deas-Mumhain was fixed on the Dal Cais—their small number and the great number of their wounded; and they said one to the other—“The attention of Brian’s son will be on you to seek for lordship and power such as his father had, and should he reach his home it will be more difficult to meet him than now.” The advice that the men of Deas-Mumhain then adopted was, to send a message to Donnchadh, son of Brian, and to demand hostages from him. And they said that they themselves had been subject to his father,<sup>1</sup> and to his father’s brother, and that they insisted on his being subject to them in turn; for that the alternate sovereignty was their natural right. Donnchadh, son of Brian, said, that it was not voluntarily they had been subject to his father, nor to his father’s brother; for the whole of Mumhain had been wrested by Brian from the foreigners, when the men of Deas-Mumhain were unable to contest it with them; and he said that he himself would never give pledge or hostage to them; and that if he had had equal numbers with them on his side, they should never have left him until they had submitted to him; and that when his troops became more numerous he would remember to them this insolence.

This intelligence reached the men of Deas-Mumhain. They arose and took their arms to give battle to the Dal Cais, and they advanced towards them. And the son of Brian said—“Put the wounded and sick men,”

Revolt of the troops of Desmond, or South Munster.

The Desmond troops advance against the Dal Cais.

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this movement, was the son of Maol- | gamhain was murdered. See above, molloy, by whom Math- | chap. l. sq.

The Dal-  
cassian  
sick and  
wounded  
insist on  
fighting.

ζα ccoinnéad, ocuy ppeicepmaoitone an dá ttrian ele an luēt úo, ocuy do ronad raiñlarb. Ot cualadar na ppora zonta, ocuy an luēt oērai an pccél rin, po eipēōdar, ocuy po ēupreōdar caonnaē ina ccepētaiē ocuy do zābadar a ccloitōne, ocuy a naqmu apēena, ocuy po bí a ccoinnairle an caē do chur a cceōóip. Ot conncadar Deirñuññiñ an menmanrad do ponpat ioir iñán ocuy eaplán, po orlanc orpa an caē do ēabairt; ocuy po riarpairb mac Duibdaōoirenn do mac Maolñhuairb, cionnar do bérann an caē po no ca poēar ata duinne de. Zā poēar iapuae ēe, ap mac Maolñhuairb, aēt neipt Dal cCair do ēur díe. An ttiúbraipri coñpoinn leite Muñan dañra doneoch zēbmaro apason oi. Ni ēiēer ioir ón, ap mac Maolñhuairb. Muna tuccae añ ap Doñnal mac Duibdaōoirenn, ap briaēar dañra nach pach letpa hi ccenn caēa in azhairb Dal cCair, dóiz ni pēip lem beič accatpa map beič acc mac Driann Doroñne, munbar tar cenn poēair cuche, ocuy pēpoinn dañ buō ēem. Diō eiccen duir teēt oō ēiz lemra, ap mac Maolñhuairb, zion zo tucca caē anorpa lem. Anarh rin an eiccen rin do zēnam ap mac Duibdaōoirenn. Do pala etorpa map rin, ocuy nri ēoñraicetar aen longporit co panzadar da ttiēib.

The Dal  
Cais re-  
move their  
wounded  
to Athy, on  
the river  
Barrow.

CXXI. Imēura Dal cCair, do cenzlaō do iudiri a luēt zonta ocuy oērai, ocuy po ēuir cpeēa, ocuy táñia orpa iap ndol a ppeipze díē, accay ap ppeimēad an ēaēa. Ro ēōzbadar a luēt zonta pompa co hCcth-í por Dērbā, ocuy po turpait annrin a naer uēair, ocuy po iēpior uipce an áēa, ocuy po zlanad a ccepētā. Iy annrin do ēi Doñnāō Mac Ziollaōatpae pí Orpaiēe, ocuy laizri ina ceumanz caēa a Muñz Cloinne Ceallaiz ara ccinn, ocuy porcoñiet uadā orpa, duir cia héoluy no zēōdar ap daiz co tuccaō taēar dóib uair por eapcarait bunairb da ēeile iad, óip ap la Driann do

said he "all into Rath Maisten yonder, and let a third of you guard them, and we, the other two-thirds, will meet these people." And it was done so. When the wounded men and the sick heard this, they arose and stuffed their wounds with moss, and they took their swords and other arms, and they advised that the battle be immediately fought. When the men of Deas-Mumhain saw the spirit shown both by the unwounded and the maimed, they hesitated to give battle; and the son of Dubhdabhoirenn asked the son of Maelmuadh—"Why should we fight this battle, or what profit have we of it?" "What profit dost thou seek from it," said the son of Maelmuadh, "but to cast off the power of the Dal Cais?" "Wilt thou then give me an equal division of half Mumhain, as much of it as we may both conquer?" "That will I not give, indeed," said the son of Maelmuadh. "If thou give it not, then," said Dombnall, son of Dubhdabhoirenn, "on my word I shall not go with thee against the Dal Cais, because I am not better pleased to be under thee than under the son of Brian Boroimhe, unless for the profit of land and territory for myself." "Thou shalt be compelled to come from thy home with me," said the son of Maelmuadh, "though thou join me not now in battle." "We shall wait for that compulsion," said the son of Dubhdabhoirenn. Thus did the contention between them remain, and they met not in the one camp till they reached their homes.

The Dalcassian sick and wounded insist on fighting.

Dissension among the Desmond chieftains.

CXXI. To return to the Dal Cais; their wounded and sick men were again bound, but tremour and faintness fell upon them when their excitement passed away, and the battle was not fought. They took their wounded with them to Ath-I, on the Berbha; and their sick were laid down there, and they drank of the water of the ford, and their wounds were cleansed. At that time Donnchadh Mac Gillapatraic, king of Osraighe, and the Laighsi were in battle array in Magh Chloinne Ceallaigh in wait for them, and they had scouts out to inform them of the path they should take that they might give them battle, for they were natural enemies to each other: for it was by

The Dal Cais remove their wounded to Athy, on the river Barrow.

The men  
of Ossory  
and Leix  
demand  
hostages  
from Donn-  
chadh.

cuidbriξeð a ačair, ocyr bai bliaðain aicce hillaññ.  
Ocyr tainic mac ðriain, ocyr Ðal cCair ina noíum  
deiξiluaξ pompa co hCeth-i for ðearða, aññail po  
raðemair poñainn, ocyr do connacatar Oypaiξe rin,  
ocyr po cuiuicet tečta diarpaið bpaixoeð ar mac  
ðriain, no diarpaið cađa muna ppaξoair bpaixoe. Ocyr  
panzatar na tečta ξo mac ðriain, ocyr po počtað  
peéla dibh, ocyr po inuipetar na topca mo ttaiξatar.  
Iy annrin atberc mac ðriain conár ðiongnath mac  
Maolínuaíð, ocyr Ðerñuñña diarpaið bpaixoeð, ocyr  
a realaiξeačta ar Ðal cCair, óir ba hionann fuil  
dóib ocyr do Ðal cCair, ocyr pob iongnað leo Mac  
Siollapatraic diarpaið na realaiξeačta nar óuthčar  
dó págbáil. Ocyr aññail po čualatar an taor ξonta  
rin po fár a mbriξ, ocyr a mborupað ξup ðiončataiξe  
ξač aoin feap dib. Ocyr do paiðetar pe mac ðriain,  
ocyr pe Ðal cCair dol pon cooil pa nera dóib, ocyr  
inolaixe do čabairc leo comberoir a noromanna pu  
ina perañ an peð do beic an cač aza čyr. Aññail  
po čuala Mac Siollapatraic ocyr Oypaiξe an ñeipneč  
ñóir rin aξ Ðal cCair etir ílán, ocyr erplán, do  
locatar tabairc an cađa, ocyr po ionzabpior Ðal  
cCair. Ocyr ar locað an čađa do Oypaiξib do čuatar  
tri caecat don luč ξonta décc, ar maolat a ppeirξe  
ó nač ppuaratar cač. ξup haðlaced ann rin iad,  
an méio nač puccað da nuairlib da noicčib da nač-  
nacal ina cceallaib dáččair ξo honórač, ocyr panzatar  
pompa ξo Ceno Copað. Conið coccað ξall pe ξaídea-  
laib, ocyr cath Cluana Tarb conuice rin.]

The  
wounded  
insist on  
being led  
to battle.

The men of  
Ossory in-  
timidated  
decline the  
contest.

Brian his father had been put in fetters and kept a year in custody. And now Brian's son and the Dal Cais came in close martial array to Ath-I, on the Berbha, as we have said before; and when the Osraighe saw that, they sent messengers to demand hostages from Brian's son, or to demand battle should they not receive hostages. And the messengers reached the son of Brian; and they were questioned as to their errand; and they related the business on which they came. And then the son of Brian said that it was no wonder that the son of Maelmuaidh and the Deas-Mumhain should ask for hostages and alternate sovereignty from the Dal Cais, because their blood was the same as that of the Dal Cais; but they did wonder that Mac Gillapatraic should seek for a sovereignty to which he had no natural right. And when the wounded men heard this their strength and fury grew so, that every man of them was able for battle. And they said to the son of Brian and to the Dal Cais to go into the nearest wood to them, and to bring out with them stakes to which they could put their backs, standing during the battle. When Mac Gillapatraic and the Osraighe heard of that great courage in the Dal Cais, both whole and wounded, they declined the battle, and avoided the Dal Cais. And when the Osraighe failed to give battle, thrice fifty of the wounded men died when their excitement ceased as they did not receive battle; and they were buried there, except such of their nobles as were brought to their native places to be buried in their hereditary churches with honour; and they thus arrived at Cenn Coradh. And that is the war of the Gail with the Gaedhil and the battle of Cluain-Tarbh so far.]

The men of Ossory and Leix demand hostages from Donnchadh.

The wounded insist on being led to battle. The men of Ossory intimidated decline the contest.



APPENDIX.



## APPENDIX.

### A.

*The Fragment of this Work preserved in the  
Book of Leinster.*

The fragment of this work contained in the remains of the Book of Leinster,<sup>1</sup> a MS. of the 12th century, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, is evidently a much older text, and in a more ancient orthography than that which is found in the Brussels MS. It has, therefore, been given here with a translation, in parallel columns. This, it will be remembered, is the MS. which is for shortness referred to by the letter L. in the notes, pp. 1-31. There are unfortunately several illegible words and passages in this MS. which has suffered greatly from age and damp; these defects are marked by dots, thus . . . . in the following transcript:—

Ծուս յօճրատւ մօր թօր քե-  
 րաւ հԵրենն Կօ քօրլետան, օ  
 Լօճլաննէան օճր օ Ծան-  
 արան ծւլչիծ ծարնիծէան  
 քի քե Կան օճր քի անքիք  
 քօտա .ա. քի ծեւ ինձիատն  
 օճր օճտ քեւտ. Ինօ ծա Կետ  
 ինձիատան ար քարնօ, .ա.  
 օ Արքի Կօ Ծրիան Կա Կեն-  
 նօւչ 1 Կարրու; օ քեւմք  
 ԱԵժա մա Կեւլ քիօրքաւչ 1  
 Կեմրաւչ, .ա. քե քիչ ծեչ քի  
 մ քե քան 1 Կարրու, ծա քիչ  
 ծեչ մօրքօ 1 Կեմրաւչ քի  
 մ քե Կետա.

There was great oppression<sup>2</sup> Chap. I.  
 on the men of Erin, through-  
 out its breadth, from Lochlanns,  
 and from fierce, hardhearted  
 Danars, during a lengthened  
 period and a long time, viz., for  
 eight score and ten years. Or,  
 two hundred years, according to  
 some, i.e. from Airtri to Brian  
 son of Kennedy, in Cashel; [and]  
 from the time of Aedh, son of  
 Niall Frossach, in Tara, that is, Chap. II.  
 sixteen kings during that time  
 in Cashel, but twelve kings in  
 Tara during the same time.

<sup>1</sup> *Book of Leinster.* Class H., Tab. 2, No. 18, fol. 217. For an account of this MS. see Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> *Great oppression.* It will be observed that the text as given above (p. 2) from B., has "wonderful and

awfully great oppression," with other considerable interpolations, which prove it to have been much more modern than the Book of Leinster. For expletives of this kind are the most common of all interpolations.

The Frag-  
ment in the  
Book of  
Leinster.

Chap. III.

Chap. IV.

Chap. V.

Μορι θεδοσ οκυρ οιννοδ  
δεθαρι οκυρ δεθαρικαρρυλ  
ρο ρυληζεταρ ρηρ [ερενν] ρη  
ρεμερ να ριζ ραιν ο λοχ-  
λαμμαιβ οκυρ ο Δαναριαιβ.

Ηρημερ Αεδα μιc Ηέιλ  
ριζ ηερενο, οκυρ Αρτρι  
μιc Καταιλ ριζ Καρρι, ρα  
τηνορκαρφατ ζαλλ μορμυο  
ηερενο αρ τυρ, α Cammur  
h. Ρατασο Τιρε .ι. ριχι αρ  
εετ λονζ, οκυρ ρα μορμεταρ  
μ τηρ υιλ. Ρα αρζεο οκυρ  
ρα λορκαο leo Ηοιρ Λα-  
ραινο, οκυρ Οαυοιρ. Τυερατ  
Εοζαναετ λοα λεμ cατη οοιβ,  
οκυρ ρο μαρβαο ρε ρηρ δεc  
αρ .cccc. οι να ζαλλαιβ, .ι.  
μ δεchμαο βλιαοαν ρενεc  
Αρτρι.

Ταμιc ονα λονζερ αιλι αρ-  
ραιν co ρο μορμεταρ Κορκαζ,  
οκυρ Ηοιρ Τεμλι οκυρ Δεche-  
ερυνν, οκυρ Cluainύanna, οκυρ  
Ρορ μιλλαν, οκυρ Scellic  
Μιcιλ, οκυρ ρυερατ Ετσαλ μ

Great hardship and fatigue,  
contempt and indignity, did the  
men of Ireland sustain during  
the time of these kings from  
Lochlanns and from Danars.

It was in the time of Aedh,  
son of Niall, king of Ireland,  
and of Artri, son of Cathal, king  
of Cashel, that foreigners first  
began the devastation of Ire-  
land, at Cammus Hui Fathaidh  
Tire, i.e. 120 ships, and the  
whole country was plundered.  
Iuis Labhrainn and Darinis  
were plundered by them. The  
Eoghanachts of Loch Lein  
gave them battle, and 416 men  
of the foreigners were killed, in  
the tenth year before the death  
of Artri.<sup>1</sup>

There came another fleet  
after that, and Cork was plun-  
dered, and Inis Temhli,<sup>2</sup> and  
Becherinn,<sup>3</sup> and Cluain Uamha,  
and Ros-niallain,<sup>4</sup> and Skellig  
Michael; and Etgal of the Skel-

<sup>1</sup> *Death of Artri.* The following note referred to from this word occurs in the margin of the MS. “. . . βλιαοαν ρη αρ μαρβ αο ομαν αραο, οκυρ μ οαρ[α] βλιαοαν ρη ρεοιλιμο μιc Cρυμθηαννο,” which is no doubt the remark received by the later MS. into the text, ηρ μ βλιαοαν ρη αρ μαρβαο Ομαν Αραο, “this was the year after that in which Diman of Aradh was killed,” with the addition of the words “and the second year of the reign of Fedlimidh Mac Crintheinn.” It is doubtful whether the date thus described is not the date of the plundering of Cork, mentioned in the next chapter.

<sup>2</sup> *Inis Temhli.* In the margin at this word is the note, μ οαρη βλιαοαν ρη ρεοιλιμ μιc Cρυμθηανν, “the second year of the reign of Fedhlim Mac Crimthann.” This note has also been transcribed into the text in B.

<sup>3</sup> *Becherinn.* Written Δεcheρ in the MS., with a line over ρ. B. reads βετοcαρ, i.e. Bangor, which is so far suspicious that all the other places mentioned are in the south of Ireland, and the plundering of Bangor is recorded in the next section. Beg-eire or Begery Island, in Wexford harbour, is evidently the place intended.—See 4 *Mast.* A.D. 819.

<sup>4</sup> *Ros-niallain.* B. reads *Ros-Maelain.*

Scelzig leo i mbrast, conro  
 tpe mhrbael acrailla uátoib,  
 ocuy ba maib de zopra ocuy  
 oíttaoocco hé.

Tanic loñzer aili i tuar-  
 ciurc ihhenn, .i. in ceth-  
 rannao bliadaan ar nec Aeda  
 riñ henn; ocuy na arzet-  
 rarde Denochur Ulad, ocuy  
 na hurratar raim Chom-  
 gall. Ra maibrat epcop  
 m baí, ocuy a echnaio, ocuy  
 a iurath. Ra arzet Mas  
 inóil.

Tanic dona loñzer aili in  
 huib Cenndalag, ocuy na  
 arzet Tech Munnu ocuy  
 Teé Molling, ocuy Inis Teoc.  
 Tanzatar aram in Orrar-  
 zig, ocuy na hnoireo in tpe  
 leo; ocuy tuerat Orrarige  
 caé doib, ocuy torcair .clxx.  
 dona gallaib. Ra arzet  
 ocuy na loiret Lerrmor,  
 ocuy Cell Molairi, ocuy  
 Cluain Cluio Mobeccóc. Ra  
 tozlad leo dún Derrow,  
 ocuy Inis Eozanán, ocuy

lig was carried off by them into  
 captivity, so that it was by  
 miracle he escaped from them,  
 and he died of hunger and  
 thirst with them.<sup>1</sup>

There came another fleet into  
 the north of Ireland, i.e. in the  
 fourth year after the death of  
 Aedh, king of Ireland; and they  
 plundered Bangor of Uladh,  
 and they broke the shrine of  
 Comhgall. They killed the  
 bishop of the place,<sup>2</sup> and his  
 wise men, and his clergy. They  
 plundered Magh Bile.

There came another fleet into  
 Hy Cennsalagh, and plundered  
 Tech Munnu, and Tech Mol-  
 ling, and Inis Teoc. They  
 afterwards<sup>3</sup> went into Ossory,  
 and the country was plundered  
 by them; and the men of Os-  
 sory<sup>4</sup> gave them battle, and 170  
 of the foreigners were slain.  
 They plundered and burned  
 Lismore, and Cillmolash, and  
 Cluain-aird-Mobeog. By them  
 were demolished Dun-Derrow,  
 and Inishannon, and Disert Ti-

<sup>1</sup> *Whilst with them.* This seems to contradict the statement that he escaped by miracle. The meaning possibly is, that although he miraculously escaped, he nevertheless died from the effects of the hunger and thirst to which he was exposed whilst in their power. But it is more probable that two different accounts are here combined, and that "according to others," or words to that effect have dropped out in transcription, before the words "he died of hunger, &c." The annals of Ulster, A.D. 823, make no mention of the miraculous escape;

"Eitgail Scelligg a gentilibus raptus est, et cito mortuus est fame et siti."

<sup>2</sup> *The place.* Literally "of the town" in baí. But this word is often used to signify a monastery or religious house.

<sup>3</sup> *Afterwards.* Aram for iarim. We may observe several peculiarities of spelling in this fragment, as ra for ro; iaram for iarim; ram for rim; leir for ler; also e for i in Lerrmor, Cell Molairi, &c.

<sup>4</sup> *The men of Ossory.* Orrarige, is in the other MSS. Orrarige, which is the more usual form.

The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

Θιριυρε Τιρρατι. Ra zab  
rempo pa thuaio iartan co  
Snám Aigneé, co ro millret  
Lano leiri ocuf Cellfiteibi.  
Atuaio aríri doib co ro  
arizret Soro Columcille  
ocuf Damliac Cianan, ocuf  
Slani, ocuf Cell aipaili, ocuf  
Glenn da loáa, ocuf Cluan  
uama, ocuf Mungarut, ocuf  
urimór cell hEireno uile.

Chap. VIII.

Tanic loñzer aile i euan  
Lunnis, ocuf pa hnoyit  
Corco barcno uathuraide,  
ocuf Tradraige, ocuf .h.  
Conaill zabhra. Aét tuera .h.  
Conaill cuth dóib, [La Dono-  
chadh ni .h. Conaill m tan  
pa, ocuf Doínnall mac Cno-  
raeard ni .h. Carppri], ocuf  
ni per ca lin do rochari ano.

Chap. IX.

Tancatar arpan rugloñ-  
zer aobul móri la Turgeir i  
tuarcuirt hEireno. Ra zab  
m Turgeir rugi zal hEireno.  
Ra hnoyit tuarceit hEir-  
eno leo, ocuf pa pcalret po  
Leth Cuinn. Ra zab loñzer  
oib for loé Ehaé. Ra zab  
loñzer aile illuzmuo. Loñ-  
zer aile for Loch Rí.

Ra hnoyit dona Aíomaáa  
po éri rinnóen moy leo, ocuf  
ro zab Turgeir réin aboame  
Aíro Macha, ocuf pa mparib  
arf Forannan abaro Aíro  
Maáa corpuóct Muinam, ocuf

praiti. They afterwards went  
northwards to Snamh Aignech,  
so that they spoiled Lann Leri  
and Killeavy. They returned  
again and plundered Swords of  
Columcille, and Duleek of Ci-  
anan, and Slane, and Killossy,  
and Glendaloch, and Cloyne,  
and Mungret, and the greater  
part of the monastic churches of  
all Ireland.

Another fleet came into Lime-  
rick harbour, and by them were  
plundered Corca Bhaiscin, and  
Tradraige, and Hy Conaill  
Gabhra. But the Uí Conaill  
gave them battle [under Dono-  
chadh<sup>1</sup> king of the Uí Conaill,  
at that time, and Domhnal, son  
of Cennfaeladh, king of Uí Car-  
bre], and it is not known what  
number fell there.

There came after that a great  
royal fleet into the north of Ire-  
land with Turges. This Turges  
assumed the sovereignty of the  
foreigners of Ireland. The north  
of Ireland was plundered by  
them, and they dispersed them-  
selves over Leth Cuinn. A fleet  
of them took possession of Loch  
Neagh. Another fleet took pos-  
session of Louth. Another fleet  
on Loch Ree.

Moreover, Armagh was plun-  
dered by them three times in  
the same month, and Turges  
himself took the Abbacy of Ar-  
magh; and Forannan, Abbot  
of Armagh, was driven away

<sup>1</sup> Under Donchadh. The clause with-  
in brackets is added by a contempo-

rary hand in the margin of the MS.  
See the Text, p. 8 supra. and note 4.

բերն Բատրիակ Լէրբ; օսոյ Բա  
 Բօրանն Եշիւ Եւիսոնա 1  
 Մուման, օսոյ Կըրջեր Ին  
 Արծ Մաճա, օսոյ Ներք Կար-  
 Երտ ԿԵրնօ Կաւ։

Իբ Կոթրն Բա Կօմալլաօ  
 Բարտն Երքան Ին Բրն  
 Բաճա .1.—

Կըրքաք Զենք Կար Մար Կալլ  
 Մերքաք Բօր Բարնօ ԿԵրնօ  
 Երօ Կաճիք Կաճիք Բօր Կաճ Կալլ  
 Երօ Կաճիք Ներք Բօր ԿԵրնօ.

Տե՛՛՛՛ ԿնԵւիսոնա Կօիք, ին Բարն  
 Բարն

Ին Կարնք Ին ԿԵրնօ  
 Ին Կաճիք Կաճ Կալլ,  
 Երօ Զենք Կար Եւբլին.

Երօ Կաճիք Կար Կաճիք  
 Կար Բարն Կար Կաճիք  
 Կար Կալլ, Կաճ Զալլ Երնա.

Իքեմ Կօլում Կալլ.—

Ին Կօլքեր Բար Կօճա Կալլ  
 Մաճ Կօ Կարն Զալլ Զենք,  
 Երօ Կաճիք Կաճ Կարն Մաճա,  
 Երօ Կալլ Կարն Կարն Կալլ.

Իքեմ Երք Կար Եր.—

Կար Երք Կալլ Կալլ Կալլ.  
 Կարն Բար Կարն Կարն,  
 Կա Զալլ Կարն Կարն Կարն  
 Կարն Կարն Կարն Կարն.

.1. Կարն Կարն Կարն Կարն  
 Կօլում Կալլ Կարն Կարն, օսոյ  
 Կարն Կարն Կարն Կարն Կարն

and went to Munster, and the Shrine of Patrick with him; and Forannan was four years in Munster, and Turges in Ard-macha, and the power of the north of Erin was with him.

The Frag-  
ment in the  
Book of  
Leinster.

It was then that the prophecy of Berchan the chief prophet<sup>1</sup> was fulfilled, viz. :—

Gentiles shall come over the noble sea,  
 They shall spread over the land of  
 Erin.

Of them shall be an abbot over every  
 church,

Of them *shall be* power<sup>2</sup> over Erin.

Seven years shall they be—not weak  
 their power,

In the sovereignty of Erin.

In the abbacy of every church

The Gentiles of the fort<sup>3</sup> of Dublin.

There shall be an abbot of them over  
 this my church,

He shall not attend to matins,

Without Pater, without Credo,

Without Latin,<sup>4</sup> and only [knowing]  
 a foreign language.

Also Columcille—

This fleet of Loch Ri

Has well exalted the foreign Gentiles,

Of them shall be an abbot of Ard-macha,

It shall be the rule of an Usurper.

Also Bec mac De—

Chap. X.

When the bell was rung in warm Tailtin,

The aged wealthy Ciaran of Saighre,

Promised to Erin, three times,

Parties of Danes of the black ships.

i.e. a party in consequence  
 of Columcille being banished  
 beyond the sea; and a party in

<sup>1</sup> *The chief prophet.* This is amplified in B. and D. into “chief prophet of heaven and earth.”

<sup>2</sup> *Power.* A second hand has written under the word *nerk* *power*, no *ru* “*or ru*” a *king*, which is the reading of D. and B.

<sup>3</sup> *The fort.* For *Կարն* “the fort of Dublin,” B. and D. read *Կարն*, “black Gentiles of Dublin.” See above, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Latin.* For *Կարն*, B. and D. read *Կարն* or *Կարն*, “without *Irish*,” i.e. unable to speak Irish.

The Frag-  
ment in the  
Book of  
Leinster.

reim i Taltin, ocuf dam in  
inad troirecthi naem hEreenn  
i Temraiz ar Diarmaid mac  
Cerbhaill.

consequence of Ciaran himself  
being sacrilegiously wronged  
in Taltin; and a party in con-  
sequence of Erinn, in Tara, against  
Diarmaid Mac Cerbhaill.

Chap. XI.

Tanic iarfan Turges for  
Loch Ri, ocuf ra inbreo  
Mioi uadarr ocuf Connaéta,  
ocuf ra hinbreo leiff Cluan  
mic noif ocuf Cluan ferda  
Drenaimo, ocuf Loétra, ocuf  
Tir da glas, ocuf Inif Cel-  
tra, ocuf cella Derg deire  
aréna. Tuc Cluan mic noif  
da mnai. If ano ra bepeo  
a ppeacairtha daltoir in tem-  
poil móir. Otta ainm mnai  
Turgeif. Tucra Connaétaé  
cath dó, i torcair Maelduin  
macMurghiuaruzdoimna Con-  
naé.

After this came Turges upon  
Loch Ri, and from thence were  
plundered Meath and Connacht;  
and Cluainmiciois and Clonfert  
of Brennan, and Lothra, and  
Tir-da-glas, and Inis Celtra,  
were plundered by him, and the  
churches of Loch Derg in like  
manner. Cluainmiciois was  
taken by his wife. It was on the  
altar of the great church she used  
to give her answers. Otta was  
the name of the wife of Turges.  
The Connaught-men gave him a  
battle, in which was slain Mael-  
duin, son of Murghius, heir ap-  
parent of Connaught.

Chap. XII.

Tancaatari iarfan cois  
loéga ocuf tri réit co Dub-  
lino Atha Cliath, ocuf ra  
hinbreit lazim co marzi leo,  
ocuf Mag inbreg. Tucra  
Dalriadais cath don loézig  
reim; uair ra éuatair lan  
éle ri hErinn rathuad ar  
milid lazen ocuf breg.  
Ra marbad ifn éat rin Eo-  
ghanan mac Oengura ní Dal-  
riadais.

There came after that three  
score and five ships to Dublin  
of Ath Cliath, and Laigin was  
plundered by them to the sea,<sup>1</sup>  
and Magh Breg. The Dal-  
riadans gave battle to this fleet:  
for they went, with the left  
hand<sup>2</sup> to Erinn, northwards,  
after the plundering of Laigin  
and Bregia. Eoghanan, son  
of Oengus, king of Dalriadaí,  
was killed in that battle.

Chap. XIII.

Tanic tóla murbhúcta

There came great sea-belched

<sup>1</sup> *To the sea.* Mr. W. M. Hennessy suggests that *marzi* may here mean *Slievemargy*; but in the text (p. 12, above) the reading is *co rairze*, "to the sea;" and the reading here may, perhaps, be meant for *co rairzi*.

<sup>2</sup> *Left hand.* This passage has been wrongly translated, p. 13, n. 11, owing to a misreading of the text, which was pointed out to me by Mr. W. M. Hennessy.

μοιρ το Γαλλαιβ ι Μυμαιν, cona ραβι αρθο ιντι can λοι-  
 ζιρ. Ra ζαβ λοιζερ τιβ ι  
 Καρραιζι Λυαερα, οκυρ ρα  
 ηηθηρεταρ co Cill Ιτι, οκυρ co  
 Cill Eimni. Ra ηηθηρεταρ  
 ονα λοιζερ Λυμνιζ Μαρτηη  
 Μυμαιν, οκυρ ρυερατ Φο-  
 ρανναν comarba Πατριαε ο  
 Cluain Comarba leo co Λυμ-  
 νεε, οκυρ ρα ηρηγγιρετ ρεϋν  
 Πατριαε.

Ιρ ηι ρεο βλιασαν ρα ζαβαο  
 Τυρηζειρ λα Μaelseclainn.  
 Ρο βαθεο αρραν ηε ιλλοε  
 Ηαιρ .ι. ιη βλιασαν ρειηβαουο  
 Ηειλλ Caille ραιν, οκυρ ιη  
 οαρα βλιασαν ρενεε Φειδι-  
 μιθ μιc Crimthainn. Αρ  
 μαρβαο Τυρηζειρ τολλυο Φο-  
 ρανναν αρρη Μυμαιν co  
 Αρθ Μαεα, οκυρ ρα λερ-  
 ραζεο ρεϋν Πατριαε.

Τανναταρ ονα ζαιλλ co  
 Ρορρεϋε ϋη βλιασαν ρεο,  
 λα ρειδ ϋοιλ οκυρ Ρετυη,  
 οκυρ ιητοεναε ιηηιλλτι ανθ,  
 οκυρ τυεαο κατ τοιβ, οκυρ  
 ρομαιο ϋορϋ ηα ζαλλαιβ τηε  
 ρατ ϋοιλ οκυρ Ρεταρ, οκυρ  
 ρα μαρβαο co διαϋιμιθι, οκυρ  
 ρα βυαλαο Οηφηλε ιαϋα ανθ  
 οε ελοιε, co ϋο μαρβ ε οε.  
 Οα ζρηεμα ορηεραιβ Μυμαιν  
 ιη τηορεουο οα ροηρατ ρα ϋολ  
 ιρ ρα Ρεταρ ιηηαοche ρειηε.  
 Ιρ μορ ουλε οκυρ οηηηεο ϋηε  
 υαθη οκυρ ϋαραταρϋηη ο  
 εαε οηηεοε ναε ϋεϋιθηαρ  
 ϋηηο.

shoals of foreigners into Mu-  
 mhain, so that there was not a  
 point thereof without a fleet.  
 A fleet of them came to Ciar-  
 riaghi Luachra, and they plun-  
 dered as far as Cill-Ita and Cill-  
 Eimni. And the fleet of Luim-  
 neach plundered the Martini of  
 Mumhain, and carried off with  
 them Forannan, successor of  
 Patrick from Cluain Comharda  
 to Luimnech, and they broke  
 the shrine of Patrick.

The Frag-  
 ment in the  
 Book of  
 Leinster.

It was in this year Turges was  
 taken prisoner by Maelsech-  
 lainn. He was drowned after-  
 wards in Loch Uair, i.e. in the  
 year before the drowning of  
 Niall Caille, and the second  
 year before the death of Feidh-  
 limidh, son of Crimthainn.  
 After Turges was killed, For-  
 annan went from Mumhain to  
 Ardmacha, and the shrine of  
 Patrick was repaired.

Chap. XIV.

The foreigners came to Ros-  
 crea in this year, on the feast  
 of Paul and Peter, and the fair  
 had then begun, and they were  
 given battle, and the foreigners  
 were defeated through the grace  
 of Paul and Peter, and immense  
 numbers were slain; and Earl  
 Onphile was struck with a stone  
 there, so that he was killed  
 thereby. Some of the men of  
 Mumhain were fasting to propi-  
 tiate Paul and Peter the night  
 before. Much evil and distress  
 was received from them and  
 received by them all, which is  
 not written here.

Chap. XV.

The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

Chap. XVI.

Τανκαταρ ιαργραν λόνζεγ  
αοβυλ μορ δε Νορθμανναβ  
φορ βοινδ. Ra hnoíreo  
Brega ocuy Míde. Tainic  
lónzeγ aile corriacab for  
Loí nEthaí. Ra hnoíreo  
leoraíde co Ardmacha, ocuy  
ra loíreγ Ardmacha feim,  
ocuy ra harzeo. Tainic ona  
lónzeγ aile co Athcliath ocuy  
ra hnoíreo leoraíde Mag  
Laighen ocuy Mag mbreg, eti  
thuata ocuy cella.

Chap.  
XVII.

Tainic ona lónzeγ ba lu  
anparaíde co Athcliath béor.  
Ra hnoíreo leoraíde urmor  
Ereño uil. Ra hnoíreo leo  
ona Hi Columcille. Ra hnoí  
reo leo Inis Muridhaig, ocuy  
Daimhir, ocuy Glenn da locha,  
ocuy Lasin uil co Ácaíur,  
ocuy co hAchathibo, ocuy co  
Liath Moícaemoc, ocuy co  
Daire Mór, ocuy co Cluain  
[Fepta] Molua, ocuy co Ross  
cre, ocuy co Lothra, co ro  
bhurriγeγ rγun Ruadan, ocuy  
co Cluain mic noir, ocuy co  
Saighir, ocuy co Dhirmas.

Chap.  
XVIII.

Tainic lónzeγ o Luimneú  
1 ndecepte hEreño, cor in  
riγeγ Sceleg Michul, ocuy Inis  
Fathlino, ocuy Dhirriγeγ Don  
nain, ocuy Cluain mor; co  
ro maibhγaγ Rudgaile mac  
Trebthaidí, ocuy Cormac mac  
Selbaig anchora. 1γ deγriγe  
ra hoγlac ańgel fo di, ocuy  
noγceńglaγiγ na Saill caí

There came afterwards a very great fleet of Northmen on the Boind. Bregia and Midhe were plundered. Then came another fleet and settled on Loch nEochach. All was plundered by them as far as Ardmacha, and Ardmacha itself was burned and plundered. There came then another fleet to Athcliath, and by them were plundered Magh-Laighen, and Magh mBreg, both country and churches.

There came<sup>1</sup> also a fleet still more numerous than those to Ath Cliath. The greater part of all Erin was plundered by them. Moreover, Hi of Columcille was plundered by them. There were plundered by them Inis-Muridhaigh, and Daimhinis, and Glenn da loch, and all Laghin to Achadhur, and to Aghamhbo, and to Liath Mochaemog, and to Daire Mór, and to Clonfert Molua, and to Rosscree, and to Lothra, where they broke the shrine of Ruadan, and to Cluainmicensis, and to Saighir, and to Dirmhagh.

There came a fleet from Luimnech in the south of Erin, they plundered Scelig Michael, and Inisfallen, and Disert Donnain, and Cluain Mór. And they killed Rudgaile, son of Trebthaidhe, and Cormac son of Selbach, the anchorite. It was he whom the angel set loose twice, and the foreigners bound

<sup>1</sup> There came. I am indebted also to Mr. Hennessy for correcting the

erroneous version of this passage given above, p. 16, n. 8.

nuairi. Ra hinnped leo dona  
Corcaig ocuf . . . . .  
. . . . . ocuf Cinnmaira  
ocuf Achad . . . . .

him each time. Moreover, Cor-  
caigh was plundered by them,  
and . . . . . and Cinn-  
mara and Achad . . . . .

The Frag-  
ment in the  
Book of  
Leinster.

The remainder of this fragment is so much defaced that only a few words and sentences here and there can be read. All various readings of any consequence which have been detected in what is legible, have been mentioned in the notes under the text.

The following coincides with chapters xx and xxi of the text, p. 18-21, *supra*.

Tancatar iaipain Dub-  
genti Danairda . . . . .  
rat po hEinnod, ocuf rabatar  
oc diobn na Finogenti . . .  
. . . . . no marbrat coic  
mli dona Finogenti oc snam  
Aighneé. Tanc dona loingep  
aile cora saib i Ciarragzi,  
ocuf ra hinnped leo co Lum-  
neé. Ra hinnped leo Cill  
Ita . . . . . Cappel  
na ius, ocuf ained Ceét-  
raize, ocuf Liaé-mo-éaemoc.  
In aiprip Feidlimid mic Crim-  
thann da ronac na huilc  
rin.

. . . . . oc Essruaidh.  
Ra bripetar dona Dalcaip  
cat forpo for Dergdeirc.  
Ra bripetar dona hu Neill  
cat aile forpo oc Ard-breccain.  
Ra marbrat dona hi-  
Cholgan Raalb iaibla. Tuc  
dona . . . . . Cappel ái  
forpo, ocuf Lorcan iu lasen  
cat doib oc Sciath Neéctain,  
tu hi torcaip canairi . . .

After that came Black Gen-  
tile Danars, [and spread them-  
selves] over Erinn, and they  
aimed at driving out the White  
Gentiles . . . . . they  
killed five thousand of the White  
Gentiles at Snamh Aighnech  
Another fleet then came and  
landed in Ciarraghe, and all  
was plundered by them as far as  
Luimneach. And there were  
plundered by them Cill Ita . .  
. . . and Cashel of the Kings,  
and the eastern district of Cech-  
traighe and Liath-mo-Chaemoc.  
It was in the time of Feidh-  
limidh, son of Crimthann that  
these evils were done.

Chap. XX.

AD 857

. . . . . at Essruaidh.  
The Dalcais gained a battle  
over them at Dergdeirc. The  
Ui Neill gained another battle  
over them at Ard-breccain. The  
Ui Colgan killed Earl Raulbh  
. . . . . of Cashel, made a  
slaughter of them; and Lorcan,  
king of Laghin [defeated] them  
in battle at Siath Nechtain,  
where was killed the Tanist . . .

Chap.  
XXI.

The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

Of chapter xxii only the following fragment remains:—

Ra bpiyf tona . . . . .	gained a battle
roypio, tu i topéair reét cet.	over them in which were slain
Ra . . . . . roypio oc	seven hundred . . . over
Óaire Óirye da éonna . . .	them at Daire-Disert-da-chonna.
. . . . . Ra bpiyf tona	na. Olchobhar and the Eoghanna
Olchobhar ocuf Eoganaét cat	nacht gained a battle over them
roypio ac Óun Mael, tu i	at Dun-Mael, where were slain
topéair éic cet, da roéraitar	five hundred, and three hundred
tona .ccclxxviii. la hui Fio-	and seventy-eight were slain
zint. Óa roéraitar tona .cc.	by the Hui Fidhgenti. More-
vib la Ciannaéta, oc Inyf Finn	over, two hundred of them were
Mae. Óa roéraitar tona	slain by the Ciannachta at Inis
.ccc. la Ciannaéta beof icno	Finn-Maic. There were slain
myf . . . . . Fremont,	also by the Ciannachta three
oc Raét Aldain. Ra bpiyf	hundred, at the end of a month
tona Maelrechlainn cat roypio	. . . Fremont, at Rath Aldain.
oc Raét Chommar. Ra bpiy-	And Malsechlainn gained a
retar Ciarraige Luáera cat	battle over them at Rath Chom-
roypio.	mair. The Ciarraige Luachra
	gained a battle over them.

The following passage which gives an important correction of the text, in chapter xxiii (see note 3, p. 22, *supra*), is legible:—

Chap. XXIII.

Ταις αφραν Ανιλας μας  
 ρυζ Lochlainn ocuf loihzer lan  
 moir leif .i. rin deímao blia-  
 oam pe nec Maelrechlainn, co  
 po zaid ρυζι gall hEreuo,  
 ocuf iy leiff ra basao Con-  
 chobhar mac Donochada ρυζ-  
 oomna Tempac. Iy leifin  
 loihzer raín ra memao cath  
 Cluana oam roypna Óeiyib,  
 tu i topéair maehi na nÓeiyi  
 uili. Iy leo ra marbas mac  
 Cinfaelad ρι Myrcraige Óre-  
 zóm, ocuf ra muéao Muéti-  
 zeru [mac] Reétabhao in

Afterwards came Amhlaibh,  
 son of the king of Lochlann,  
 and a great full fleet with him,  
 viz., in the tenth year before the  
 death of Malseachlainn, and  
 he took the sovereignty of the fo-  
 reigners of Erin, and it was by  
 him was drowned Conchobhar,  
 son of Donchadh, heir apparent  
 of Tara. It was by this fleet  
 that the battle of Cluan-daimh  
 was gained over the Desii, in  
 which were slain all the chiefs of  
 the Desii. It was by them was  
 slain [the son of] Cenfaeladh,

nam. 17 leo no maibad  
 Caur Finn im a lonzporit.  
 17 leo na maibad Maelguala  
 mac Domdgaile nu Cairn .i.  
 a dnuim do bhurged imchloic.  
 Torcraatar tra torcraatar  
 na rocaide rin na riu  
 hErinn, ocuf na toeris reo  
 Scolph, ocuf Ona, ocuf Tom-  
 nair, ocuf Turgeir. 7c.

king of Muscraighe Bregoin, The Frag-  
 ment in the  
 Book of  
 Leinster.  
 and that Muchtighern, son of  
 Rehtabrad, was smothered in  
 a cave. It was by them was  
 killed Caur Finn with his garri-  
 son. It was by them was killed  
 Maelguala, son of Dongaile, king  
 of Cashel, viz., by breaking his  
 back with a stone. But that  
 army was wholly destroyed by  
 the men of Erinn, and also their  
 leaders, viz., Scolf, and Ona, and  
 Tomrar, and Turges, &c.

Chap.  
 XXIV.

Tanic iaryain Oirl mac  
 nus Lochlann .i. lonzer lan  
 mor aili, ocuf na millret-  
 raide urmor hErinn. Da  
 torcraatar ran ona la riu  
 hErinn. Da rochar em  
 Oirl . . . . . reraib  
 Mumain. 17 ri rem bliadan  
 i torcair Colphin ocuf lonzer  
 Tuim Medoan . . . a Cinn  
 Curraic.

Afterwards came Oisli, son  
 of the king of Lochlann, viz.,  
 another great full fleet, and they  
 plundered the greater part of  
 Erinn. But they were destroyed  
 by the men of Erinn. This Oisli  
 fell . . . . . men of  
 Mumhain. It was in this year  
 that Colphin was destroyed and  
 the fleet of Dun Medoin . . .  
 at Cenn Curraigh.

Here the MS. again becomes illegible, but after a few lines obliterated we can decipher what follows :—

na burf Aed Finnliat mac  
 Heil cat forro [*Gloss.* .i. oc  
 loe Febail] du i torcair da  
 rret . . . . . ocuf  
 nuc Aed anuim mthar ocuf  
 mathur.

Aedh Finnliath, son of Niall,  
 gained a battle over them [*a  
 gloss adds* at Loch Febhail], in  
 which fell two score . . . . .  
 and Aedh took all their wealth  
 and goods.

Then follows what corresponds with chapters xxv and xxvi of the text.

Ra . . . . . ona  
 lasin ocuf riu Mumain la  
 lonzer mic Amhlaib iaryain,  
 corrochtatar Ciaryais con-

There . . . . .  
 Leinster and the men of Munster  
 by the fleet of Mac Amhlaibh,  
 afterwards, until they reached

Chap.  
 XXV.

The Frag-  
ment in the  
Book of  
Leinster.

na ραζγατ υαam . . . . .  
can τελασ, οσυρ ni φαργατ ni  
. . . . . can ιορησο,  
οσυρ ρα λορσαο Ιmlech Ιβαρη,  
οσυρ ρα ιορησορετ na Όρη  
οργρητ δε μυρη. Ρα ιορη-  
σαρ ιn λυέτ σετνα Μιδη, οσυρ  
Connacht κορσασαταρ Κορ-  
κομρυαο, οσυρ Leim Concu-  
lainn. Όα ροέραταρ ραν  
υλε βεορ λα ρεραβ ηΕρηνο.  
Ρα κυρηο αναρ ονα οσ Αθη-  
κλιαθη λα Αεδο Ρινολιατ mac  
Νειλλ, ac ιn ρλειο οα ριηγεο  
λα Αεδο οα mac Ραγναλλ ιn  
Αθηκλιατ. Ρα εμρηετ ρειν  
ονα κατ ετιμρηυ .ι. Ρινογετι  
οσυρ Όυβγετι .ι. Όαρηθ οσυρ  
Mac Ραγναλλ, ου ι τορκαρ  
Mac Ραγναλλ οσυρ ροέαρθε  
ιmme. Ρα ζοσαο Όαρηθ ανο,  
οσυρ βα βακαε ριαη ιαρηαν  
ηε. Ρα ηιηοαρηβατ ονα Όυβ-  
γετι α ηΕρηηο ιαρηαν οσυρ  
οο χυαταρ ιn Αλβαη, οσυρ  
ρο βρηρηετ αθη ρορ ρεραβ  
Αλβαη, ου ι τορκαρ Κο-  
σταντιη mac Cιναεοα αρηου  
Αλβαη, οσυρ ροέαρθε μορ  
malle ρυρρ. Ιρ ανο ραν  
ρα μαο ιn ταλαη ρο ρεραβ  
Αλβαη.

Ciarraigh, so that they left not a  
cave . . . . . without  
exploring it, and they left not a  
thing . . . . . without  
plundering it, and they burned  
Imlech of Ibar, and they ravaged  
the southern Desii from the sea.  
The same party plundered Midhi  
and Connacht, until they reach-  
ed Corcomruadh, and Leim-Con-  
culainn. All these were like-  
wise killed by the men of Erin.  
And again they were slaughtered  
by Aedh Finnliath, son of Niall,  
at the banquet that was made by  
Aedh for Ragnall's son at Ath-  
Cliath. Then there was a battle  
fought between themselves, viz.,  
the white Gentiles and the black  
Gentiles, i.e. Barith and Rag-  
nall's son, in which fell Ragnall's  
son, and a multitude with him.  
Barith was wounded there, and  
he was lame ever after. The  
black Gentiles after this were  
driven out of Erin and went  
to Alba, where they gained a  
battle over the men of Alba, in  
which were slain Constantine,  
son of Cinaeth, chief king of  
Alba, and a great multitude  
with him. It was then the  
earth burst open under the men  
of Alba.

Chap.  
XXVI.

Όυι ιμμορηο αραηε cum-  
ρανσο ορηραη ηΕρηνο ρυ  
.xl. ιμβλιαοαν can ιορησο  
Ζαλλ .ι. ο ηε Μaelρεκλαηη  
ιηε Μaelρυαηαοο κο ρηη βη-  
αοαη ηε ηεζ Ρλαηηο ιηε  
Μaelρεκλαηηη οσυρ κο ζαβαη

There was, however, some rest  
to the men of Erin, during forty  
years, without ravage from the  
foreigners, i.e. from the time of  
Maelseachlainn, son of Maehrua-  
maid, to the year before the  
death of Flann, son of Mael-

ριζι του Νιαλλ Γλυνδουβ . . .  
 οχυρ Εοζαναατ, οχυρ Κορκο-  
 ουιθνι καθ ρορρο, ος . . .  
 . . . ου ι τορκαρ Αρκατ  
 Πυτραλλ, οχυρ .ccc. ιmmi, οχυρ  
 Σμουρull.

sechlainn, and until Niall The Frag-  
 ment in the  
 Book of  
 Leinster.  
 Glunndubh became king . . .  
 and the Eoghlanacht and Corco-  
 duibhni [gained] a battle over  
 them, and . . . . . in  
 which fell Ascalt Putrall, and  
 300 with him, and Smurull.

We can then read very distinctly chapters xxvii and xxviii.

Τανις ιαριφαν λοηζεγ αο-  
 bull μορ ελομμι Ιμαρ ι  
 Αττλιατ, οχυρ ρα Ιηηορεο  
 αυρμορ ηερενο leo. Ρα  
 μιλλεο em leo Αρμααα, οχυρ  
 ρα ηυρρεταρ κατ ρορ Ρλανο  
 mac Μαιερελαινο, ου ι τορ-  
 καρ Αεο mac Conchobar,  
 οχυρ Λερζυρ mac Κυηομαελ  
 ερρεορ Cιλλι οαρια, οχυρ Όουο-  
 εαο Μαιε αβαο Όελζζα. Ιη  
 βλιαοαν ρα ρο μαρβ Μαιε-  
 ρελαινο ραν, ρα ηαρζεο  
 οηα οχυρ ρα λορρεο Λερρ μορ  
 leo; ριη βλιαοαν σετνα ρα  
 ηαρζεο Cλυαι ηαηα, οχυρ  
 ρα μαρβαο Ρεργαλ mac Ριη-  
 ηαατα ερρεοβ οχυρ αβαο Cλυ-  
 αηα ηαηα, οχυρ Uηαιη Cερηη  
 ιη ρεαηαβ. Σηη βλιαοαν ραν  
 ρο μαρβαο Όουοηαο mac  
 Όυηοαβαρηνεο ρι Cαρριλ,  
 οχυρ Σιυζραο mac Ιμαρ ρι  
 ζαλλ. Μορ τρα ο'ηλε οα

There came after this a pro-  
 digious great fleet of the sons  
 of Imar to Ath-Cliath, and the  
 greater part of Erin was plun-  
 dered by them. Ard-macha  
 was spoiled by them, and they  
 gained a battle over Flann son  
 of Maelsechlainn, in which fell  
 Aedh son of Conchobhar and  
 Lergus son of Crundmael, bishop  
 of Cilldara, and Donnchadh  
 Mael, abbot of Delgga. In this  
 year this Maelsechlainn<sup>1</sup> died,  
 Lismor was plundered and  
 burned by them; in that same  
 year Cluain-namha [Cloyne]  
 was plundered, and Fergal Mac  
 Finnachta, bishop and abbot of  
 Cluain-uamha was slain, also  
 Uanan Cerin the sub-abbot. In  
 this year were killed Donnchadh  
 son of Dubhdaboirenn, king of  
 Cashel, and Siugrad, son of  
 Imar, king of the foreigners.

Chap.  
 XXVII.

P. 27.

<sup>1</sup> *Maelsechlainn*. The MS. contracts  
 this word Μαιερ. The sentence here  
 seems evidently to want something;  
 the confusion appears to have arisen  
 from the contracted names Μαιερ.  
 for Maeliebhail [the daughter of Mael-

sechlainn], and Μαιερ. for Mael-  
 sechlainn. There cannot be a doubt  
 that the original was Ιη βλιαοαν  
 ρα ρο μαρβ Μαιερελαιη ιηγεη  
 Μαιερελαιηη. See note <sup>ε</sup>, p. 29,  
*supra*.

The Fragment in the Book of Leinster.

Chap. XXVIII.

ἰουγατ Ἰαλλ μμ ηἘρηνν ιγ  
 in bliadain rin.

Ἦαιε μορ εὐβλαε λα Ραγ-  
 nall mac Imaip ocuf la hO-  
 τηρ ιαηλα κορηαγβαηετ φορ  
 Loch da Caec. Ra maipao  
 leo Doimnall mac Dunchada  
 ηυδομνα Καηε, ocuf ηα  
 ηαιηορετ, ocuf ηα ηιηοηηετ  
 ηια Καρηη ocuf Μυρεηαγι  
 ετηρηα. Ρα ραιηετιαηαι;  
 α τηηαι ι Κορηαγ, ocuf α  
 τηηαι μ ηηηηα ηα ηεηοαγι,  
 ocuf α τηηαι φορ Ἰαηηιηη.  
 Ρα ηιηοηηεη ηιορηηο. . . .  
 λαρηη ληηγεη ρηη, cona ηαβα  
 tene ο ληη ηοδεηη. ιη λειρηη  
 ληηγεη ρηη ηα μαηηαη Ἰεβη-  
 ηαιε mac Aeda ηη ηα Conaill  
 Ἰαηηα, ocuf ηυρηατ α εηηο  
 leo, ηηηε

Great evils did the foreigners  
 perpetrate in Erin in this  
 year.

There came a great fleet with  
 Ragnall, son of Imar,<sup>1</sup> and with  
 Ottir the Earl, and they landed  
 at Loch da Caech [Waterford].  
 Dohmhall, son of Dunchadh,  
 heir apparent of Cashel, was  
 killed by them, and they divided  
 and ravaged Carbre and Mus-  
 craighi between them. They sepa-  
 rated afterwards; one-third of  
 them in Corcach, and a third in  
 Inis na hEidhaighi, and a third  
 in Glaslinn. [All Munster]  
 was plundered by that fleet,  
 so that there was not a fire  
 from the Lee<sup>2</sup> southwards. It  
 was by this fleet that Geben-  
 nach, son of Aedh, king of Ua  
 Conaill Gabhra, was slain, and  
 they carried his head with them.  
 whence,

Μορ . . . . . Ἦε το μμ  
 Ἄ βειε oc Thomar  
 Ἰε . . . . .  
 Μηηο αμρη ιαρηαηη ηεμαιη.

Great . . . . . O God of heaven  
 That Tomar should have it  
 Behold . . . . .  
 Illustrious gem of the west of the world.

. . . . . Ἄηε mac . . . . . Anle, son  
 Cathan ηη Uathηη . . . . . of Cathan, king of Uathne . .  
 ocuf ληηγεε mac Ἰ[ετηα] . . . . . and Longsech, son of  
 Setna . . . . .

The two MSS. B. and D. which have been followed in the text, interpolate here (see chapter xxix, *supra*, p. 33) a long passage containing several chronological criteria which have caused great confusion, as they do not at all square with the exploits of Ragnall and Otter. In L,

<sup>1</sup> Son of Imar. Called "grandson of Imar," p. 31 *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> The Lee. See above, p. 31. The word ληη signifies a river.

however, all this is omitted, and chapter xxix consists only of the following passage :—

<p>Ρα εἰσαταρ ἰν Ἄλβαν ἰαρ- ραν, οσῦρ τυερατ ρη Ἄλβαν κατ̄ σοιβ, οσῦρ ρα μαρβαθ απο, .ι. Ραγναλλ οσῦρ Οἰττηρ.</p>	<p>They went after that into Alba, and the men of Alba gave them battle and they were killed there, viz., Ragnall and Otter.</p>
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

The Frag-  
ment in the  
Book of  
Leinster.

Ragnall and Otter must have landed at Waterford about A.D. 916, and were slain in Scotland the year following. But the interpolated passage in the text speaks of events which must be dated about 866 to 869. This is a remarkable proof of the antiquity and value of the MS. L., and renders it matter of great regret that the fragment here published is all that now remains of it.

## B.

### *Chronology and Genealogy of the Kings of Munster and of Ireland, during the period of the Scandinavian invasions.*

The list of Kings of Munster, given in chap. ii. of the foregoing work, as also the list of the Kings of Ireland, given chap. iii., are no part of the original Chronicle, but were subsequently interpolated by some early transcriber. This is evident from the fact, that the older form of the text, in the fragment of the Book of Leinster (Append. A.) mentions only the first and last of the series of Munster Kings,<sup>1</sup> and the first only of the Sovereigns of Ireland, omitting all the intermediate names.

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Oilioll<sup>2</sup> Olum was the first of the family of Heber, son of Milesius, who found himself in undisputed possession of the throne of Munster (A.D. 237), and by his will he ordained that his kingdom should descend in alternate succession, to the posterity of his sons, Eoghan (or Owen) and Cormac Cas<sup>3</sup>; provided only

<sup>1</sup> *Kings.* See p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> *Oilioll.* His name is often written *Ailell* (as p. 59), or *Ailill*, and *Ailiol*.

<sup>3</sup> *Cormac Cas.* O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*,

Part III., c. 65, p. 326. Vallancey's Collect. Vol. I, p. 426, "On the Law of Tanistry."

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that the elder and more capable of governing, should always be elected out of each race.

This rule was observed for some generations with tolerable regularity, and it is alluded to in the account given of the valour and privileges of the Dal Cais, chap. xli. of the foregoing work. The rule, however, it should be observed, did not impose an absolute law of hereditary succession; the chieftain was elected<sup>1</sup> in every case by the tribe or clansmen: but they could legally elect only from among those who were entitled to the throne by hereditary descent.

It is easy to see that such a law of succession contained within it abundant elements of dissension: and it was not long until the sons of Eoghan and the sons of Cormac Cas regarded each other as rivals, and separated into hostile parties.<sup>2</sup>

Hence it happens that the lists of Munster Kings that have come down to us differ considerably<sup>3</sup>; the Chronicler, according as he was of the Dalcassian or Eugenic race, necessarily regarded some of the opposite succession as usurpers, and therefore omitted them from his list. The chronology of their reigns was also, in like manner, handed down with much uncertainty,

<sup>1</sup> *Elected.* See *Ogygia*, p. 57, and Curry's preface to the *Battle of Magh Lena*, published by the Celtic Society (1855).

<sup>2</sup> *Parties.* The following Table may assist the reader to understand the politics of these rival clans:—

Oilioll Olum.		
Eoghan mór. Sl. A.D. 250; ancestor of the Eoghanachts.	Cormac Cas. Sl. A.D. 260; ancestor of the Dal-Cais.	Cian. Sl. A.D. 250; ancestor of the Cianachta.

See *Ogygia*, p. 328, and the Genealogical Tables in Mr. Curry's *Battle of Magh Lena*: but especially the valuable Genealogical Table of the Munster families descended from Oilioll Olum, p. 341, of Dr. O'Donovan's *Battle of Magh Rath*, published by the Irish Archæological Society in 1842. Oilioll Olum is said to have had seven sons by his wife Sadbh, daughter of Con of the hundred fights, and twelve by other women.

<sup>3</sup> *Considerably.* See some excellent remarks on this subject in the article already referred to, on the Law of Tanistry, in Vallancey's *Collect.*, Vol. I., p. 469 sq. This valuable paper was written by Dr. J. O'Brien, titular or R. C. Bishop of Cloyne, author of the well-known Irish Dictionary. But it is published by Vallancey as his own, without any mention of the real author.

from similar causes. The dates were usually ascertained by adding together the reigns of the kings who lived within a given epoch; but two such kings, each regarding the other as an usurper, frequently reigned over their respective partizans contemporaneously: and the lengths of their reigns were very differently computed according to the party to which the historian or bard who recorded their exploits belonged.

And these sources of confusion are unfortunately of great antiquity. In the Book of Leinster, a MS. of the 12th century, there is a list of the Kings of Munster, the most antient (I believe) that is now known to exist, having been written probably at the close of the 11th century. Nevertheless we find that even in that age the succession and chronology of the Munster Kings was obscure. The compiler of this list frequently inserts names, with the note "secundum quosdam;" and often omits the lengths of the reigns, probably because he was unable to ascertain them with accuracy.

It may be instructive, as illustrating what has been said, if we compare the list of Munster Kings, given above (ch. ii.) with the corresponding portion of this antient list of them:—

<i>Book of Leinster.</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>Danish Wars.</i> c. ii.
1. e. Airtri, son of Cathal. xx.	1. Airtri, son of Cathal, son of Fin- ghuine.
2. Tuathal, son of Airtri. xiii. <i>Secundum quosdam.</i>	2. Feidhlimidh, <sup>2</sup> son of Criomthann [accept regnum 819=820. Ult.]
3. e. Feidhlimidh, son of Criomthann. xxvii.	3. Olcobhar, son of Cinaeth. [Ob. 849. 4 M.]
4. e. Olcobhar, son of Cinaeth. iii.	4. Ailgenain, son of Dungal. [Ob. 851=853. 4 M.]
5. e. Algenain, son of Dongal. iii.	5. Maelguala, son of Dungal. [Sl. A. D. 857=859. 4 M.]
6. m. Maelguala, son of Dongal. viii. A Northmannis occisus est Maelguala.	
7. e. Maelfathartaigh. x.	

<sup>1</sup> *Book of Leinster.* In this List the Roman numerals at the end of the names denote the number of years of each prince's reign. It is to be observed also that the letters e or m are prefixed to each name, according as the individual in question died a natural death (éc) or was killed (μαρτυρό); in some cases, when the manner of his

death was unknown, neither letter is prefixed; and there are some in which the letter seems to have been forgotten. The numbers prefixed to each name are added by the Editor for the convenience of reference.

<sup>2</sup> *Feidhlimidh.* He reigned 27 years, and died A. D. 847. See chap. xiv. p. 15. *supra.*

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8. e. Cennfaeladh, son of Mochtighern. xiii. R1 Mumán, 7 abb 1m-  
leáa 1bairne—[“King of Mun-  
ster, and abbot of Imleach of Ibar”  
(i.e. Emly)].
9. e. Dunchad. xvi.
10. Dubhlachtna, son of Maelguala.
11. Finguine, son of Dubhlachtna.<sup>2</sup>  
i.e. Cendgegain. vi. *Occisus*<sup>3</sup> *per*  
*dolum. Anno Dni Dcccviii.*
12. Cormac, son of Culennan. vii.  
λα Cερβαλ, mac Muiregein,  
ης λαγεν το ποχασο Cormac  
ι cat Μαιξε Αβα. Fiach  
Αββε ποσ μαρβαο. “Cormac  
fell in the battle of Magh Alba,  
under Cerbhail, son of Muiregein,  
king of Leinster. Fiach Albe  
killed him.”
13. Flaithbhertach, son of Inmainen.
14. e. Lorcan. ix.
15. Ceallachan Caisil. x.
16. Maelfaethartaigh, son of Donn-  
chadh. iii.
17. m. Dubhdabairend. ii.
18. m. Fergraidh, son of Ailgenan.<sup>4</sup> v.
19. m. Mathgamhain, son of Cenneidigh. xiiii.
20. m. Maeltuadh, son of Bran. ii.
21. Brian, son of Cenneidigh xxxiii.  
Α μαρβαο ι cat κορασ Cluan  
ταρβ λα λαγεν 7 Σαλλα:  
“Killed in the battle of the weir  
of Cluan-tarbh by the Leinster-  
men, and the foreigners.”

*Danish Wars, c. ii.*

6. Cennfaeladh, son of Murchadh.<sup>1</sup>  
[Ob. 870=872. 4 M.]
7. Donnchadh, son of Dubhdabhoirenn.
8. Dubhlachtna, son of Maelguala.
9. Finguine, son of Laeghaire, sur-  
named Cenngelain, [or goose  
head.]
10. Cormac, son of Cuilennan.
11. Flaithbhertach, son of Ionmhainen.
12. Lorcan, son of Connligan.
13. Ceallachan, son of Buadhachan.
14. Maelfaethartaigh, son of Bran.
15. Dubhdabhoireann, son of Dombhall.
16. Fergraidh, son of Clerech.
17. Donnchadh, son of Cellach. [*Read*  
Cellachan].
18. Mathgamhain, son of Cenneidigh.
19. Brian, son of Cenneidigh.

<sup>1</sup> *Murchadh*. He is called son of Maelguala, son of Mochtighern, in the Dublin Ann. of Innisfallen, 872. The 4 M. call him Ua Muictighern, i.e. grandson of Mochtighern. Keating and the Book of Leinster make him son of Mochtighern.

<sup>2</sup> *Dubhlachtna*. In the margin, in a later hand, M<sup>c</sup> λαεγαρε, “son of Laeghaire.”

<sup>3</sup> *Occisus*. The words printed in

italics are added by a more recent hand in the MS.

<sup>4</sup> *Ailgenan*. In the list given, chap. ii., above, he is called “son of Clerech.” To discuss or explain differences of this kind would be inconsistent with the rules laid down for editors of this series of Chronicles. But the reader must not conclude that such discrepancies cannot be explained.

On comparing these lists it will be observed that the Book of Leinster gives three kings (Nos. 2, 7, and 20) who are not recognised in the list, chap. ii. *supra* : and this latter list on the other hand, has one king (No. 17) not found in the Book of Leinster. Of these Tuathal, son of Artri (B. of Leinster No. 2) is marked as doubtful, "secundum quosdam," and No. 20, Maelmuadh or Molloy, as having been the murderer of Mathgamhain, or Mahon, is not recognised by the Dalcassian author. Nevertheless there is no doubt that Maelmuadh was the legal successor to Mathgamhain's throne, notwithstanding his complicity in the crime which rendered that throne vacant<sup>1</sup>: and accordingly our author himself in one place (ch. lxvi. p. 107) gives him the title of King of Munster—although the compiler of the list of kings, in ch. ii., has omitted his name. He was of the Eugenian line, as Mathgamhain was of the Dalcais, and therefore according to the law of succession established by the will of Oilioll Olum, had a claim to the throne of his victim. He enjoyed it but two years,<sup>2</sup> having been slain by Brian in the battle of Belach Lachta, A.D. 978. Accordingly a reign of two years is rightly assigned to him in the antient list of the Book of Leinster.

Maelfathartaigh (No. 7 in the same list) is not mentioned in chap. ii: he is also omitted by O'Dugan,<sup>3</sup> in his poetical list of the Kings of Munster. The chronology of the Four Masters gives A.D. 857 as the year in which his predecessor Maelguala was stoned to death by the Northmen: and 870 as the year of his successor Cennfaoladh's death. This, if we give Cennfaoladh a reign of 13 years, as the Book of Leinster itself allows, leaves no room for the ten years assigned to Maelfathartaigh. This king's name is therefore most probably an interpolation.

The only remaining difference between the two lists is the insertion of the name of Donnchadh, son of Cellach, (which ought to be Donnchadh, son of Cellachan,) in chap. ii. He was the son of Cellachan of Cashel, and is set down as the immediate predecessor of the murdered Mahon. But he never was King of Munster, and is rightly omitted in the older MS. His name has evidently found its way into the list, by a misinterpretation

<sup>1</sup> *Vacant*. See above, ch. lix. sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Two years*. Mathgamhain or Mahon was slain, 976. See Tighernach, and pp. 91 and 107 *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> *O'Dugan*. John O'Dubhagain, or O'Dugan, was chief bard to the O'Kellys, of Hy Many, and died A.D. 1372.

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of an entry in the Annals of Ulster. His death is there recorded at A.D. 962 (=963), in these words:—

Mac Cellachain ri Caisil moritur.

The son of Cellachan king of Cashel,  
dies.

where the words "King of Cashel" evidently apply to Cellachan, and not to his son; and we may make the same observation in reference to the record of the same event by the Four Masters. Their words at their year 961, are,

Donnchað mac CeUachan ru  
Cairil, so sum ó na brátaip  
féiripit.

Donnchad, son of Cellachan king of  
Cashel, was mortally wounded by his  
own brethren.

It is therefore clear that this name is a mistake<sup>1</sup> of the interpolator; and it is moreover inconsistent with the text, for the list of kings is prefaced by the statement that there were "eighteen kings in Cashel" during the period referred to: and yet nineteen are enumerated; the omission of this spurious name is therefore necessary to correct the discrepancy.<sup>2</sup>

But we are mainly concerned with the date of Airtri, son of Cathal, which fixes, according to our author's testimony, the era of the Scandinavian invasions.

He was tenth in descent<sup>3</sup> from Aongus, son of Nathfriach, the first Christian King of Munster. His father, Cathal, son of Finguine, who was also King of Munster, died,<sup>4</sup> according to Keating, during the reign of Aodh Ollan, King of Ireland, and therefore before the year 743. Two kings are said to have

<sup>1</sup> *Mistake.* The Bodleian Annals of Inisfallen, published by Dr. O'Conor, *Rer. Hib. Scriptt.* tom. ii., give the same record at A.D. 948. "Mors Dunchada mac Cellachain ri Caisil." But the year ought to be 950, in consequence of a typographical error in all Dr. O'Conor's dates to these annals from A.D. 908 (p. 37 *sq.*); and by a further error in the chronology of the author of the annals, (pointed out by Dr. O'Conor himself, *note*, p. 43), the year 950 of this annalist corresponds to A.D. 963 or 964, which is no doubt the true date. The Dublin Annals of Inisfallen (compiled by Dr. O'Brien and John Conry) escape the ambiguity

by calling this chieftain "Donnchadh, son of Ceallachan of Cashel," and record his death A.D. 961 or 962.

<sup>2</sup> *Discrepancy.* The copy of this work in the Book of Leinster, says "sixteen kings." See p. 221. This is, perhaps, some accidental error of transcription, unless it may mean 16, between Airtri and Brian, exclusive.

<sup>3</sup> *Descent.* See his genealogy in the Geneal. Table already referred to in Dr. O'Donovan's Battle of Magh Rath.

<sup>4</sup> *Died.* The 4 M. record his death A.D. 737. The Bodleian Annals of Inisfallen, at 730, which is really 743, and the Dublin Annals of Inisfallen, at 742.

intervened between Cathal and his son Airtri, to the sum of whose reigns O'Dugan assigns a period of 29 years. If this be so, and if Airtri reigned 20 years, as all the authorities assert, assuming that his father, Cathal, died in 743, the year 792 is the latest that we can possibly assign to Airtri's death. Kings of  
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But this calculation is far from satisfactory. The history of these petty sovereigns at this period is full of confusion, and the number of years assigned to their reigns cannot be depended upon. O'Dugan gives the series, thus:—

- Cathal, son of Finguine, 31 years.
- Cathasach, son of Edirseeoil [Driscoll], 16 years.
- Maolduin, son of Aodh Bennain, 13 years.
- Airtri, son of Cathal, 20 years.
- Tnuathal, son of Dungal, 14 years.
- Feidhlimidh, son of Criomhthann, 7 years.

But the antient list in the Book of Leinster, already so often referred to, puts Cathasach *before* Cathal, son of Finguine, and gives the series, thus:—

- Cathasach, son of Edirseeoil, 27 years.
- Cathal, son of Finguine, 29 years [*adding this note*, "Some say that Maolduin, son of Aodh Bennain, was king of Munster."]
- Airtri, son of Cathal, 20 years.
- Tuathal, son of Airtri [sec<sup>m</sup>. quosdam] 14 years.
- Feidhlimidh, son of Criomhthann, 27 years.

It is evident that from authorities exhibiting such discrepancies as these, both in the order of succession of the kings and in their regnal years, no safe conclusions can be drawn. But it fortunately happens that there is a date preserved in our authentic annals, which leads to a surer result. At the year 819, which is A.D. 820, the Annals of Ulster<sup>1</sup> record the accession of Feidhlimidh, the last of the above-named chieftains, in these words:—

Feidhlimidh mac Cremhthainn accepit regnum Caisil.

<sup>1</sup> *Ulster*. The same event in the same words is recorded in the Bodleian Annals of Inisfallen, at their year 807, which, in consequence of the error of 13 years in these annals, already noticed, is equivalent to A.D. 820. But it is curious that at the very next year 808=821, we have a record of the death of Airtri. This, of course, is misplaced; perhaps the entry really belongs to the preceding year: in

which case it would signify that there was no intervening reign between the death of Airtri and the accession of Feidhlimidh. Dr. O'Connor's edition of these annals is so full of careless blunders that it is dangerous, without reference to the original, to quote it as authority, and no inference in any disputed case can be drawn from its readings.

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This year A.D. 820 may therefore be taken as the year of Airtri's death, and 800 as the date of his accession to the throne, unless it be true that a reign of 14 years intervened; in which case his death must be placed in 806, and his accession to the throne of Munster in 786. It should be remembered, however, that the older list of kings marks this intervening reign as doubtful. The truth may be that the reign of Tuathal was an usurpation during the lifetime of his father, Airtri. If so, Airtri began his reign in 786 and died 820.

These latter dates agree very well with the express statement of our author, that the first devastation of Ireland by the Norsemen took place in Airtri's reign; and in this result we must acquiesce, as the nearest approach to accuracy which can be expected in the present neglected state of our Irish records.

Kings of  
Ireland.

It will not be necessary to make any lengthened remarks on the list of Kings of Ireland given by our author,<sup>1</sup> or rather by his interpolator, in chap. iii. Their genealogy and the chronology of their reigns, have been treated of by Keating, and corrected with great learning by O'Flaherty. But it may be convenient to the reader, to have here a list of these kings, with the dates (according to O'Flaherty's Chronology) at which they began to reign. And we shall commence the list somewhat earlier than the first king mentioned by our author, for a reason that will hereafter be apparent:—

- A.D. 763. *Niall Frassach*.<sup>2</sup>  
 770. Donnchad mac Domhnall.  
 797. *Aodh Oirnidhe*.  
 819. Conchobhar.  
 833. *Niall Caille*.  
 846. *Maelseachlainn mac Maelruanaidh*.  
 863. *Aodh Finnliath*.  
 879. Flann Sionna.  
 916. *Niall Glundubh*.  
 919. Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna.  
 944. Congalach, son of Maoilmithigh.  
 956. *Domhnall O'Neill*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Our author*. See ch. iii. p. 5, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Niall Frassach*. This king was 9th in descent from the celebrated Niall of the Nine Hostages, who was king of Ireland A.D. 379-405. See Table I, p. 245.

<sup>3</sup> *Domhnall O'Neill*. It was this Domhnall who first assumed, as a surname, the title of O'Neill [i.e. grandson of Niall,] from his grandfather Niall Glundubh, or Niall of the black knee, (not from his remote ancestor Niall of

A.D. 980. Maelseachlainn, son of Domhnall.

1002. BRIAN.

1014. Maelseachlainn, (restored to the throne:) died 1022.

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The names printed in italics in this list are of the Northern Hy Neill, descended from Eoghan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. The others are of the Southern<sup>1</sup> Hy Neill, descended from Conall Crimthann, also one of the sons of Niall of the Nine Hostages. One king only, whose name is printed in capitals, the celebrated Brian Borumha, was of the race of Heber, son of Milesius, and of the Munster family of the Dal Cais. His descent is given in the genealogical Table III.

It will be seen, from the foregoing list, that the rule of alternate succession between the two royal families of the Hy Neill was observed with tolerable regularity during the period of the Danish wars. The only exception occurs in the case of Congalach, son of Mailmithigh, who with his predecessor Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna, was of the Southern Hy Neill.

It is not improbable that this interruption in the order of alternate succession may have been owing to the ambitious intrigues of Muirheartach<sup>2</sup> of the leather cloaks, who, in 942, made a circuit of Ireland for the purpose of taking hostages from the provincial chieftains, in order to secure his right to the throne. As the then reigning sovereign, Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna, was of the Southern Hy Neill, Muirheartach, according to the law of alternate succession, was the natural heir apparent. But when he was slain by the Danes, in 943, the hostages he had taken by violence were liberated, and the alternate right seems to have been set aside.

the Nine Hostages). In the next century the family of Brian Borumha assumed the name of O'Brien; and patronymics of the same kind became usual as surnames from that time to the present day.

<sup>1</sup>*Southern.* The descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages were divided into the Southern Hy Neill, who settled in the county of Meath, and the Northern Hy Neill, who settled in Derry and Tyrone. The kings of the Southern Hy Neill were Laogaire (son of Niall) and his son Lugaid, with 17

kings of the race of Conall Crimthann. The kings of the Northern Hy Neill were ten of the *Cinel Conaill*, descendants of Conall Gulban, son of Niall, and sixteen of the *Cinel Eoghain*, descended from Eoghan, son of Niall, with one king descended from Cairbre, son of Niall. See *Geneal. Tables I. & II.*

<sup>2</sup>*Muirheartach.* See the "Circuit of Ireland," edited for the Irish Archaeological Society by Dr. O'Donovan. *Tracts relating to Ireland*, Vol. I., Dublin, 1841. Comp. chap. xxxvii, p. 43. *supra.*

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The following genealogical tables may be useful, in enabling the reader to understand the foregoing narrative. They are intended to exhibit the descent of the different clans, and the relationship of the chieftains whose jealousies and dissensions are chronicled in the present work.

In Table I. is shown the genealogical descent of the Kings belonging to the Northern Hy Neill, of the Cinel Eoghain race. The other dynasty, the Cinel Conaill, having become extinct before the period to which this work relates, are not given.

Table II. exhibits the descent of the Kings of the Southern Hy Neill, and their relationship with the Northern Hy Neill, as the offspring of a common ancestor, Niall of the Nine Hostages. The names of the *Kings* in Table I. and II. are printed in small capitals; the dates annexed are the years in which each King *began* his reign, according to O'Flaherty's Chronology.

It will be seen from these tables (compared with Table III.), that the revolution which placed Brian on the throne, was a violation of the hereditary rights of the Hy Neill, confirmed to them by a long prescription; and that the annalist Tighernach<sup>1</sup> was fully justified in calling it a *rebellion*, although perhaps he did not mean to express, by that word, the guilt which the modern use of it implies.

Brian's descent from the great Munster chieftain Oilioll Olum, King of Munster in the third century, has been traced by Dr. O'Donovan in the valuable genealogical table of the Munster families, which has been already referred to.<sup>2</sup> But for the convenience of the reader, we have here extracted in Tables III., IV., and V., the principal lines of descent, showing the relationship of the chieftains whose names are mentioned in the foregoing history.

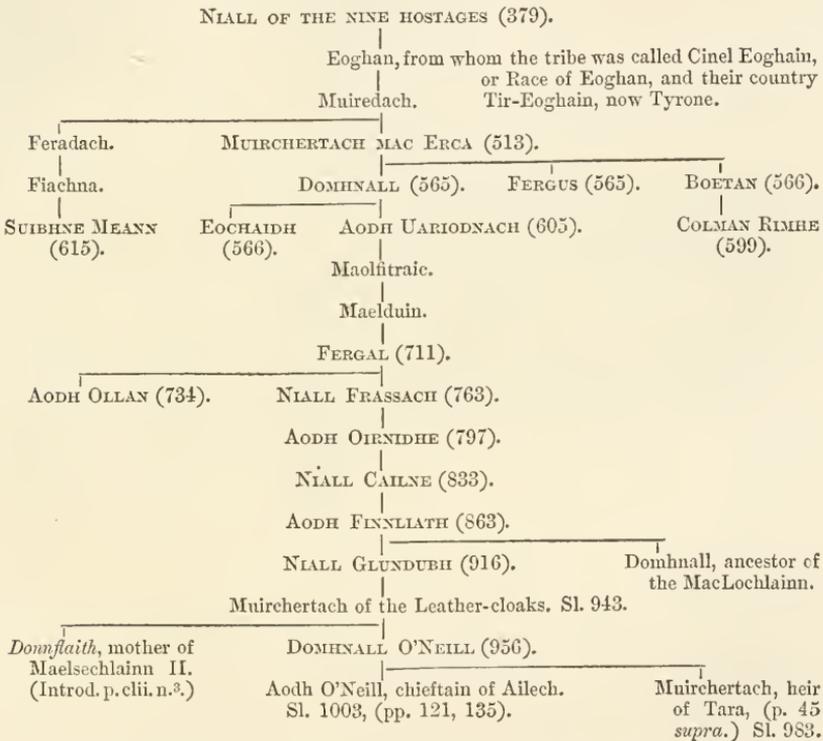
<sup>1</sup> *Tighernach*. Annal. A.D. 1002.  
*Rer. Hib. Scriptt.*, tom. ii., p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> *Referred to*. See p. 236, note; and

see also Curry's *Battle of Magh Leana*,  
p. 174.

TABLE I.

KINGS OF IRELAND DESCENDED FROM THE NORTHERN HY NEILL  
(CINEL EOGHAIN BRANCH).

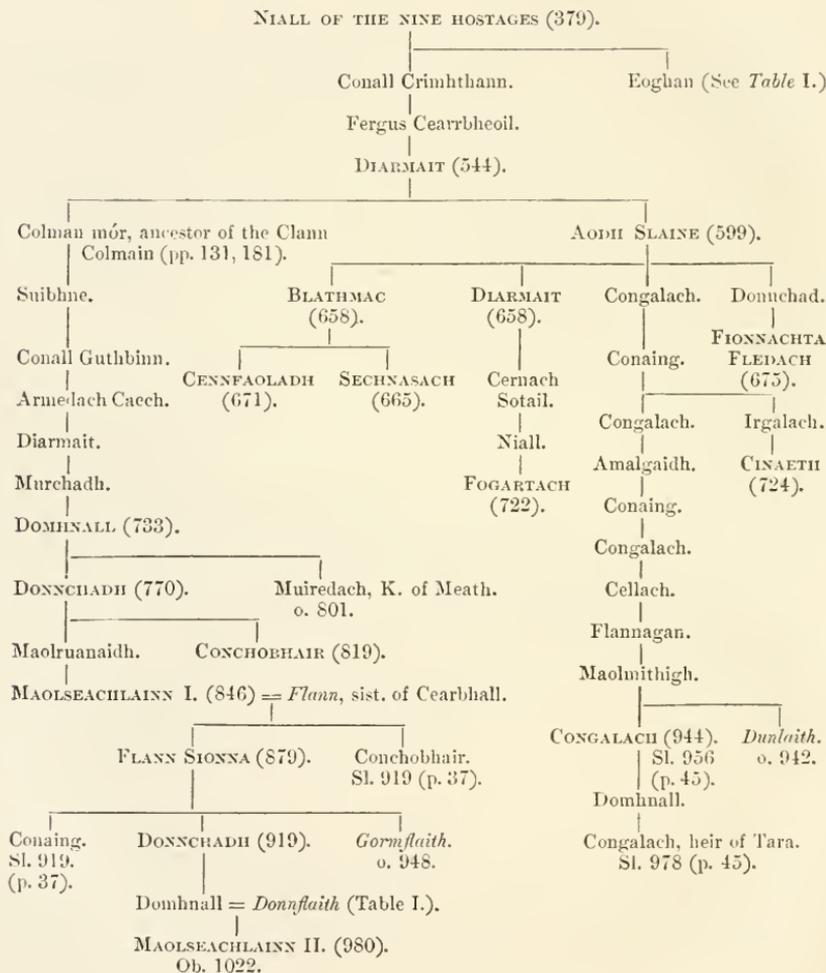


<sup>1</sup> Table I. This and the following Table exhibit the descent of the kings and chieftains who flourished during the period of the Danish wars, as enumerated in the foregoing list. The names of the kings of Ireland are printed in capitals, and the years on which each reign began, within brackets. "Sl." signifies slain; "ob." or "o." obüt. The names of females are in Italics.

Genealogical Tables.

TABLE II.

KINGS OF IRELAND DESCENDED FROM THE SOUTHERN HY NEILL  
(THE CLANN COLMAIN OF MEATH, AND THE CLANN AODHA  
SLÁINE).





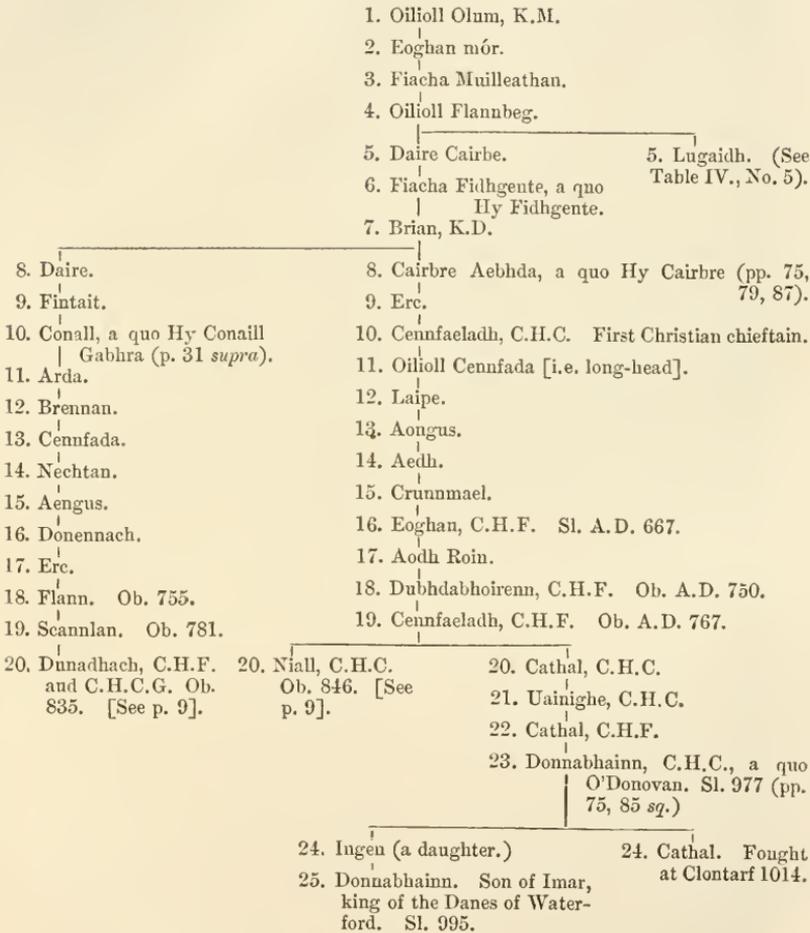
## TABLE IV.

— SHOWING THE DESCENT OF MAELMUADH, OR MOLLOY, LORD OF DESMOND, AND HIS RELATIONSHIP TO BRIAN AND MATHGAMHAIN.

	1. Oilioll Olum, K.M.	
	2. Eoghan mór, from whom the Eoghan- acht of Cashel (pp. 53 n. 71).	2. Cormac Cas, a quo Dal Cais. See Table III.
	3. Fiacha Muilleathan, K.M. 260.	
	4. Oilioll Flannbeg, K.M.	
	5. Lugaid.	
	6. Conall Core, K.M., ancestor of the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein (Killarney), and of Moghagerrgin, in Mar (Scotland).	
7. Natfraich, K.M.	7. Cas.	
8. Aongus, K.M.	8. Eochaidh, from whom the Uí nEochadh of Munster (p. 137).	
9. Fedhlimidh.	9. Criomhthann.	
10. Criomhthann.		
11. Aodh Dnubh.	10. Aodh Uargarbh.	10. Laoghaire.
12. Fingín, K.M., a quo Cinel Fin- gine, or Eoghan- acht of Cashel.	11. Tighernach.	11. Aodh Clerech.
13. Sechnasach.	12. Fedhlimidh, K.M., 577.	12. Cairbre Riastrim.
14. Colman.	13. Fergus.	13. Clairenach.
15. Dubhdacrioch.	14. Bece, a quo Cinel mBece.	14. Selbach.
16. Criomhthann.	15. Ferdaleithe.	15. Ealaithe.
17. Fedhlimidh, K.M. o. 846. (p. 15).	16. Conaicce.	16. Dunlang.
	17. Oilioll.	17. Anbleithe.
	18. Cucongeilt.	18. Flaithnia.
	19. Concobhar.	19. Aongus.
	20. Cathladh.	20. Dubhdaboirenn, K.M. Sl. 957.
	21. Spellán.	21. Donnchadh, ancestor of O'Donoghue.
	22. Oilioll.	21. Domhnall. Commanded the forces of Desmond at Clon- tarf. Sl. 1015. (p. 213).
	23. Bran.	
	24. Maelmúadh, Sl. 978 (pp. 65, sq. 103, sq.)	
	25. Cian. (See p. 213).	
	26. Mathgamhain, ancestor of Uí Mathgamhna, or O'Mahony.	

TABLE V.

Genealogical Tables.

SHOWING THE DESCENT<sup>1</sup> OF THE FAMILY OF O'DONNABHAINN, OR O'DONOVAN.

<sup>1</sup> *Descent.* The letters C.H.F. denote Chief of Hy Fídhgente. C.H.C.G. Chief of Hy Conaill Gabhra. C.H.C. Chief of Hy Cairbre: see p. 87. K.D. King of Desmond.

## C.

Maelseach-  
lainn's des-  
cription of  
the battle.

*Maelseachlainn's description of the Battle of Clontarf,  
from the Brussels MS.*

The following is the passage from the Brussels MS. alluded to, page 182, note <sup>2</sup>, *supra*, which is given here for the reason there assigned. The corresponding portion of the text extends from p. 182, line 1, to p. 198, line 28 :

Γραδ̄ αρ̄bearτ̄ Μαελ̄ραδ̄-  
lainn;—Hoc̄a n̄pacapa cat̄  
μαρ̄ ε̄, ocyr̄ noc̄a cuala a  
macap̄an̄ila, ocyr̄ c̄w̄ an̄gel̄  
d̄e do n̄n̄i do bepaδ̄ a tuar̄-  
ur̄cb̄al̄ ar̄ d̄ic̄p̄eiriōn̄ lem̄ mā  
do bepaδ̄; ac̄t̄ aon̄ n̄i ara  
ταρ̄ila μαρ̄ιγγ̄i an̄n; an̄ tan̄  
no com̄p̄ac̄eτ̄taū na cāta a  
ceδ̄ōn̄i no zaβ̄ cāt̄ āz̄ t̄p̄eāz̄-  
oap̄ a c̄ēile po ceδ̄ōn̄i d̄ib̄,  
ocyr̄ do b̄i zōp̄t̄ ōeap̄z̄ t̄p̄eb̄ta  
eτ̄taūan̄n ocyr̄ p̄iaw̄, ocyr̄ an̄  
c̄p̄uap̄ōz̄aw̄t̄ ep̄ic̄h̄r̄ōe τ̄ap̄iγ̄ib̄  
cuccan̄n, ocyr̄ n̄i p̄oide na p̄eap̄ō  
p̄ur̄ a m̄bleōz̄ta b̄ō n̄ō d̄ā ba  
bamap̄ an̄ tan̄ nac̄ τ̄tuib̄p̄ap̄ō  
t̄ume don̄ d̄ā c̄at̄ āit̄ne p̄or̄  
a c̄ēile z̄iδ̄ ē a mac̄ no a b̄p̄ā-  
c̄ap̄i b̄uδ̄ cōīp̄oc̄ocyr̄ d̄ō, ac̄t̄  
m̄una τ̄tuccap̄ ar̄ a z̄ūt̄, n̄ō a  
p̄ior̄ āz̄e an̄ t̄ionap̄ō i m̄b̄iap̄ō,  
ar̄ na l̄ionap̄ō uile eτ̄i āz̄ap̄ō  
ocyr̄ cen̄o ocyr̄ eδ̄ac̄, do b̄p̄aon̄-  
z̄āil̄ na p̄ola p̄op̄p̄uam̄an̄ta  
la p̄ōz̄luap̄ac̄t̄ na z̄ait̄e z̄lan̄-  
p̄uap̄ie b̄ā τ̄ap̄iγ̄ib̄ cuz̄an̄n.  
Ocyr̄ z̄iδ̄ en̄z̄nan̄i b̄uδ̄ āil̄  
d̄ān̄n do d̄en̄am̄h̄ n̄i p̄eop̄a-  
m̄ap̄, d̄ōīz̄ no cen̄z̄laic̄, ocyr̄  
no cuib̄p̄iz̄it̄ ar̄ n̄z̄ae ōγ̄ ar̄

CIII. Thus said Maelseach-  
lainn, "Never did I see a battle  
like it, nor have I heard of its  
equal; and even if an angel of  
God from heaven attempted its  
description, it seems doubtful to  
me that he could give it. But  
there was one thing attracted  
my notice there; when the bat-  
talions first met in conflict, each  
began to pierce the other, and  
there was a red ploughed field  
between us and them, and the  
sharp wind of the spring from  
them towards us; and we were  
not longer there than it would  
take to milk a cow or two  
cows, when no man in either  
host could recognise another,  
even though it were his son  
or his brother who was next  
him, unless he heard his voice,  
or knew the place where he was,  
so covered were all, both faces,  
heads, and garments, with drops  
of gory blood, borne by the clear  
cold wind that came from them  
to us. And even if we wished  
to perform any valorous deed,  
we could not do it, for our  
spears over our heads had be-

ccenṑaib, ṑfoltaiṑ na ḃḃear, ro ḃḃḃo ocuḃ ro taparao in ḡaoṑ euḡamh ar na tpeccaṑ ṑo claiṑiṑib coilḡṑḃḡib, ocuḃ ṑo tuaḡaib taiṑḃleaṑaib, ḡur ḃo leṑ monair ṑṑimh ḃḃḃm ḃḃḃṑ aḡ peiṑiṑḡaṑh ocuḃ aḡ, taiṑmeṑ ar ceḃraoḡaile ṑ ḃḃḃle.

Imṑṑra Conaing mac ṑuinn-  
cuan; ṑo ionraḡ Maol-  
morḃa mac Muḃchaṑa ḃḃ  
ḃaiḡen, ocuḃ ṑo maḃbaṑ moḃ-  
an ṑa naer ḡraṑa leṑ ar leṑ  
ar a mbḃlaib, ocuḃ ṑo ḡonaṑ  
i ccaṑ na lṑḃraṑ Conaing an  
tan ḃṑi aḡ an ccoḃḃrae. Ocuḃ  
ḡḃḃḃ ḃḃṑ, tucc cumarḃ ocuḃ ḃḃ  
ḃaiḡen ḡur tuṑetaḃ comṑui-  
tim ḃḃ ḃḃḃle ṑo claiṑḃḃṑ a  
ceḃṑ ḃuilde .i. Conaing mac  
ṑuinncuan, ocuḃ Maolmorḃa  
mac Muḃchaṑa ḃḃ ḃaiḡen.

Imṑṑra Connaṑṑ; ṑo ḡaba-  
tar ḃḃḃm, ocuḃ ḡoiḃl Ḃṑa Cliaṑ  
ar ccoḃḃmaḃbaṑ a ḃḃḃle, ocuḃ  
ḃa ḃuaḃḃ naḃ ḃṑ comṑuṑim  
ṑṑḃḃ mḃle leṑ ar leaṑ, ocuḃ ḃḃ  
ḃḃ ḃḃḃmbuaḃṑ ṑḃḃḃnaṑ ḃṑi  
ar Cluaḃḃ Tarḃḃ. Ocuḃ ḃḃ  
ṑeaḃhaṑṑ ṑon ṑana caṑ ṑo  
cuataḃ ḡoiḃl Ḃṑa Cliaṑ anḃ  
ar aen ḃḃan aṑ nonḃar  
amṑam, ocuḃ ḃṑ ḃḃḃraṑ ḃuṑṑ  
taḡḡe Tarṑḡ ḃ Ceallaḡ ḃṑ ḡur  
maḃḃraṑ a ccom ṑḃṑaḃḃṑ  
Ḃṑa Cliaṑ ḃṑ .i. ṑḃṑiṑṑṑ  
ṑuḃḡaḃḃ.

came clogged and bound with the human hair, which the wind blew and forced against us, being cut away by well-aimed swords and gleaming axes, so that it was half occupation to ourselves to be disentangling and extricating our spear shafts from one another."

Maelseach-  
lainn's des-  
cription of  
the battle,  
from the  
Brussels  
MS.

CV. The feats of Conaing, son of Dunncuan.—He attacked Maolmordha, son of Murchadh, King of Laighin, and a great number of the men of rank on both sides were slain in the front of them; and Conaing was wounded in the battle of the men in armour, while fighting them. In a short time he encountered the King of Laighin, so that they fell together, annihilated by the vehemence of each other's blows, *i.e.*, Conaing, son of Dunncuan, and Maolmordha, son of Murchadh, King of Laighin.

CVI. The feats of the men of Connaught;—They and the foreigners of Ath Cliath took to mutually killing each other, and there were few of them all that did not fall on either side. And this was the decisive defeat inflicted at Cluain Tarbh; for of all the foreigners of Ath Cliath, who went to that bold battle, there escaped not by any route but nine persons only; and the followers of Tadhg O'Cellaigh pursued them until they slew them at the head of the bridge of Ath Cliath, *i.e.*, the bridge of Dubhgal.

Maelseachlainn's description of the battle, from the Brussels MS.

Ἐτάλα μοιρῖα κομλαινῶ  
 οὐρ ἔστα ἀν ἑάτα γῆν, νί μὸ  
 να ἀξ Ὀία ἀτά α γῆ, ὀη ζαῶ  
 αὐν ἱρ μὸ ἀζα ἠβιαῶ α γῆ  
 τοιρηαταρ γε ἔειλε.

Ἰνῆυρα μοιρῖο Μυρῆαῶ  
 νικ ὕριαν; πο ζαῶ ἠν γῆζ  
 ἠνλεαῶ ὅα ἑλαῶνῆν ἑνῖκε .i.  
 κλαῶνῆν ζαῶ λαῖα ὀό. υαρ  
 ἱρέ γῆν ὀυνη δείζεναῶ πο βα  
 κοῖνῶερ ὀά δειρ οὐρ ὀα κί  
 ἠν Ἐρῖνν, οὐρ ἱρέ ὀυνη δείζ-  
 εναῶ ἀῶ ἱρηαῖβε ἀν γῆρ ζαῖγ-  
 αῶ ἠν Ἐρῖνν ἑ. ἱρ ἑ τυκ ἀ  
 βρέιτηρ γῆρ λαίχ ἠαῶ βέραῶ  
 ἀεν τρῖοζ τεῖχῖο γε γαν  
 εῖνῶ ἠῶαenna ἠλε ἀρ κοῖνα  
 ἀρ βῖῶ ἀῶτ ἀρ ἀεν ἑῖνα .i.  
 ζομαῶ εῖνῖτε λειρ ζαν ἑζ τῖῶ  
 βῖῶ. ἱρ ἑ ὀυνη δειζεναῶ ἱρ-  
 αῖβε κοῖνλανν ἑῶ ἠν Ἐρῖνν  
 ἑ. ἱρ ἑ ὀυνη δειζεναῶ πο  
 μαρῖ ἑῶ ἠν ἑν ἑῶ ἠν Ἐρῖνν  
 ἑ. ἱρ ἑ κοῖρῆνν δειζεναῶ  
 γυκ ἀν γῆρζαῖρεῶ ἀ ἑοῖρ-  
 ἑῖν. Ὀῖζ ἠῖνῖτ γεχαῖῶ  
 να ἠζαοῖῶελ ζῖρηαῶ ἠῖνῖρ-  
 ῖερ ἀμαῖλ Μυρῆαῶ κοῖ-  
 λανν νικ Σαῖῖάῖν. οὐρ μοῖρ-  
 ῖερ μαρ μακ Σαῖῖάῖν κοῖ-  
 λανῶ ἑῶζα ἑῶζα, οὐρ μοῖρ-  
 ῖερ μαρ ἑῶζ ἑῶζα κοῖ-  
 λανῶ Κοῖναῖλ Ἐρῖναῖζ, οὐρ  
 ἠῖνῖρῖερ μαρ Κοῖναῖλ Ἐρ-  
 ναῶ κοῖλανν ἑῶζα ἑῶμῖαῶ,  
 οὐρ ἠῖνῖρῖερ μαρ ἑῶζ  
 ἑῶμῖαῶ κοῖλανῶ Ἐῶταῖρ  
 νικ Ἡρηῖῖν, οὐρ ζο μαῶ  
 ἠῶγῖν ἠῖῶαῶ ἀν ζαῖρῖῶ ὀ  
 τῖρ ὀῖῖαν, οὐρ κοῖνα βῖῶ  
 ἀν ῖρηῖζαῖρεῶ ῖοῖῖ Ἐῶταῖρ.  
 Ροῖ ἑ γῆν ἀν ἑῶταῖρ ἠῖρηῖῖ-

But the full events and ex-  
 ploits of that battle are known  
 to God alone; for every one  
 else who was acquainted with  
 them fell there together.

CVI. The feats of Murchadh,  
 son of Brian;—The royal war-  
 rior had with him two swords,  
*i.e.*, a sword in each hand; for  
 he was the last man in Erinn  
 who was equally expert in the  
 use of the right hand and of the  
 left, and he was the last man in  
 Erinn that had true valour.  
 He pledged the word of a true  
 hero, that he would not retreat  
 one foot before the race of all  
 mankind, for any reason in  
 the world, except this reason  
 alone, that he could not help  
 dying of his wounds. He was  
 the last man in Erinn who was  
 a match for a hundred. He  
 was the last man who killed a  
 hundred in one day in Erinn.  
 His step was the last step which  
 true valour took. For the his-  
 torians of the Gaedhil relate  
 that seven like Murchadh were  
 equal to Mac Samhain, and seven  
 like Mac Samhain were equal  
 to Lugh Lagha; and seven like  
 Lugh Lagha were equal to  
 Conall Cearnach; and seven  
 like Conall Cearnach were  
 equal to Lugh Lamhfada; and  
 seven like Lugh Lamhfada  
 were equal to Hector, the son  
 of Priam; and that these were  
 the degrees of championship  
 since the beginning of the  
 world, and that before Hector

λαγστεῖς να ἠἔρηνν ἀρ ζαῖλ,  
 ἀρ ζαῖρσεῖ, ἀρ εἰμεῖ, ἀρ ἐν-  
 ζναῖν. Rob é αν Σαμῆρον  
 ρααρ, ρεζανν, ροῦμαανν,  
 ραερβέραις να νἔβριαρτε ρε α  
 ρέ ρέιν, οσυ ρε α αμῆρη.  
 Rob é ριν αν τἔρκοιλ τοῦαῖ-  
 ταῖ ταναρτε ρο ρεριορ οσυ  
 ρο διλάτρηζ ριαρτα οσυ το-  
 ραῖαρ να ἠἔρηνν, ρο ῆρη  
 λοῖα οσυ ἕνντε οσυ υαῖνα  
 να ροῖα ροπαρτε ἀρ να  
 ραῖε δῖν no οῖζενν ῆρη δο-  
 man. Rob é αν ἕνζ Λάμηρα  
 κοῖκορηαιλ ρο ἕνζ ζαῖ δο-  
 αρ, οσυ ρο λομαρζεῖ τρέν  
 εἰρηῖν λε λομραῖ οσυ λε  
 ρεριορ ζαῖλ οσυ ἀλλμαρῖ  
 α ἠἔρηνν. Rob é αν κοῖλα  
 καῖα οσυ αν πορ οῖοιν, οσυ  
 αν τόρη ἕρηῖτε βῖοδῖαις α  
 αῖαρῖα, οσυ α ἕνεοῖλ εἰρ-  
 ρηνῖν ρε α ρέ.

Ο πο κοναρρε ονα, αν ρεζ-  
 νῖλεῖ ρο ἕαλμα ροῖῖορ ριν,  
 οσυ αν κυρ ρρεῖταῖ ερῖοῖα  
 κομπερτιμαρ in inεροικαν,  
 οσυ αν ῆρηῖολαιν τυρρα  
 Ὀαναρ οσυ ἀλλμαρραῖζ ρορ  
 Ὀάλ εῖαρ. Ἐρ μαρ βάρ, no  
 μαρ βῖαῖνῖν πο ροναρταρ  
 ποροῖν ριν .i. κομαρῖαο ζαῖλ  
 ῆρη. Οσυ ρο ζαῖ ρερρε  
 οῖοῖρα οῖῖορ é, οσυ ρο ζαῖ  
 μέο μενμαν οσυ αῖζεντα,  
 οσυ αρραῖε α ἐν ζαῖλε οσυ  
 ζαῖρσεῖ, οσυ τυρε ριαῖαρ  
 τυρε ταρρηῖεῖ τῖννερναῖ ρο

there was no illustrious cham-  
 pionship. He [Murchadh] was  
 the metaphorical Hector of  
 Erinn in valour, in champion-  
 ship, in generosity, in munifi-  
 cence. He was the pleasant,  
 intelligent, affable, accomplished  
 Samson of the Hebrews, in his  
 own career and in his time. He  
 was the second powerful Her-  
 cules who destroyed and exter-  
 minated the serpents and mon-  
 sters of Erinn, which infested  
 the lakes, and pools, and caverns  
 of Fodhla, whom no forts or fast-  
 nesses in the world could resist.  
 He was the Lugh Lamhfada,  
 who like him sprang over every  
 obstacle, and by his prowess  
 cut away and exterminated the  
 foreigners and pirates out of  
 Erinn. He was the gate of bat-  
 tle and the sheltering tree, the  
 crushing sledge hammer of the  
 enemies of his fatherland, and  
 of his race during his career.

CVII. When this very va-  
 liant, very great, royal cham-  
 pion, and plundering, brave,  
 powerful hero, saw the crushing  
 and the repulse that the Danars  
 and pirates gave to the Dal  
 Cais, it operated upon him like  
 death or a permanent blemish,  
 namely, the conflict of the fo-  
 reigners with them, and he was  
 seized with boiling terrible  
 anger; and greatness of spirit  
 and mind seized him; and his  
 bird of valour and championship  
 arose; and he made a brave,

Maelseach-  
 lainn's des-  
 cription of  
 the battle,  
 from the  
 Brussels  
 MS.

Maelsechlainn's description of the battle, from the Brussels MS.

καὶ να πάλμαραῖ, ἀνῆλθ' ὀπίθῃ  
 ὄψαν θεῖμνησάδ' ὀραάταῖ ἀρ-  
 νὰ ζαβάν, ἡ ὀπίθῃ λειῖμαι  
 λονν λαοπαρτάδ' ἰύτμαρ. ἰάν  
 κάλμα κρατερὸν μά ἐυλέμμαθ,  
 ἡ ὀπ' ἡ βορβρυαῖαθ' ἡμνη  
 ὀλένη ἡμνηρ' ὀκυρ ἡμνηρ  
 ζαῖ ἡ ἡ ζυρα ἡμ. ὀκυρ ἡμ  
 βερν κυραῖ ὀκυρ λαῖαρ ἡμ  
 τῆε καὶ να πάλμυραῖ, ὀκυρ  
 φορηζιτ' ἡ εαρεαριεττ' ὀά ἐρ  
 .1. penchaide na ngal ocyr  
 laigen, zyur tuit caoca dá  
 deir ocyr caoca dá éli don  
 ruatair rin, ocyr ni tuz béim  
 do neoc áct aen beim, ocyr  
 nyr zab reiat no lúpreé no  
 caibair. firi beim oib zai  
 leóó corp, ocyr cenomullá  
 maraen oib. Cú tra áct do  
 éuaíð tréir an caat riar fo  
 trí anláid rin.

Ro lenyat é anghin ὀπίθῃ  
 ὀπίθῃ ὀπίθῃ ὀπίθῃ ὀπίθῃ  
 λυσοῖ Μῖνο, ὀκυρ ζαῖαν-  
 ὀπίθῃ ὀπίθῃ ὀπίθῃ ὀπίθῃ  
 ζαλαῖ, ζῆσῖμαῖ ζαρεεβεσῖα  
 .1. α. tēgláí buð dem .1. rēct  
 ríat meic ríaz bátair ma  
 tēgláí, ocyr fear tríoá céo  
 an fear ra lúza duthaiz oib.  
 Ro lenyatár é zo haic, aélaiñ,  
 imetrom, zo mbenad bonn  
 firi meide ocyr meidi firi bonn,

vigorous, sudden rush at a bat-  
 talion of the pirates, like a vio-  
 lent, impetuous, furious ox that  
 is about being caught; or like a  
 fierce, tearing, swift, all power-  
 ful lioness deprived of her cubs;  
 or like the roll of a deluging tor-  
 rent that shatters and smashes  
 every thing that resists it; and  
 he made a hero's breach and a  
 soldier's field through the bat-  
 talion of the pirates; and his  
 enemies testified after him,  
 namely, the historians of the  
 foreigners and Laighin, that  
 there fell fifty by his right hand  
 and fifty by his left in that onset.  
 Nor did he administer more  
 than one blow to any of them;  
 and neither shield, nor corslet,  
 nor helmet resisted any of these  
 blows, which clave bodies and  
 skulls alike. Thus, three times,  
 he forced his way backwards  
 through the battalion in that  
 manner.

There followed him then the  
 great impetuous phalanx of the  
 Clann Lugdach Menn,<sup>1</sup> and the  
 purely brave, lively, valiant,  
 active, fierce champions,<sup>2</sup> viz.,  
 of his own household; that is,  
 seven score sons of kings who  
 were in his own household, and  
 the man of smallest patrimony  
 among them was a man of a  
 barony.<sup>3</sup> They followed him  
 sharply, quickly, lightly, so

<sup>1</sup> *Clan Lugdach Menn.* See General Table III, No. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Champions.* Lit., "Gamandraid." See note, p. 166, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Barony.* See note, p. 190.

ocuf cenō fhu cenō, ocuf cnef  
 fhu cnef da néir zāc conair  
 ina tteíz oir, ocuf ar fhu  
 po ramlattar fein, ocuf fei-  
 daoine Áta Cliath bádar ar  
 na feimhíib áza ffezad, conár  
 bo lia leó feirreá ó meitil  
 móir adair eoirbuar áz  
 buain zuirr eíon abair, eíó  
 dá éeo no tpi éeo po zrei-  
 rtea fai diaubain, ina folc of  
 zaoit eairbuar uaáib, ar na  
 leod ocuf ar na leoraó do  
 tuazab troma taroleaca,  
 ocuf do clairóinib lamneirda  
 laíamla.

Conró aipe arberc mac Áin-  
 laib dai ar feimhíib a zriuan-  
 ain féin ocuf é, zā ffezad,  
 ar maic beair na zoiil an  
 zoirr, ar fé, áz ffezad ar  
 mziū Driam .i. ben meic Áin-  
 laib, oir ar iomda feirreáca  
 eoirbuar uairtib.

Cíó tpa áit baair ar m  
 imeforzain fhu, ocuf ar m  
 iombuaad ó tpiat eirze co  
 hiaróim .i. an ccém bíof muir  
 acc tuile ocuf acc tpiáza.

<sup>1</sup> *Ath Cliath.* This sentence is very much involved and the text probably corrupt. The word ázur is perhaps a mistake of transcription, and fein is for fhu, as in p. 190, above: ramlattar fein is in the passive instead of the active, as p. 190. "This was

that they touched foot to neck, and neck to foot, and head to head, and body to body, every step they went; and hence it is that this was compared by the old men of Ath Cliath,<sup>1</sup> who were watching from their battlements, to a field of reapers, in which not more numerous would be the sheaves whirled aloft over a great company reaping a dry ripe field, even though two hundred or three hundred were working at the reaping of it, than their hair whirled aloft from them by the wind, after having been hacked and cut away by heavy gleaming battle-axes and by bright flaming swords.

Whereupon the son of Amhlaibh said, when he was on the battlements of his watch tower, and was watching them, "Well do the foreigners reap the field," said he, looking at Brian's daughter, who was the wife of the son of Amhlaibh, "for many is the sheaf whirled aloft over them."

CVIII. However now, the armies continued in that strife and fighting from sunrise to evening, i.e., while the tide was flowing and ebbing. It was at

resembled by the old men of Dublin," i.e. it seemed to them to be represented by the similitude which follows; to make this intelligible, the liberty has been taken of inserting in the translation the words in Italics.

Maelseachlainn's description of the battle, from the Brussels MS.



γινῃ ἢ ἐκκοιμῶνται τὸ πνεῦμα  
 ὅταν ἐκταρτοῦνται, οὐκ ἔστιν  
 Ἐρῆνη καὶ εὐφροσύνη.

17 annam do áicé Toirre-  
 deálbáic mac Murchada i n-  
 áicé na n-geall i n-  
 bráirre. co tacc an bunné robarra  
 cor de in éoraic Cluana  
 Tarbh guráicéic é, ocu  
 gall ma laim deir, ocu  
 gall ma laim éil, ocu  
 cuille cuilinn na cora  
 ic triú. Hí maicé an,  
 ma aicir in Erinn  
 aon dume buó ferri  
 emeac ocu engnai  
 máir. Óic en-  
 gnai a áicir an,  
 ocu ríicé á áicir;  
 ocu nri rlan áic  
 cuicé bliáicá dacc  
 dó an tan rin;  
 ocu iré an t-  
 reair dume ar  
 mó do maicé  
 rin caé in lá  
 rin hé.

18 annam no ráicé mgen  
 Briann, ben meic  
 Cúiláic. Ar doicé  
 linnra, ar rí. no  
 benraic na geall  
 ré a noúicéir. Cú  
 rin, ar mac  
 Cúiláic, a mgen,  
 ní fúil áic na  
 geall acc toicé  
 ir in fúirre  
 reo ar dui  
 doicé. Hí  
 reoirra an  
 aicéil

their senses and their faculties,  
 under the striking, and under  
 the pressure, and under the  
 beating inflicted on them by  
 the Dal Cais and the Chiefs of  
 Erinn that were with them.

Maelseach-  
 lainn's de-  
 scription of  
 the battle,  
 from the  
 Brussels  
 MS.

CX. It was then that Toirre-  
 delbhach, the son of Murchadh,  
 went after the foreigners into the  
 sea, until the wave of a spring-  
 tide struck him a blow against  
 the weir of Cluain-Tarbh, so  
 that he was drowned, and a fo-  
 reigner in his right hand and a  
 foreigner in his left hand; and the  
 holly-stake of the weir through  
 him. There was not of his age  
 in Erinn a man superior to him  
 in generosity and in munifi-  
 cence. For he had the munifi-  
 cence of his father, and the royal  
 dignity of his grandfather; and  
 he had not completed more than  
 fifteen years at that time; and  
 he was the third man who had  
 killed most on that day in the  
 battle.

Then it was that Brian's  
 daughter, the wife of Amh-  
 laibh's son, said, "It appears  
 to me," said she, "that the fo-  
 reigners have gained their in-  
 heritance." "What is that, O  
 girl?" said Amhlabh's son, "the  
 foreigners<sup>1</sup> are only going into  
 the sea, as is hereditary to them.  
 I know not whether it is the

<sup>1</sup> *The foreigners.* This latter taunt  
 is put into the mouth of Brian's  
 daughter, p. 193, *supra*, but it is evi-

dently intended here to be a part of  
 the reply of Amlaff himself.

Maelseachlainn's description of the battle, from the Brussels MS.

ruil foghara aét ní anas ro a mbleoðan marseth.

Ro ferccaiscéd mac Cúil-  
laib fua, ocuf tucc doim si  
suir ben riasail ara ceann.

Iméyfa Murchadó mic Óri-  
am; ar roétam do tye caé  
na nðall ocuf don ðarparó  
rim ar aon ruy, amail a dub-  
riamair róðiam, do baðair  
driean do na ðallab .i. da  
ccaitmitedab nar teich riam  
aga raiðe a cciall ocuf a  
ccumine, ocuf dobuira leo ðac  
eiccenóail dfulanð mág bá-  
ðao da mbreit. Ir am rim  
do éonairc Murchadó mac  
Óriam, Sitruic mac Lodar,  
iarla Inni Ore, ar lar  
caéa Dál cCair ða narleac  
ocuf ða naðumia, ocuf ni ðab-  
dair a narimrim na a mol-  
ðadair ní do. Ocuf rucc  
Murchadó riasair da ionnra-  
ðio, ocuf tucc béim anaeñeét  
do ar a dílaní sru ðerir a  
éenn, ocuf a éora an aeñeét  
dó ar in láðair rim.

heat that is on them, but nevertheless they tarry not to be milked."

The son of Amhlabh became angered with her, and he gave her a blow, which knocked a tooth out of her head.

CXI. To return to Murchadh, son of Brian;—when he had passed through the battalions of the foreigners, and those champions<sup>1</sup> with him, as we have said before, there was a party of the foreigners, that is, of their soldiers, who had not fled before him,<sup>2</sup> who had retained their senses and their memory, and it seemed easier<sup>3</sup> to them to suffer every extremity rather than be doomed to be drowned. It was then that Murchadh, son of Brian, saw Sitruic, son of Lodar, Earl of Insi Ore, in the midst of the battalion of the Dal Cais, slaughtering and mutilating them; but neither their arms nor their keen-edged weapons could do any harm to him<sup>4</sup>; and Murchadh rushed to attack him, and dealt him a blow at once, which cut off his head and his legs at once on the very spot.

<sup>1</sup> *Those champions.* The MS. D. reads "the champions of the Dál Cais with him." See p. 193, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Fled before him.* D. explains this, "who had not rushed into the sea as yet." See p. 193.

<sup>3</sup> *Easier.* D. reads ro boya, p. 192, *supra*, which perhaps ought to

have been printed roð oya, for yya, as here: the comp. of uya or ruyuy, easy.

<sup>4</sup> *To him.* The Irish original leaves it doubtful whether this means harm to Murchadh, or harm to Sitruic. D. gives it the former interpretation. See p. 195. The bombastic amplification of

1γ αλληριν τάνιε Ελληριε, mac ριζ̄ Λοιλάnn, cenn ζαλε ocyr ζαρρεσθ̄ Λοιλάnn, ocyr na ηζαλλ uile hi ccuoiυιᾱc, ocyr hi cceip̄t iηeaσon caτa 'Oál clay, ocyr do ρinne co-ρay uile do λειτ̄cenn in áca ζay iηaȳb̄ zo hac̄bal iac. Ro óéc̄ Myp̄chaó in ní ρin ocyr ba ζαay ep̄aioe λει ηé, ocyr ρo iom̄po ρóp̄ ρiap̄cay-ua ρo caηi na λuyeāc ζay maib̄ cuic̄ ζoiλλ óéc̄c̄ oia óeip̄, ocyr a cuic̄c̄ óéc̄c̄ ele oia éli 'oneoc̄ mo ρaibe λúyuz̄, zo ρoc̄t̄ Eb̄yic mac ριζ̄ Loch-λαnn. Ro ρep̄p̄ataȳ com̄lanu ρe ρoile, ocyr ip̄é ρin com̄-λann ay ep̄oα do ρónac̄ ρan ccac̄, uaȳ ba com̄lanu ρeiz̄ ρeóaȳ, ρuileac̄, ρop̄oep̄uz̄, ocyr ba ζleyc̄ ζaȳb̄ ζlyp̄oēac̄, annu, aζζaȳb̄, ep̄ccaȳ-oeīaib̄. 1γ aη̄laó ρo ba cloīoeīn̄ Myp̄chaó ay na ionoρ̄maó, ocyr eλta oeo ba-oȳ ann ρo λeζ̄p̄ac̄ ρp̄i tep̄-bach in iombuaλta, ocyr ρo oλuȳz̄ an cloīoeīn̄ te λaóaȳ a λáηa an tí Myp̄chaó. Sellaȳ Myp̄chaó in ní ρin, ocyr ρo λa an cloīoeīn̄ aȳc̄, ocyr ρo ζaȳb̄ cenn̄īuλλac̄ an ζoiλλ, ocyr ρo ρaȳp̄ec̄ a λuȳyuz̄ taȳa

CXII. Then came Ellric, son of the King of Lochlann, head of the valour and championship of Lochlann and of all the foreigners, into the bosom and centre of the battalion of the Dal Cais; and he made havoc' of the whole half end of the battalion, so that he slew them in prodigious numbers. Murchadh perceived this, and it was a heart-ache to him, and he turned himself obliquely upon the battalions of the mail-clad men, so that he slew fifteen foreigners on his right and fifteen others of the mail-clad on his left, until he reached Elric [*sic*], son of the King of Lochlann. They fought a combat together, and that combat was the bravest that was fought in the battle; for it was a combat stout, furious, bloody, crimson; and it was a wrestling, rough, noisy, passionate, savage, heartless. The sword of Murchadh at that time was ornamented, and the inlaying that was in it melted from the heat of the striking, and the hot sword cleft the fork of the hand of the said Murchadh. Murchadh felt this, and threw the sword from him; and he laid

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MS.

this passage in D. (see p. 194) is a good example of the liberties taken by the ancient bards with the authors whose works they transcribed.

<sup>1</sup> *Havoc*. I have taken the word *coρaȳ* to be for *coρζaȳ*, *havoc*, slaughter. *Coρaȳ* may signify a

feast, which would make no sense, except by a somewhat violent figure. D. seems to translate it by the word *ρυν̄μαιζ̄*, which, on Mr. Curry's authority, was rendered "a litter;" p. 195, *supra*.

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éenn rann, ocuf tuccraí zleic  
iomparcaíla da éite. ocuf ro  
éuir Murchad an zall rai  
a moiríomparcaíla, ocuf ro  
zab Murchad cloidein, ocuf  
ro íaíe hi ccleit ócta in zoll  
é co maíeí tadmam trítt,  
ocuf ro éarriamz ona, in  
zall a rein ruiú, ocuf tucc  
taóall do Murchad zup éall  
a mne arf, ocuf zup tuir-  
rioc ar líar ma íaíonairé.  
Ro éuir cmoí ocuf táin ocuf  
tairi ar Murchad, ocuf ní  
féo coirreíem ar rin. Acé  
aon ní, ar neirze do Murch-  
ad ar a nell, do ben a éenn  
don zall. Ocuf nuí bo maib  
Murchad co tráe eirze ar  
na níraíe, zo noerinaíe a ía-  
oiríom ocuf zup éaíe coirp  
Críoré.

Iméura ériam mic Cenn-  
eide, ariuí ériem, íuí an  
re rin. Ar ccomíriocíam  
do na caíab ro rcaíeíe a  
reall rai, ocuf ro íorlaic  
a ppaíam ocuf ro zab az  
zabáil a ppaím ocuf acc er-  
naíze tar é an éata, ocuf  
ní raibe nech ma íaíraíe acé  
Laidean zolla a eic rém ó  
íruítt í Laidean hi Muníam.  
Acberé ériam íuí in nzi-

hold of the top of the foreigner's  
head. and pulled his coat of mail  
over his head, and they fought  
together a combat<sup>1</sup> of wrest-  
ling; and Murchadh put the  
foreigner down under him by  
force of wrestling. And Mur-  
chadh took a sword,<sup>2</sup> and thrust  
it into the ribs of the foreign-  
er's breast, so that it reached  
the ground through him: then  
the foreigner drew his knife,  
and gave a cut to Murchadh,  
so that he cut his bowels out,  
and they fell on the ground be-  
fore him. There fell a shiver-  
ing, and fainting, and weakness  
upon Murchadh, and he could  
not stir a step therefrom. But,  
at the same time, when Mur-  
chadh arose from his swoon, he  
cut off the foreigner's head; and  
Murchadh was not dead until  
sunrise the next morning, after  
he had made his confession, and  
received the Body of Christ.

CXIII. Now of the adven-  
tures of Brian, son of Cenneide,  
Chief King of Ireland, during  
that time. When the combat-  
ants met, his cushion was spread  
under him, and he opened his  
psalter, and began to recite his  
psalms and his prayers behind  
the battle; and there was no one  
with him, but Laidean, his own  
horse-boy, from whom are de-  
scended the Uí Laidean, who are

<sup>1</sup> *Combat.* Lit., "a wrestle of wrest-  
ling."

<sup>2</sup> *Sword.* D. says "the foreigner's  
own sword."

λα, βεξ̄ να κατ̄α οκυρ̄ να  
 κομ̄ιατσι ̄σο η̄σαβ̄αρ̄ γα μο  
 π̄ραλ̄μα. Ρο ̄ζαβ̄ ̄β̄ριαν̄ καεκα  
 π̄ραλ̄μ, οκυρ̄ καεκα ορ̄τα, οκυρ̄  
 καεκα πατερ̄, οκυρ̄ ρο ιομμ̄-  
 κομαρ̄ε ̄τον ̄ζιολλᾱ ειομμαρ̄  
 βαταρ̄ να κατ̄α. Ρο π̄ρεκαρ̄  
 αν̄ ̄ζιολλᾱ, Ᾱε̄τιμ̄ι ιαδ̄ οκυρ̄  
 αρ̄ εμμαρ̄εδᾱ κοῑνολ̄ιτᾱ ιαδ̄,  
 οκυρ̄ ρο ριᾱτ̄ ε̄ᾱε̄ ι η̄ζλοταν̄  
 ᾱ ε̄ε̄λε̄ ο̄ιβ̄, οκυρ̄ η̄ιρ̄ λιᾱ λ̄ιμ̄ρα  
 β̄εμ̄ η̄ι ε̄οιλλ̄ Τομαρ̄, οκυρ̄  
 να ρ̄ε̄τ̄ ε̄κατ̄α ̄ζᾱ τερ̄εκᾱδ̄, ῑᾱ  
 τ̄ρορ̄τ̄ β̄ε̄μ̄ε η̄ι ε̄ε̄μμᾱβ̄, η̄ι  
 ε̄ε̄ν̄ᾱιαν̄ οκυρ̄ η̄ι ε̄ε̄μμᾱλ-  
 λ̄ᾱζ̄ιβ̄ λεο̄. Οκυρ̄ ρο ριαρ̄ε̄ᾱδ̄  
 ̄β̄ριαν̄ ειομμαρ̄ ̄δο β̄ῑ μ̄ειρ̄ζε  
 Μυρ̄χαδ̄. Ᾱε̄τᾱ να ρ̄ε̄ρᾱιη̄,  
 αρ̄ ιη̄ ̄ζιολλᾱ, οκυρ̄ μ̄ειρ̄ζε̄δᾱ  
 ̄Οᾱ ε̄Cαρ̄ μᾱ τιμ̄ε̄ε̄λλ̄, οκυρ̄  
 ε̄μ̄η̄ ιομ̄δᾱ ̄δᾱ π̄τε̄ῑε̄ε̄ν̄ οκυρ̄  
 ̄ζᾱ ιομ̄β̄ρᾱε̄κᾱδ̄ ε̄ῑμ̄ε̄ε̄, οκυρ̄  
 ιολ̄ᾱε̄ ε̄ορ̄ε̄ε̄αρ̄, οκυρ̄ κο̄ῑη̄μα-  
 ̄οῑμ̄ε̄ λεο̄. Ρ̄ᾱ η̄ᾱε̄ο̄ερ̄ε̄ζᾱδ̄ ᾱ  
 ρ̄ε̄ᾱλ̄ ρο ̄β̄ριαν̄, οκυρ̄ ρο ̄ζαβ̄  
 καεκα π̄ραλ̄μ οκυρ̄ καεκα ορ̄τα,  
 οκυρ̄ καεκα πατερ̄, οκυρ̄ ρο  
 ριαρ̄ε̄ᾱδ̄ ̄τον ̄ζιολλᾱ ειομμαρ̄  
 βαταρ̄ να κατ̄α. Ᾱρ̄β̄ε̄ρ̄ε̄τ̄ αν̄  
 ̄ζιολλᾱ. Η̄ῑ ρ̄ῑν̄ β̄εο̄ ̄οῑμ̄ε̄ ̄δο  
 β̄ε̄ρᾱ ᾱε̄τ̄η̄ε̄ αρ̄ νεᾱ ρ̄ε̄ᾱχ̄ ᾱ  
 ε̄ε̄λε̄ ο̄ιο̄β̄, ο̄ιρ̄ τορ̄ε̄ρᾱδαρ̄  
 ρορ̄ε̄ε̄λᾱ να ε̄κᾱτ̄ ε̄ε̄ε̄τ̄αρ̄δᾱ,  
 οκυρ̄ ιη̄ νεο̄ε̄ αρ̄ β̄εο̄ ο̄ιο̄β̄ ρο  
 λ̄ιο̄νᾱδ̄ ̄δο̄ ̄β̄ρᾱε̄ν̄ζ̄ᾱλ̄ να ρ̄ολ̄α  
 ρορ̄ ρ̄ιᾱο̄ε̄ ιο̄ιρ̄ ε̄ε̄ᾱμ̄η̄, οκυρ̄  
 ε̄ο̄ιρ̄ οκυρ̄ ε̄ρ̄ο̄ε̄ᾱδ̄, ιο̄μ̄μαρ̄ νᾱε̄

in Mumbain. Brian said to the attendant,<sup>1</sup> "Watch thou the battle and the combatants, while I recite my psalms." Brian then said fifty psalms, fifty prayers, and fifty paters; and he asked the attendant how the battalions were circumstanced. The attendant answered, "I see them, and closely confounded are they, and each of them has come within grasp of the other; and not more loud to me would be the blows in Tomar's wood, if seven battalions were cutting it down, than are the resounding blows on the heads, and bones, and skulls of them." Brian asked how was the banner of Murchadh. "It stands," said the attendant, "and the banners of the Dal Cais around it, and many heads cut off are falling around it, and a multitude of trophies and spoils are with it." His cushion was readjusted under Brian, and he said fifty psalms, fifty prayers, and fifty paters; and he asked the attendant how the battalions were. The attendant said, "There lives not a man who could distinguish one of them from the other, for the greater part of the hosts on either side are fallen; and those that are alive are so covered,—their heads,

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lainn's de-  
scription of  
the battle,  
from the  
Brussels  
MS.

<sup>1</sup> *Attendant*. ̄ζιολλα: the boy, or servant. This word does not imply youth, as our English word *boy*. The

word *boy*, in the sense of servant or attendant, is still applied in Ireland to men of any age.

Maelseach-  
lainn's de-  
scription of  
the battle,  
from the  
Brussels  
MS.

—

ττιυβηαδ αν ταταρη αηνε αρ  
αν mac ann. Οουρ πο βα  
αξ ραρραθε ειονναρ το βι  
μειρζε Μυρχαδ. Αρβερε  
αν ζιολλα, Ρο ρα ραδα ο Μυρ-  
χαδ ε, ουρ ραυικε τρερ να  
καταλι ριαρ, ουρ ατα ρε ερrom  
αρ εελαοναδ. Ατβερετ θρηαν,  
Ρο ελαον Ερε δε ριν, ουρ ζι-  
θεαδ, αν εεοιμηαδ το εηρο ρη  
Ερηενν αν μειρζε ριν βιαδ α  
ενζηανη, ουρ α μηρηεε ρειν  
ιν ζαε αοιμηερ θιοβ. Ρο ηαε-  
τερζαδ ρεαλλ θρηαν, ουρ πο  
ζαδ εαεεα ρραλη, ουρ λ.  
ορτα, ουρ εαεεα ρατερ, ουρ  
πο βαρ ρορ acc αν ιομβυαλαδ  
ρρηρρ ιν ρε ριν. Ρο ιομκο-  
μαρηε θρηαν τον ζιολλα ει-  
ονναρ βα μειρζε Μυρχαδ,  
ουρ ειονναρ βαταρ να κατα.  
Αρβερετ αν ζιολλα, Ιρ ραιηαλ  
λιον αιηαλ βυδ ι εοιλλ Τομαρ  
αρ να τερεαδ, ουρ αρ να  
λορεαδ, α ιομβαε ουρ α  
ηοεε ερrom, ουρ να ρεεε  
εαατα εαεετιδερ αρ μηρ αζα  
εαετην, ουρ α ραλζε πο  
ηορα ουρ α θαρζε οιοιηορη  
μα ρεραη.

and legs, and garments, with drops of crimson blood, that the father could not recognise his own son there." And again he asked, how was the banner of Murchadh. The attendant answered, "It is far from Murchadh, and has gone through the hosts westward, and it is stooped and inclining." Brian said, "Erinn declines on that account; and, nevertheless, so long as the men of Erin shall see that banner, its valour and its courage shall be upon every man of them." Brian's cushion was readjusted, and he said fifty psalms, and fifty prayers, and fifty paters, and the fighting continued during all that time. Brian cried out to the attendant, how was the banner of Murchadh, and how were the battalions? The attendant answered, "It appears to me like as if Tomar's wood was being cut down and set on fire, its underwood, and its young trees; and as if the seven battalions had been unceasingly destroying it for a month, and its great trees and its immense oaks left standing."

## D.

*Genealogy of the Scandinavian Chieftains named as Leaders of the Invasions of Ireland.*Genealogy  
of the Scan-  
dinavian  
Leaders.

To avoid confusion the following tables are numbered in continuation of the Irish Genealogical Tables, Append. B., pp. 245-249. As in the former tables, the names of females are printed in italics; the sign = denotes marriage or concubinage; s., son; dr., daughter; k. or K., king; L., lord; E., earl; sl., slain; o., obiit.

Table VI. is divided into two, (A) containing the genealogy of Olaf Hviti, (or the White,) King of Dublin; (B) the genealogy of Gormo Gamle (or the Aged), called Tomar by the Irish.

Table VII. exhibits the genealogy of "the Sons of Ivar," Kings of Limerick, and "the Grandsons of Ivar," Kings of Dublin and Waterford. To avoid the inconvenience of a folding sheet this table has been broken into separate genealogies, which are marked (A), (B), (C).

Table VIII. exhibits the descendants of Cearbhall, or Carroll,<sup>1</sup> Lord of Ossory, and Danish King of Dublin, showing his close connexion and alliances with the Norsemen: His Irish descent from Connla, called by O'Flaherty<sup>2</sup> "Ossoriorum sator," will be found in Dr. O'Donovan's "Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory." See Introd., p. lxxx., n. 6.

This Connla was the grandson of Crimthann Cosgrach [the Victorious] King of Ireland, and flourished, according to O'Flaherty, about a century before the Christian era. Cearbhall was the son of Dunghal (or, as he is also called, Dunlaing, *Fragments of Ann.*, p. 129), who died A.D. 843 (841 of the Four M.) Cearbhall married a daughter of Maelsechlainn or Malachy I. (son of Maclruanaidh), King of Ireland; and his sister Lann or Flann was married to the same King Malachy, by whom she was the mother of Flann Sionna, King of Ireland, who reigned from 879 to 916. See Geneal. Table II., p. 246.

<sup>1</sup> *Carroll*. This name affords a good example of the process of eclipsing or dropping letters in Irish pronunciation. The name was, no doubt, at first pronounced Cerball, or Carball (the C as K); then the b became aspirated, and pronounced v; this change must have taken place before the middle of the ninth century, as appears by the Scandinavian spelling of the name, *Kiarvall*.

In more modern times the *bh* or *v* was entirely dropped in pronunciation (as the *b* in our word *doubt*), and the name is now Carroll. The same thing occurs in other languages: as in the French name for Christmas, *Natale*=Nathal=Noel. *Pater, Mater, Frater*=Père, Mère, Frère. *Festum*=Fête. *Spadum*=espée=épée, &c.

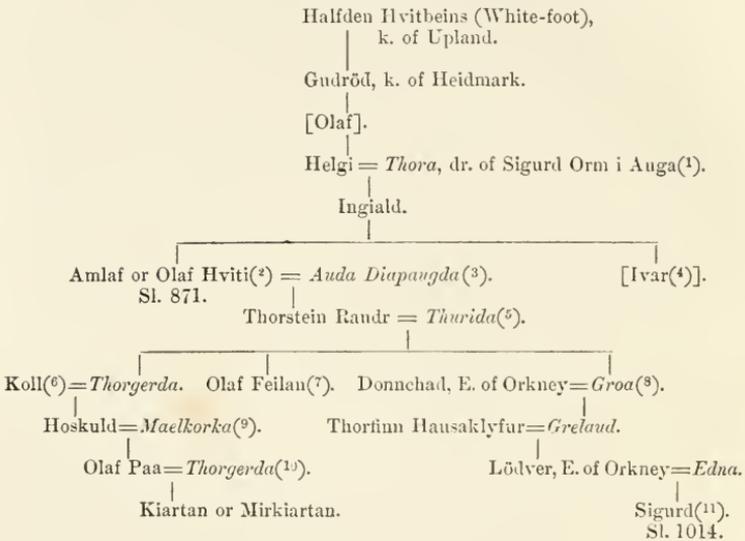
<sup>2</sup> *O'Flaherty*, *Ogygia*, p. 118-264.

TABLE VI.

GENEALOGY OF OLAF THE WHITE, KING OF DUBLIN, AND  
OF GORMO GAMLE, CALLED BY THE IRISH TOMAR.

Genealogy  
of Olaf the  
White.

(A). *Genealogy of Olaf the White.*



(1) Sigurd Orm i Auga, or "Serpent-eye," was the son of Ragnar Lodbrok by *Aslauga* dr. of Sigurd Fofnisban. Landnama, p. 385. Introd. *supra*, p. vi. In the genealogy given Landnama, p. 106, an Olaf occurs as the father of Helgi and son of Gudröd, but is omitted in the Table given Scriptt. Hist. Island. tom. iii., Tab. 2. The name is therefore enclosed in brackets.

(2) Olaf Hvíti, or the White; Landnama, p. 106. His arrival in Ireland is thus recorded by the Ann. Ult., at 852=A.D. 853 (4 M. 851): "Amlaimh, or Amlaiph, son of the King of Lochlainn came to Erin, and the Gaill of Eivinn gave him hostages, and tribute from the Gaidhil." See above, Introd., p. lxxix., lxx. There were "Gaill" in Ireland, as we have seen, before Olaf, who are called the "White Gentiles." Dublin was occupied by them about 837 or 838. See p. xlix., *supra*. Olaf the White is called "Amlaoibh Conung," (Fragm. of Ann., p. 127), the same name for King which we find on the Danish coins. Soon after his arrival in 852 he left suddenly, but returned in 856, *ibid.*, p. 135. The same year Ivar [Beinlaus, or the Boneless,] appears in Ireland as his ally. See Ann. Ult., 856, and Table VII. Olaf the White was slain in Ireland, (Landnama, p. 107), about 871 or 2. We do not meet with him in the Irish Annals after 870=871.

(3) *Auda Diapaugda* [the very rich], called *Auduna*, Eyrbyggja, p. 5, and Table VI. *Unura*, Laxdæla, p. 3. She was dr. of Ketill Flatuef (Flatnose) son of Biörn (A). Buna. Laxd., p. 3, Eyrbyg. p. 37, Kristni., p. 189.

(4) This is doubtless a mistake; there is no Ivar brother of Olaf the White mentioned in the Sagas, but he is spoken of in the Fragm. of Annals, pp. 127-171. See Introd., p. lxxix *supra*. Mr. Lindsay (Coinage of Ireland, p. 8), having stated that he had met with no coins of Anlaf or Olaf the White, first King of Dublin, notices certain coins "which," he says, "I am strongly inclined to think belong to his brother Ifars or Imar I., who was at first K. of Limerick, but at the death of his brother Anlaf in 870, King of the Danes of all Ireland." There is no evidence however that this Imar was Anlaf's brother, or that the Ivar who was at this time King of Dublin had ever been K. of Limerick; no doubt Ivar (Beinlaus) son of Regnar Lodbrok is the same who was K. of Northumbria and of the Danes of Ireland and Britain, Ult., 872; see Table VII. A son of Olaf the White, named Carlus, is mentioned in the Four M., 866 (A.D. 869), but neither does his name occur in the Sagas.

(5) *Thurida* was the dr. of Eyvind Austmann by *Rafertach* dr. of Cearbhall, or Carroll, Lord of Ossory and King of Dublin, Eyrbyg. p. 5, Landnama, pp. 4, 228. See Table VIII. Her husband Thorstein is called Oistin (or Eystein) in the Ann. Ult. at 874 or 875, where he is said to have been killed in Scotland "per dolum." Landnama, p. 107, Laxdæla, cap. 4. Thorstein is surnamed Raudr (the Red) in the Sagas.

(6) Koll is called Dala Koll, Landnama, p. 108.

(7) Olaf Feilan, Landnama, p. 13, Kristni, p. 191.

(8) *Groa*. From her were descended the Earls of Orkney. Kristni, *ibid.*, Laxd. p. 9. See Heimskringla (Saga, vii., c. 99), Laing's transl. ii., p. 130. Her son-in-law Thorfinn was surnamed Hausaklyfur, or Skull-cleaver. See Table VIII. (B) No. (13), p. 302.

(9) *Maelkorka*. She was the dr. of "an Irish King," (called Mirkiartan, Landnama, p. 114, Laxd., p. 37); was sold as a slave to Hoskuld by a Russian merchant. She was singularly beautiful; and being ashamed of her position, affected to be deaf and dumb, until after the birth of her son, when she betrayed herself, by being overheard conversing with him. She was probably the daughter of Muircheartach Leather cloaks, who was slain by the Danes in 943. When her son was 18 years of age, his mother, who had taught him the Irish language, sent him to Ireland, giving him a golden ring, and other things that would be recognised as hers. He arrived before his grandfather's death, (Laxdæla, p. 71, *sq.*), and therefore before 943. He was called Olaf Paa, or the Peacock, from his great beauty. He afterwards gave to his son the name of Kiartan or Mirkiartan (Muircheartach) from his grandfather, Landnama, p. 109, Heimsk. (Saga, vi., c. 88, Laing, i., p. 449), Kristni, p. 191. Olaf Peacock's gifts to Gunnar were, a gold armilla, a cloak which had belonged to Mirkiartan (Muircheartach) King of Ireland [Irakonungr], and a hound named Sam [happy, or summer], which had been given him in Ireland. Nial's Saga (Lat.), p. 217. Burnt Njal, i. 223.

(10) *Thorgerda*, was the dr. of Egil-Skalagrimmson, Egils-Saga, p. 597.

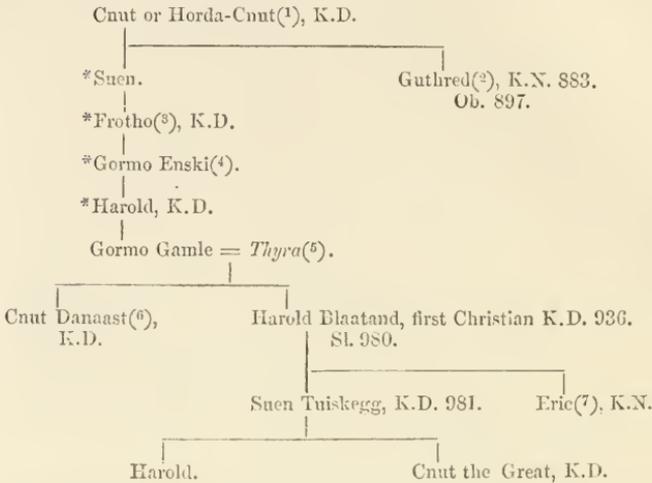
(11) Sigurd Earl of Orkney and Shetland, surnamed Digri, or the Fat, slain at Clontarf 1014. See above p. 153. Introd. p. clxviii. Burnt Njal, ii., p. 11, 327 *sq.* For the descent of his mother *Edda*, dr. of Cearball, see Gen. Table VIII. (B) No. (13), p. 302.

Genealogy  
of Olaf the  
White.

Table VI.  
(B).  
—  
Genealogy  
of Gormo  
Gamle.  
—

(B). *Genealogy of Gormo, called by the Irish Tomar.*

[K.D. signifies King of Denmark; K.N. King of Northumberland.]



(1) In the Table given by Langebek, II., p. 415, Cnut or Horda-Cnut is made the son of Sigurd Serpent-eye, and the father of Gormo Gamle, the four generations marked with an asterisk above being omitted; see also Scriptt. Hist. Island. tom. iii., Tab. 2. Others make Cnut the grandson of Sigurd Serpent-eye, by a daughter, who had married Eric, son of Harold Klag; and retain the four generations marked with an asterisk above; see Saxo Gramm. and Series Regum XIII. apud Langebek, I., p. 66; Petri Olai Chron. Ibid. p. 112, where Cnut is made son of Eric-Barn (or the Boy) who died 892, son of Sigurd Serpent-eye by a dr. of Guttorm or Gunthram, son of Harold Klag. See Saxo Gramm. ed. Müller, p. 466. Cnut is called Lothe-knut or Lota Cnut. In the Hist. Regum Dan. by Suen Aggoston, Suen and Gormo Enski are omitted and Gormo Gamle is called Gormo Loghæ (ignavus). Langebek, I. p. 48.

(2) Guthred "ex servo factus est rex;" Simeon Dunelm. De gestis regum Angl. ad an. 883. Hist. Eccles. Dunelm. ii., 13. Monum. Hist. Brit., p. 682, 683 n. Ethelwerd (Chron. ad an. 896) says of him "Transeunte etiam anni unius decursu obiit et Guthfrid rex Northymbriorum in natalitia S. Bartholomæi apostoli Christi; ejus mausoleatur Eboraca corpus in urbe in basilica summa."

(3) Frotho is called "Victor Angliæ," by some writers. Saxo Gramm. (ed. Müller, p. 467) makes him son of Cnut.

(4) *Gormo Enske*, or the English, so called because he was born in England. Saxo Gramm., p. 468. We have seen that some exclude him from the above genealogy, on the ground that it would otherwise be too long. The Series Regum by Corn. Hamsfort (Langebek, I., p. 34), makes him to have been descended from Eric I., thus



## TABLE VII.

Genealogy of the Hy Imhair. **GENEALOGY OF THE HY IMHAIR, OR DESCENDANTS OF IVAR, KINGS OF LIMERICK, DUBLIN, AND WATERFORD.**

*IVAR, King of Northumbria, son of Ragnar Lodbrok, by Lauga, daughter of Sigurd, King of Sweden, who were Sigurd and Ragnar Lodbrok, King of Denmark, & Björn, King of Sweden.*

*A.D. 881. We are told that Ivar, son of Ragnar Lodbrok, had no children, & was succeeded by his nephew, Ivar Beinlaus in Ireland.*

*Exploits of Ivar Beinlaus in Ireland.*

*Inquisitor & Hæstla, 2 sons of Ivar by a concubine.*

*He was the ancestor of the O'Connell family of Madensfield, A.D. 911 by Ethelward.*

The common ancestor of all these chieftains was most probably the Ivar who was King of Northumbria and Dublin in the middle of the ninth century, and may with great probability be identified with Ivar Beinlaus, son of Ragnar Lodbrok. He is said to have gone to England to avenge his father's murder. The Ann. Island. give 861, and the English Chronicles 866, as the year of his arrival in England. If so he must have remained at home for upwards of twenty years, after his father's death, a delay which is not explained. But if his father had perished in Ireland, as we have some authority for believing (see p. lv. n. <sup>1</sup>), Ivar's thirst for vengeance ought to have led him in the first instance to that country instead of to England. Accordingly we find him in Ireland, in alliance with Olaf the White, some ten years at least before he appeared in England.

The following List of his exploits in Ireland in conjunction with Olaf the White, is taken from the Irish Annals<sup>1</sup> :—

852. Olaf the White arrives in Ireland (Ult., Four M.), and leaves suddenly. *Fragm.*, p. 127.
856. Olaf returns, *ib.*, p. 135. Victory by Olaf and Ivar over Caittill Find and the Gaill-gaedhil in the territories of Munster. (Ult.) See *Intro.* p. lvii.
858. Victory by Cearbhall or Carroll, lord of Ossory, and Ivar, in Aradh-tire (co. of Tipperary), over the Cinel Fiachach (Westmeath), and the Gaill-gaedhil of Leth Cuinn (the northern half of Ireland). Four thousand was the number that came with Carroll, and Ivar; (Ult., Four M.) A great expedition in Meath by Olaf, Ivar, and Carroll.
861. Aedh s. of Niall [i.e., Aedh Finliath, s. of Niall Caille, afterwards K. of Ireland] with the Kings of the Gaill in Meath, plundering Meath, along with Flann, s. of Conaing [lord of Bregia in Meath]. (Ult.) Carroll leads an army to assist King Malachy I. against Aedh son of Niall, and Olaf. (Ult.)
862. Olaf, Ivar, and Auisle (Flosi?) the three Kings of the Gaill, plunder the territory of Flann, s. of Conaing. (Ult., Four M.)

<sup>1</sup>*Irish Annals.* The references to the Annals are abbreviated thus:—*Ult.* means Annals of Ulster; *Four M.*, Four Masters; *Clonm.* Annals of Clonmacnois; *Fragm.* the Three Fragments of Annals, copied from ancient

sources by Dubhaltach Mac Firbisigh, and edited by Dr. O'Donovan (*Irish Archæol. and Celtic Society*, 1860); *Cambr.* *Annales Cambriae*; *Brut.* *Brut y Tywysogion*; *A. Sax.*, Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

863. Conchobhair [s. of Donnchadh, s. of Flann Sionna] half-k. of Meath, Table VII. drowned by Olaf at Cluain-iraird [now Clonard]. (Ult., Four M.)
865. Amlaf and Auisle go to Fortreim [in Scotland] with the foreigners of Ireland and Scotland. They plunder all Pictland and take its hostages. (Ult.) Genealogy  
of the Hy  
Imhair.
- Ivar is not mentioned as on this expedition, he was therefore probably now in England, where he seems to have been joined by Olaf. The invasion of Pictland may have had some connexion with the death of Domhnall Mac Ailpin, K. of the Picts, 862 (Ult.), and the succession of Constantine son of Kenneth Mac Ailpin, 863. O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.*, p. 484.
866. The battle of York, in which fell Alli (Ælla), K. of the "Northern Saxons." (Ult.) In this date the English Chronicles all agree. (A. Sax. 867. Asser. 867. Sim. Dunelm. De Gestis, 867). Ethelward expressly names Ingwar or Ivar as the leader of the Northmen (866, 867).
- "Anisle tertius rex gentilium dolo et paricidio a fratribus suis jugulatus est." (Ult. Fragm., p. 171-173). See p. lxxii.
- During Olaf's absence the Irish burnt his fort at Clondalkin and 100 heads of the chieftains of the foreigners were taken. (Ult., Four M.) See p. lxxx. n. 3.
867. Olaf's son Carlus was slain at the battle of Cill-ua-naDaigri [Killineer, near Drogheda]. (Four M. 863.) See p. 33. Carlus is not mentioned in Ult. nor in the Sagas, but his sword was preserved in Dublin to the reign of Malachy II. He was probably born of an Irish or Scottish wife or concubine. Olaf is said to have married a dr. of Aedh Finliath; Fragm., p. 151. Another of his wives was the dr. of Cinaoth (ib. p. 173), i.e. of Cinaoth or Kenneth Mac Ailpin, K. of Scotland.
868. Olaf returned to Ireland; his English troops being in winter quarters, burnt Armagh with its oratories; after making great havoc, and leaving 1,000 men wounded or slain. (Ult., Fragm., p. 185.)
869. Leaving their army at York for a year (Asser., Flor. Wig., A. Sax.) Olaf and Ivar again united; Ail Cluathe (Alclyde, the *Rupes Glottæ*, now Dumbarton) was besieged by them for three months, and at length plundered. (Ult., Fragm., p. 193. Cambr. and Brut. 870.)
- 870 or 871. Olaf and Ivar returned to Dublin from Scotland with 200 ships and a great number of prisoners, Angles, Britons, and Picts, carried off in captivity (as slaves) to Ireland. (Ult.) Hinguar and Ubba seem to have been left in command of the Danish forces in East Anglia, and Egbert in Northumbria. By these chieftains Edmund King of East Anglia was slain in battle (A. Sax. 870), and has since been regarded as a martyr. Flor. Wigorn. says that the King was slain on *Sunday*, Nov. 20, and if so, the year must have been 869.
- On their way back to Dublin, Olaf and Ivar seem to have taken the fortress of Dun Sobhairce (now Dunseverick, near the Giants' Causeway) "quod antea non perfectum est" (Ult.), thence proceeding southwards they slew Ailioll, son of Dunlaing, King of Leinster; but possibly these exploits, although recorded by Ult. in connexion with the return of Olaf and Ivar, may have been the deeds of another body of Norsemen.

Table VII.  
—  
Genealogy  
of the Hy  
Imhair.  
—

Olaf was slain somewhere in Ireland (Landnama, p. 107). His wife *Auda* and his son Thorstein immediately afterwards emigrated to the Hebrides, where Thorstein married *Thurida*, dr. of Evinð Austmann. (Ibid). The Chron. Pietor. (ap. Pinkerton I., p. 495), says that Olaf was slain in Scotland by Constantine, son of Kenneth Mac Alpin, in the third (or perhaps the meaning may be the fifth) year of his reign. This, if we follow the true chronology, would be 866 or 868; even the later date would be four or five years too soon. Olaf's death is not recorded in the Irish Annals, but must have taken place between 870 and 873.

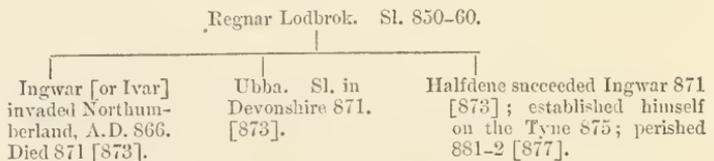
873. Ivar "Rex Nordmannorum totius Hiberniæ et Britanniæ vitam finivit." (Ult., 872=873. Four M., 871=873). Ethelward says that Ivar died the same year in which St. Edmund was slain, i.e., 870 or 871. The Fragm. at 873, say that Ivar "died of an ugly, sudden disease, sic enim Deo placuit," p. 119. Comp. Cornel., Hamsfort (Series Regum), ap. Langebek, I., p. 36.

In 874, on the death of Ivar, Cearbhall (or Carroll) lord of Ossory, succeeded as King of the Danes of Dublin. See above, p. lxxx., and Geneal. Table VIII.

For the coins supposed to belong to the reign of Ivar in Dublin and Northumbria, see Lindsay's Coinage of Ireland, pp. 3-10.

Halfdene,  
brother of  
Ingvar and  
Ubba.

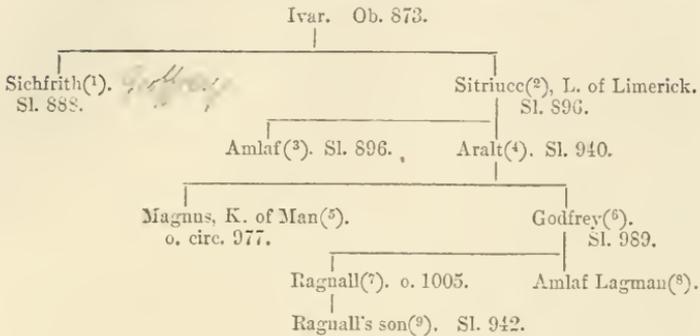
The English Chronicles speak of another chieftain named Halfdene, who is said to have been a "brother" of Ingvar and Ubba, (Ethelw. lib. iv. c. 3, A.D. 878); and therefore, if this be literally understood, a son of Regnar Lodbrok. So Mr. Hodgson Hinde, continuator of Hodgson's Hist. of Northumberland, i., p. 154, who gives the genealogy thus:—



Bægsee  
slain.

After the death of Ivar, Halfdene and his companion Bægsee seem to have become Kings of Deira and Bernicia respectively. Bægsee was slain in the battle of Reading in 871 (A. Sax.) In 875 Halfdene invaded Northumbria, and "harried on the Picts and Strath Clyde Britons," (ib., Ult. 874=875). Then, having divided Northumbria amongst his followers, and commenced by their means the cultivation of the land, he sailed to Ireland, probably with a view to recover Ivar's kingdom there; but he was slain in a battle with "the White Gentiles," at Loch Cuan, now Strangford Lough, A.D. 877. (Ult. 876. Four M., 874=877.) In the Irish Annals this chieftain is called Alban or Alband=Halfdene.

Halfdene  
slain.

(A). *The Sons of Ivar (Limerick Branch.)*Table VII.  
(A).Genealogy  
of the Sons  
of Ivar of  
Limerick.

(1) Sichfrith. So his name is written, *Ult.* 887=888, in which year he was slain by his brother; "Sichfrith Mac Imair rex Nordmannorum a fratre suo per dolum occisus est." The old English translation of the *Ulster Annals* in the British Museum (*Cod. Clarendon. tom. 47. Ayscough, 4795*), renders the name Jeffrey; it is often written Godfrey. Much confusion has been caused by not distinguishing this name from that of his brother Sitriuucc or Sitric; see p. 29 n. 9. But the error has been avoided by Mr. Hodgson Hinde, continuator of Hodgson's *Northumberland* (i. p. 138-154); he has fallen however into a different mistake in making the sons of Sitriuucc, sons of Jeffrey or Godfrey (see p. 276). The Editor had not perceived the cause of this confusion, when he wrote the note 2, p. lxxxix. *supra*. The first Sitric, mentioned in that note, and called son of Ivar, is really Sichfrith, or Jeffrey, whom Mr. Hodgson Hinde always calls Godfrey, and who was slain 888. There is great difficulty however in the Chronology; for if Sichfrith was the leader of the party opposed to Sitriuucc in 893, he could not have been murdered in 888; and if Sitriuucc was in command of those who fled to Scotland in 902, he was not slain in 896. This latter Sitriuucc is expressly called "Son of Ivar" (p. 29), and therefore must have been the Sitriuucc No. (2) *supra*. It was Sitriuucc Gale, grandson of Ivar, who fled to Scotland in 902. See Table VII. (B.) No. (2), p. 279.

(2) This Sitriuucc is called "lord of the foreigners of Limerick," and father of the Aralt or Harold who in 940 (*Four M.*, 938) was slain in Connaught, by the Conraighe of Aidhne, in the co. of Galway. Sitriuucc was slain by his own countrymen, "ab aliis Nordmannis occisus," in 896 (895 *Ult.*, 891 *Four M.*)

(3) This Amlaf is most probably the "Amlaimh Hua Imair," or Olaf, grandson of Ivar, who perished in a slaughter of the foreigners by the Conaille (people of Louth) and by Athdeidhson of Luigne, 896 (895 *Ult.*, 891 *Four M.*)

(4) Aralt or Harold is called "Aralt grandson of Ivar and son of Sitric lord of the foreigners of Limerick;" *Four M.* "Hárolld O'Hymer King of the Danes of Limerick was killed in Connaught at Rath-eyney." *Clonm.* 933 (A.D. 940). See No. (2).

Table VII.  
(A).  
—  
Genealogy  
of the Sons  
of Ivar of  
Limerick.  
—

(5) Magnus "son of Aralt, with the Lagmanns of the islands," plundered Inis Cathaigh [Scattery island at the mouth of the Shannon] and carried off Ivar lord of the foreigners of Limerick, A.D. 974 (972, Four M.) In 973, he is mentioned by Flor. Wigorn. under the name of "Maccus plurimarum rex insularum," as one of the eight "subreguli" who followed King Eadgar to Chester; after which he seems to have sailed round to Limerick. Monum. Hist. Brit. p. 578 A. Lagman seems to have been originally a title of office, (Lagmanadr, is jurisconsultus); see Olaf the Saint's Saga, (Heimskringla, Saga, vii. c. 76, 80, 81. Laing, ii. pp. 86-94). But the Four Masters speak of the Lagmans as a tribe of the Norsemen from the Insi Gall or western islands of Scotland. The first mention of them is under the year A.D. 962 (960 Four M.), when they came with the fleet of the son of Amlaibh and plundered the coast of Louth, Howth, and Inis Mac Nessain (now Ireland's Eye). They afterwards went to Munster "to avenge their brother, i.e., Oin." The son of Amlaibh who was their leader on this occasion may have been a son of Amlaf (son of Sitruicc), No. (3) *supra*, whose name is not recorded. But it is more probable that we should read Amlaf, instead of son of Amlaf, in the text of the Four M., meaning Amlaf Lagman No. (8). "The fleet of Lagman," taking Lagman, apparently, as the name of a man, is mentioned p. 41 *supra*.

(6) Godfrey Haroldson is called "King of the Insi Gall" or Western Islands of the foreigners, by Tigernach and Ult., A.D. 989, in which year he was slain by the Dalriada. The Ann. Ult. record a great battle at the Isle of Man in 986; "by the son of Harold [Mac Arailt] and the Danes" in which 1,000 were slain. This Battle is mentioned by the Ann. Cambriae at 978: "Gothrit filius Harald, cum nigris Gentilibus, vastavit Mon [Man], captis duobus millibus hominum;" and in Brut y Tywys. A.D. 970, (where Man is called Mon or Mona) a second entry of the same event is given under the year 986, which agrees with the date given in Ult. See also Brut. 979, 981.

(7) Ragnall Godfreyson is called "King of the Isles," Ult., A.D. 1004-5, in which year his death is recorded.

(8) Amlaf Lagman, "son of Godfrey," is mentioned above, p. 165, and Intro. p. clxxiv. "Amlaf son of Lagman," is mentioned, p. 207, as one of the heroes on the Danish side killed in the battle of Clontarf. See above No. (5), and Ult. 1014.

(9) Ragnall's-son is not named, and it is difficult to believe that the chieftain so called, and said to have been slain 942, Ult. (940, Four M.), could have been the son of the Ragnall Godfreyson, who lived to 1005. But the mention of "his islands" seems to show that this Ragnallson was of the branch of the Hy Ivar which settled in the Isles. The account of his death in Ult. is as follows:—"Dunlethglais [Downpatrick] was plundered by foreigners; God and Patrick took vengeance upon them. He [viz., God] brought foreigners across the sea, who took their islands;"—[not *island*, as Dr. O'Donovan, following the old translation, renders the word];—"the King escaped, but was slain by the Gaedhil [ḡoroił] on the main-land." Here it will be observed the King is not named. It is from the Four M. we learn that he was the son of Ragnall, which possibly may be a mistake, as it does not appear whence the Four M. derived their information; there will be no difficulty if we read Ragnall, instead of Son of Ragnall. It is possible however that the date 1005 assigned to Ragnall's death in Ult. may be wrong. The Four M. have not repeated it.

There are some names mentioned in the Annals, which from Table VII. their connexion with Limerick would seem to have belonged to this branch of the Hy Ivar. These will require a few remarks. (A).

I. Barith is probably the same who is said to have been slain and burnt at Dublin for his sacrilege in plundering the oratory of St. Cianan, A.D. 880 (=878 Four M.) He is called "Lord of Limerick" by the Four M. at 922 (=A.D. 924). Three sons of this chieftain are mentioned:—1. Uathmaran, who landed with 20 ships in Donegal, but committed no depredation, A.D. 922 (=919 Four M.) 2. Colla, who is mentioned as in command of a fleet on Loch Ribh, 924 (=922 Four M.) 3. Elair, who fell in battle against the Ui Amhalgaidh, or inhabitants of Tirawley, 891 (=888 Four M.)

Genealogy  
of the sons  
of Ivar of  
Limerick.

The Baraid or Barith, mentioned ch. xxv. pp. 25-27 is probably the same. He appears to have been connected with the White Gentiles of Dublin, and is said to have plundered all the southern coast of Ireland from Dublin to Kerry in conjunction with "Amlaih's son," i.e., the son of Olaf the White, probably Thorstein Raudr (see Table VI.) His plunder of the caves and sepulchral chambers on this expedition is particularly mentioned (p. 25, Introd. p. lxxiv). A battle between "the Fair Gentiles and Black Gentiles," the former under the command of Barith, the latter under "Ragnall's son," is next recorded (p. 27). Who Ragnall's son was does not appear, but he fell with many of his followers in this engagement, and there is reason to think that the battle was fought not long before the year 877, when the Black Gentiles, after the death of their leader Ragnall's-son, took refuge in Scotland (see p. lxxv.) Elsewhere (Fragm. p. 173) we read of Barith marching through the middle of Connaught towards Limerick (A.D. 866). His troops are there called "Lochlanns," or White Gentiles. He met with such resistance in Connaught that he was forced to return "to the place from which they had set out;" the place however is not named. In 873, the settlement of Barith, with his fleet on Lough Ree is mentioned by the same Annals (Fragm. p. 197). These dates will square very well with the history of the Barith, lord of Limerick, who was burned at Dublin in 880; and all these adventures apparently belong to the same person. Barith probably arrived in Ireland, and took the command of the Limerick colony, soon after the death of Turgesius. At all events

Table VII. he was in possession before the sons of Ivar, whose genealogy is (A). given in the present Table.

—  
Genealogy of the sons of Ivar of Limerick. There is mention of another Barid, called Mac nOitir, or son of Ottar, who was slain by Ragnall of Waterford, grandson of Ivar, in a battle at the Isle of Man, A.D. 913; (see p. lxxxiv). This must have been a different Barid, not in any way perhaps connected with Limerick.

Ivar, grandson of Ivar, at Limerick. II. The arrival at Limerick of "Ivar, grandson of Ivar, Chief King of the foreigners, with an immensely great fleet," is mentioned, p. 49, *supr.* This event is not noticed in the Annals, probably owing to the difficulty of fixing its exact date (see p. cii). Ivar is said to have landed at Inis Sibhtonn<sup>1</sup>, or King's Island, the same place which had been occupied by a former party of invaders under Tamar son of Ailgi or Elgi in 922 (see ch. xxxiii. p. 39, *supr.*) He was probably the same who was carried off from Scattery island in 944, by Magnus son of Harald and the Lagmans of the isles; Four M. See No. (6) *supra*. But the Editor is not able to supply the link between him and Ivar his grandfather, or to determine whether in this case, by the word "grandson" a more remote descendant may not be intended. The Four M. at 928 and 929 (=A.D. 930, 931) mention him as in command of the foreigners of Limerick encamped at Magh Roighne<sup>2</sup>, a celebrated plain in Ossory. He was therefore at Limerick before that year, and probably came with the expedition under Tomar, son of Ailgi, in 922. See *Introd.* p. cv, cvi.

The Dublin Danes were hostile to the party of the Limerick Danes, under Tomar, as well as to those under Ivar, which seems to favour the supposition that these were at least allies. In 923 or 924, Godfrey came from Dublin to attack the Limerick foreigners, called sons of Ailgi, but was defeated, with loss; and in 931 we read of the same Godfrey going to Magh Roighne in Ossory to displace Ivar grandson of Ivar. The curious thing in this was that Godfrey was also himself a grandson of Ivar; and

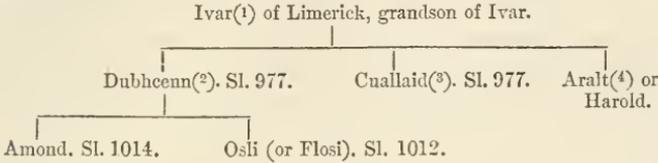
<sup>1</sup> *Inis Sibhtonn.* The Four M. (A.D. 965, 969) call this place Inis Ubhdonn, whence some have conjectured that its real name was given it by the Scandinavian settlers, and was Inis Odinn or Woden, corrupted by the Irish to Inis Ubhdonn and Inis Sibhtonn.

<sup>2</sup> *Magh Roighne.* An ancient fair was held here, which seems to have been suspended, owing perhaps to the disturbed state of the country, but it was renewed by Cearbhall, king of Ossory, in A.D. 861 [859 of the Four M.]

the cause of this enmity between the kindred tribes remains to be explained. Table VII.  
(A).

The descendants of this Ivar, grandson of Ivar (see above p. 49. *Introd.* p. cii), are shown in the following Table:—

—  
Genealogy  
of the sons  
of Ivar of  
Limerick.



(1) This Ivar is represented by our author (if the text, as printed, p. 103, be correct) to have been slain by Brian,—whose bitter enemy he was,—and his two sons, Dubhcenn and Cuallaid, by the O'Donnells of Corcobhaisciun; but the reading of the Brussels MS. represents them as having been all slain together by the O'Donnells; and Tighernach (A.D. 977), whose words are copied by the Four M., speaks of the sanctuary of Inis Cathaigh having been violated by Brian, “against the Gaill of Limerick, i.e., Ivar and his son Amlaf and his other son Dubhcenn,” but does not say that they were slain. See *Introd.*, p. cxxxv. Ivar had been active in inciting the Munster chieftains to rise against Brian, and was the head of their organization against the Dal-Cais. (See p. 71.) Mathgamhain or Mahoun had expelled Ivar from Inis Ubhdain in 967 (=965 Four M.) and plundered Limerick, 971 (=969 Four M.) See chap. liii., p. 79. The Brussels MS. states that Ivar and his sons were slain a year after the murder of Mathgamhain, i.e., in 977. This agrees with Tighernach. The murder of Mathgamhain is said to have been instigated by Ivar and his son Dubhcenn; see ch. lviii., p. 87. *Introd.*, p. cxxv.

(2) Dubhcenn, is Celtic (Blackhead), and was probably a nickname given by the Irish. His original Scandinavian name is unknown. See ch. xl., p. 48. He is called *Dubhcon* by Tighernach (977), which is probably the misinterpretation of a contraction. His son Amond is enumerated among the slain on the side of the Danes in the battle of Clontarf (p. 207), and is there said to have been one of the two kings of Port Lairge or Waterford; “Goistilin Gall,” who is not elsewhere mentioned, having been the other. Oсли, the second son of Dubhcenn, appears to have been on Brian's side. He is called “an officer of Brian and one of his high stewards,” and was slain in Meath by Flaithbheartach O'Neill, about the year 1012. Four M. See p. 147. *Introd.*, p. clxv.

(3) Cuallaid, is also apparently an Irish nickname. Tigern. (at 977) and Four M. (at 975), call him Amlaimh, or Olaf. See *Introd.*, p. ciii., n. 1, where it is suggested that he may have been the same as Olaf Cennairech [Scabby-head] of Limerick, who is mentioned under that name in the Four M. and in the Annals of Clonmacnois. See Four Mast., 935, p. 632, note. *Introd.*, p. ciii., note 1.

(4) This Aralt or Harold, after the death of his father and his two brothers, appears to have been recognised as King of the Munster Danes. Donovan, after the murder of Mahoun, made alliance with him, and both were slain by Brian, at the battle of Cathair Cuan, 978; see ch. lxiv. p. 103, and *Introd.* p. cxxxvi. We have no further mention of this Aralt mac Ivar in the Annals.

Table VII. (A). — Genealogy of the sons of Ivar of Limerick.

III. In the account given of the sacking of Limerick, after the victory of the Dal Cais at Sulcoit, A.D. 968, (see ch. lii., liii., p. 76–79), we have a list of the Danish leaders slain in the town. But the names are evidently so corrupt (see p. 78, note 3), that this list gives us no real information; among them are found Manus or Magnus of Limerick, and Somarlid, names afterwards common among the chieftains of Man and the Oirir Gaedhel of Argyle; also Tolbart, for which we should probably read Torolf; and Ruamond or Redmond. Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, who was slain at Clontarf, had a son Somarlid, who may have been the Somarlid slain at Limerick on this occasion; Heimsk. (Sag. vii., c. 99. Laing ii., p. 131). The Heimsk. indeed says that Somarlid, son of Sigurd, lived not long, but died in his bed (*ibid.*, c. 100); but the Sagas are often misinformed respecting those who went to England or Ireland and never returned. In the poetical account of the victory (p. 81) Manus is called “Magnus Berna,” which Keating understands as two names, Magnus (or as he reads Muiris), and Bernard.

(B). *Grandsons of Ivar (Dublin Branch).*

The Hy Ivar of Dublin and Waterford.

It is not known from what son of Ivar Beinlaus the Danes of Dublin and Waterford were descended; nor does it necessarily follow that their original leaders were all brothers, or sons of the same father; some may have been first cousins only, and all nevertheless grandsons of Ivar. It has been suggested indeed, in consequence of the silence of the Annals as to their father, that they were descended from a *daughter* of Ivar, married to some Scottish chieftain; and it is certain that the Egils-Saga (cap. li., p. 266) favours this conjecture by describing Olaf the Red (i.e., Olaf Cuaran, King of Dublin and Northumbria) as “paterno genere Scotus, materno Danus, ex stirpe Ragnaris Lodbrok;” (see Robertson’s Scotland under her early Kings, i., p. 56, *n.*) Mr. Hodgson Hinde, in the first vol. of Hodgson’s Northumberland (p. 154), makes the Dublin Danes sons of Sichfrith (whom he calls Godfrey), son of Ivar. This is an instance of the confusion between the names Sichfrith and Sitric already noticed (see p. 271), and is the more curious because Mr. Hodgson Hinde was himself (the Editor believes) the first to detect and correct that confusion. But after having pointed out the distinction between the two brothers, he erroneously applies

to Sitric a passage in the historian Ethelward,<sup>1</sup> which really belongs to Sichfrith, or Godfrey, and then he adds—"Sitric is not known to have left any descendants, but Godfrey had four sons." In these words the truth is reversed. Sichfrith (or Godfrey) is not known to have left descendants. Sitric had two at least, if not three or four sons, and left a numerous posterity, who are all ignored by Mr. H. Hinde. See Table (A), p. 271.

Table VII.  
(B).  
—  
The Hy  
Ivar of  
Dublin and  
Waterford.

A genealogy of those descendants of Regnar Lodbrok, who had settled, or "harried" in England, is given in the notes on the celebrated Anglo-Saxon poem about the battle of Brunanburh, Langebek, tom. ii., p. 413. In this genealogy there is curious confusion; the Dublin Danes, called by the Irish grandsons of Ivar, are made sons of Guthred,<sup>2</sup> son of Horda Cnut, see Table VI., (B), No. (2), p. 266; and Ivar does not appear in their genealogy at all. Sitric, the father of Olaf Cuaran, K. of Dublin and Northumbria, is made to have had a brother, who was slain by him at 921, viz., Niall or Nigellus, "King of Northumbria." This, as Mr. H. Hinde has shown, was no other than Niall Glundubh, King of Ireland, who never was King of Northumbria, and was no Dane, nor brother of Sitric, but a genuine Irishman of the race of the Northern Hy Neill or Cinel-Eoghan (see Table I. p. 245). This Niall was slain by Sitric in a bloody battle near Dublin, in 919. See ch. xxxi. p. 35 *supr.* The mistake, however, is pardonable in a foreign author; for it has the authority of the Saxon Chron. (A.D. 921) Henr. Huntend. (Monum. Hist. Brit. p. 745, B), Simeon Dunelm. (ib., p. 686, B), and other English historians.

50 b 441

In the following Table no opinion is expressed as to the father or fathers of the original invaders, Sitric: Gotfrith, or Godfrey, of Dublin; Ragnall of Waterford; and Ivar, who perished in Scotland. They are generally regarded as brothers, and the Irish authorities unanimously call them all "grandsons of Ivar," or Hy Ivar.

<sup>1</sup> *Ethebcard*. "His ita gestis, Sigefrith piraticus de North-hymbriorum advehitur ardua cum classe per littora vastat bis tempore in uno, vela post vertit ad proprias sedes."—Chron. lib. iv., A.D. 895. (Monum. Hist. Brit., p. 518, D). Ethelward's text seems to need some emendation.

<sup>2</sup> *Guthred*. For this mistake may be quoted the authority of the lost "Gesta Anglorum," cited by Adam.

Bremen, lib. ii. 15, where we read "Anglia autem, ut supra diximus, et in Gestis Anglorum scribitur, post mortem Gudredi a filiis ejus Analaf, Sigfrith, et Reginold, per annos fere centum, permansit in ditone Danorum." Nevertheless Lappenberg, although he quotes this passage as his authority, calls the supposed sons of Guthred "Niel, Sihtric, and Regnald."



(1) This Ivar, who is expressly called "grandson of Ivar," was slain in Table VII. Fortrenn, A.D. 903 (=904 Ult.) See Reeves, *Adamn.* p. 332, 3. This was (B). about a year after the expulsion of the Danes of Dublin by Maclinnia, K. of Bregia, and Cearbhall, son of Muiregan, K. of Leinster. They fled to Scotland under the command of Sitric, "son of Ivar," who had murdered his brother Sichfrith, the leader of the party opposed to him in Dublin. The Ivar slain in Fortrenn was probably one of this party. See *Introd.*, p. lxxxii, and Table (A), No. (2) p. 271. Robertson, *Scotland under her early Kings*, i. p. 55, 56.

The Hy Ivar of Dublin.

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(2) Sitric, called Caoch [blind, or one-eyed], by our author, and Gale [hero?] by the Four M., arrived in Dublin "with a prodigious royal fleet" in 888. See p. 29, and *Introd.*, p. lxxviii. In 902 or 903 he left Ireland and took refuge in Scotland, but returned in 917 (=915 Four M.), and settled at Cenn Fuait. See p. 35, c. xxx, and *Introd.*, p. lxxxix. In 918 he recovered Dublin, and in 919 fought the battle of Kilmashogue (called also the battle of Dublin), where King Niall Glundubh and many other chieftains were slain. See ch. xxxi., p. 35. *Introd.*, p. xc, xci. Four M. At this battle the commanders on the Danish side were "Imhar and Sitric Gale," according to the Four M., who are the only authority for this mention of an Imhar or Ivar at the battle. Keating says that the battle was gained "by Sitric and the Clann Ivar," which is probably the true reading. The *Ann. Ult.* do not name the Danish leaders, but simply record (918=919) "a battle (bellum) gained by the Gentiles over the Gaedhil." The next year Sitric was forced to quit Dublin, "per potestatem divinam," as the same Annals (920) say. He seems to have gone over to Mercia, for Simeon of Durham (at 920) mentions his having plundered Davenport in Cheshire in that year. He is called King of the Northumbrians, Sax. Chr. 925. The same authority, and Flor. Wigorn. tell us that in that year he married Æthelstan's sister, but in 926 (=A.D. 927) he died—"Sitric, grandson of Imhar, King of Dubhgal and Finnigall, immatura etate mortuus est." *Ult.* 927.

Gamble? A note in the Ann. Ult. 927

The Annals of 926 say "926. Sitric O' Gear died in his old age." 57. 11. 2. 13 n. 7.

(3) Gothfrith, Guthred, or Guthferth, has by some been called son of Sitric, on the authority of Flor. Wigorn., who at 926 says "Cujus [Sitrici] regnum rex Æthelstanus, filio illius Guthfrido, qui patri in regnum successerat, expulso, suo adjecto imperio." The A. Sax., Sim. Dunelm., and Henr. Huntend. at 927, mention the expulsion of Guthred, but do not call him the son of Sitric. Huntend. says that Guthred was the father of the Reginald, who, in 926, had acquired York, and in 943 was confirmed by the bishop. See also Flor. Wigorn. 943, 944. But this was Ragnall, No. (12), son of Gothbrith or Godfrey, No. (4), in the foregoing Table. Godfrey, Gothfrith or Gofraidh, son of Sitric, is mentioned by the Four M. as having escaped from the great slaughter of the Danes of Dublin at the battle of Muine-Brocain in 950, (see *Introd.*, p. xcvi, n.); in the next year, with the Danes of Dublin, he plundered Kells and several other churches of Meath; (*Ult.* 951, Four M. 949=951). If he was old enough in 950 to take the lead in battle, he could not have been son of Sitric, son of Olaf Cuaran, the hero of Clontarf [No. (16)], who lived to 1042 (Tig.) He must, therefore, have been son of the elder Sitric [No. (2)], and brother of Olaf Cuaran. He does not appear to have had any connexion with Northumbria, and must not be confounded with his father's brother or cousin-german, Gothfrith, No. (4), who is spoken of in the authorities now to be quoted.

(4) This Gothbrith, as his name is written in the Irish Annals, (called Gothrin,

Table VII. p. 37 *supra*), was no doubt the same as the Guthred, Guthfrith or Godfrey, supposed to have been the son of Sitric, (see preceding note), but called always "grandson of Ivar" in the Irish Annals, and therefore really Sitric's brother or cousin-german. The MS. D., of the present work, calls him "son of Ivar," but in B. he is correctly called "grandson." See p. 37, n. 9. He was one of the leaders with Ragnall of Waterford, Ottir, and Gragan, who invaded "the men of Alba" and North Saxons in 918. (Ult.) See *Introd.*, p. lxxxvi. Reeves's *Adamnan*, p. 332, n. f. He plundered Armagh and the North of Ireland in 921 (see *Introd.*, p. xcii, *Circuit of Muirheartach*, p. 6), and the same year, Sitric having abandoned Dublin in 920 [see No. (2)], and Ragnall of Waterford having died in 921. Gothbrith became K. of Dublin and probably of Waterford (Ult. 920=921), for we find "the son of Gothfrith" plundering Kildare "from Waterford;" *Four M.* 926. In 923 Gothbrith was defeated, and many of his people slain, by the son of Ailche (Ult.); and in 927, on the news of Sitric's sudden death, he left Dublin, and succeeded as K. of Northumbria, but was there for six months only, (*Four M.* 925 = A.D. 927), having been expelled, as we have seen, from Northumbria by Æthelstan; *A. Sax.* 927. In 930, Ult. (928 of the *Four M.*), he plundered and demolished Dearc Fearná, probably the cave of Dunmor, near Kilkenny (O'Donovan, note in loc.) In 931 (929 *Four M.*) he went to Osory to expel Ivar, grandson of Ivar, from Magh Roighne. See Table (A), p. 274, 275. In 934 (Ult.) his death is thus recorded, "Gothfrith Ua hInair rex crudelissimus Nordmannorum dolore mortuus est." See also *Four M.* 932 (=A.D. 934), who call him simply "Gothfrith, lord of foreigners." The Reginald, mentioned in the foregoing note, who was expelled from Northumbria with Olaf Cuaran in 944 (*A. Sax.*) and confirmed by the bishop in 943, was the son of this Gothbrith. See No. (12) in the Table, p. 278.

Olaf Cuaran. (5) Olaf or Amalaph was surnamed Cuaran, (Quaran, or Kuaran in the Sagas), i.e. Olaf of the Sandal, for the word is Irish: (see above. *Introd.*, p. ci, n.) He is surnamed also Olaf the Red (*Rufus*<sup>1</sup>), *Egils.* cap. li, p. 266. He is called by the *Sax. Chron.* "Anlaf of Ireland," and by *Flor. Wigorn.* (A.D. 938) "Hibernensium multarumque insularum rex Paganus Anlafus." He is frequently distinguished both in the Irish and English Chronicles as "Sitricson;" and great difficulties have been occasioned by ignorance of the fact that Olaf Cuaran, and Olaf Sitricson, are one and the same person. His history, both in England and Ireland, is also so mixed up with that of Olaf, son of Godfrey, No. (5), who was, like Cuaran, King of Dublin and Northumbria, that much additional confusion has been the result. The Irish Annals, however, assist greatly in clearing up this confusion. Upon the death of Sitric [No. (8)], in 927, "the Danes of Dublin left Ireland" (*Clonm.*), and Gothbrith or Gothfrith, King of Dublin [No. (4)] went over to secure his succession to the throne of Northumberland.

<sup>1</sup> *Rufus*. The *Four M.*, in Dr. O'Connor's translation, (at 978), call him Amalaf of the "blood red colour," *sanguinei coloris*, which erroneous version has misled Mr. Robertson (*Scotland under her early Kings*, i., p. 63, n.), who finds in this appellation a parallel to the *Rufus* of the *Egil-saga*. But the real meaning of the Irish phrase

an t-íarriudh (translated by O'Connor "blood-red"), is "in particular," as Dr. O'Donovan has rightly entered it. See O'Donovan's *Gramm.* p. 266, and *Zeuss*, pp. 823. Dr. O'Connor's *ant sanr.* is a contracted word, which (if written in full) ought to be, as in O'Donovan's text, *an tsainriudh*.

Olaf Cuaran seems to have been there already, but was expelled on this occasion Table VII. with Guthfrith, and returned to Dublin. And now began the great effort to (B). recover Northumbria from the hands of Æthelstan. Olaf Cuaran disappears — for at least ten years from the Irish Annals, and Olaf Guthfrithson or God- The Hy freyson, on the death of his father in 934, became King of Dublin. Cuaran lvar of Dublin. was probably in Scotland during this interval, where he married a daughter of Constantine III., son of Aedh, son of Kenneth Mac Ailpin. He was supported — and urged on to the war by his father-in-law, “a socero suo rege Scotorum Olaf Constantino incitatus,” says Flor. Wigorn. at 938, and he became so identified Cuaran. with Scotland, as the leader of the expedition, that Scandinavian authorities call him “King of the Scots;” Egils. cap. li. In 933 Æthelstan invaded and plundered Scotland both by land and sea; (A. Sax. 933. Sim. Dunelm. 934). Constantine was compelled to make peace and to give his son as a hostage.<sup>1</sup> Flor. Wig. 934. This victory, however, proved ephemeral, and did not interrupt the active preparations for the coming struggle, made by Constantine in conjunction with the Irish Norsemen. Meanwhile Olaf Godfreyson was not idle in Ireland. In 929 he plundered Kildare “from Port Lairge,” or Waterford harbour, that is to say, with the help of the Danes of Waterford, of whom he seems to have been then commander; (Four M. 927). In 933 he plundered Armagh, aided by the foreigners of Loch Cuan (Strangford Lough); and in alliance with Madudan,<sup>2</sup> son of Aedh, lord of Ulidia, he plundered what is now the co. of Monaghan; but was met and vanquished by Muirheartach of the Leather cloaks, lord of Ailech; (Four M. 931=A.D. 933). In the same and following year Olaf Cenncairech (Scabby Head) of Limerick, had gained a victory in the co. of Roscommon over the chieftains of the Hy Many, and had plundered as far as Boyle to the north, and Slieve Baune to the east, (Four M. 931=A.D. 932), continuing to harrass that county for two or three years. Olaf Godfreyson was at this time in Meath, and in 935 had taken the fortified island of Loch Gabhair (now Logore, near Dunshaughlin), and the cave of Cnoghghai (or Knowth) near Slane; Ult. 935. Four M. 933 (=A.D. 935). Donnchadh, king of Ireland, resenting this invasion of his territory, and taking advantage of Olaf’s absence, burnt Dublin, whereupon Olaf seems to have immediately returned thither. Meanwhile, Olaf Cenncairech, had crossed Breifne (Fermanagh and Leitrim) from Loch Erne to Loch Ribh. He arrived at the Shannon on Christmas night, A.D. 936, and remained seven months, or until the end of July in the following year. Then, on Lammas Day, 937, Olave Godfreyson came “from Dublin,” as the Four M. expressly tell us, “and carried off Olaf Cenncairech with the foreigners who were with him, after breaking their ships.” The object, evidently, was to compel Cenncairech and his followers to serve in the coming war<sup>3</sup> for the recovery of Northumbria, and

<sup>1</sup> *Hostage*. The son’s name was Cealach; Ann. Clonm. (quoted Four M. 935, p. 634, n.) He was afterwards slain at the battle of Brunanburh. The completeness of Æthelstane’s victory is evidently exaggerated. Robertson, Scotland, vol. i., p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> *Madudan*. See Dr. Reeves’s list of

the chieftains of Ulidia, No. 40. *Eccles. Antiq. of Down and Connor*, p. 355.

<sup>3</sup> *Coming war*. The Ann. Clonm. (quoted by O’Donovan, Four M., p. 632), say “the Danes of Lough Rie [i.e. the followers of Olaf Cenncairech] arrived at Dublin”—evidently on their way to England with Olaf Godfreyson.

Table VII. the Four M. add, (immediately after the words just quoted), "the foreigners (B). of Dublin left their fortress and went to England." On his way to the Shannon, on this occasion, or more probably on his return, Olaf Godfreyson had plundered Clonmacnois, and quartered his soldiers there for two nights, a thing, says the annalist, hitherto unheard of, "quod ab antiquis temporibus inauditum est," *Ult.* 936. In 937 or 938 was fought the famous battle of Brunanburh, or Brunan-byrig. The exact site and modern name of this place is unknown, but it was probably in Yorkshire, and not far from the mouth of the Humber, where Olaf Cuaran<sup>1</sup> is said to have entered (*Flor. Wig.*) with 115 ships; (*Sim. Dunelm.*)

—  
The Hy  
Ivar of  
Dublin.  
—  
Olaf  
Cuaran.

Olaf Godfreyson was certainly at this battle (*Clonm.*<sup>2</sup>), but it is not clear whether he or his name-sake Sitriuson was the Olaf who is said in the poetical account preserved in the *Sax. Chron.* to have fled with the shattered remains of his troops to Dublin. It is probable that both chieftains took refuge in Ireland. The *Ann. of Ulster* tell us that in 938, the year after the battle of Brunanburh, "Olaf, son of Godfrey, came again (i.e., returned) to Ireland;" and, they add immediately afterwards, "Cell-cuilinn<sup>3</sup> was plundered by Olaf Ua Imair, quod non auditum est ab antiquis temporibus." In the next year, 939, the *Four M.* repeat this entry: "Plunder of Cell-Cuilinn by the foreigners of Dublin;" but without any mention of Olaf Ua Imair, or any other leader of the plundering party. They appear evidently to have assumed that in the former entry Olaf Godfreyson and Olaf Ua Imair were one and the same,<sup>4</sup> for they make mention of but one Olaf and omit the second plundering of Cell-Cuilinn altogether, or rather, perhaps, transfer it to their year 944 (= A.D. 946), where they distinctly mention Olaf Cuaran as the leader: their words there are, "Plunder of Cell-Cuilinn by the foreigners, i.e., by Amlaibh Cuaran." It is remarkable that the second plundering of Kilcullen is said in both *Annals* to have occurred in the year in which Æthelstan died; the *Ann. of Ulster*, however, placing that

<sup>1</sup> *Olaf Cuaran.* A romantic story is related of him to which much credit cannot be given, as it seems to have been copied from a similar adventure told of Alfred. A couple of days before the battle, Olaf, disguised as a harper, entered Æthelstan's camp, and was brought before the king to display his minstrelsy. He marked well the situation of the king's tent, but Æthelstan, warned by a soldier, who had formerly served under Olaf, removed his tent to another part of the camp. In the night an assault was made, and the bishop of Shireburn with his followers were slain. The bishop had unwittingly taken up his quarters in the place vacated by the king. Olaf, finding his mistake, then rushed upon Æthelstan's tents, but was repulsed after a

sharp contest. The story is told by *W. Malmesb.*, ii. 6, and *De Gestis Pontiffi*, lib. ii.; *Lappenberg* (*Thorpe's Transl.*) ii., p. 115; *Hodgson's Northumberland*, i., p. 145; *Turner, Anglo Saxons*, i., 335.

<sup>2</sup> *Clonm.* Quoted by O'Donovan, *Four M.*, 935 (p. 633, *n.*)

<sup>3</sup> *Cellcuilinn.* Now Old Kilcullen, barony of Kilcullen, co. of Kildare: a place formerly of great importance and wealth, where there are still the remains of a round tower, and considerable Anglo-Norman fortifications.

<sup>4</sup> *The same.* *Four M.* 936 (= 938), p. 935. Their words are "Amlaibh, son of Godfrey, came to Dublin again, and plundered Cill-Cuilinn, and carried off ten hundred prisoners from thence."

event in 939 (the true year being 940), and the Four M. in 946. We can per- Table VII.  
haps reconcile these discrepancies by supposing<sup>1</sup> that the two Olafs returned (B).  
together from Brunanburh in 938; and that Olaf Cuaran plundered Kilcullen —  
the same year in which Æthelstan died, viz. 940; the discrepancy was probably The Hy  
caused by the mistake as to this latter date, which occasioned a double entry Ivar of  
of the plunder of Kilcullen under two different years. Dublin.

That Olaf Godfreyson joined in this plunder is rendered probable by the lan-  
guage of the Four M. (937 = A.D. 939) where they say, "the foreigners (Gaill) Olaf  
deserted Atheliath, i.e., Amlaoibh, son of Godfrey, by the help of God and Cuaran.  
Mac-Tail." As Mac-Tail was the patron saint<sup>2</sup> of Kilcullen, this seems to  
prove that Olaf Godfreyson was held responsible for the sacrilege. Why the  
Gaill deserted Dublin is explained by the fact that in this year Olaf Cuaran  
had gone to York, followed by Olaf Godfreyson and his troops. Blacaire or  
Blacar No. (11), also a son of Godfrey, was left behind to govern Dublin;  
Four M. 939 (= A.D. 941). Olaf Cuaran, on his arrival at York, besieged  
Hampton (Northampton), and took Tamworth; (A. Sax. 943. Sim. Dunelm.  
939). King Eadmund came out to meet him at Legracester (Leicester). A battle  
was prevented by the interposition<sup>3</sup> of the Archbishops Odo of Canterbury, and  
Wulstan of York. It was agreed that the kingdom should be divided,  
Eadmund taking the south and Olaf the north, the boundary between them  
being Watling-street (Sim. Dunelm.) In 941, Olaf, as Sim. Dunelm. calls him,  
having plundered St. Balther's Church and burnt Tiningaham, in Scotland, died  
there. This must be Olaf Godfreyson, for the historian adds, "Filius vero Sitrici,  
nomine Onlaf regnavit super Northanhymbros." The death of Olaf Godfreyson  
is recorded by the Annals of Cloumacnois at the year 934, which is really<sup>4</sup> 941,

<sup>1</sup> *Supposing.* This supposition assumes that, in the Ann. of Ulster, Olaf Ua Imair denotes Olaf Cuaran or Sitricson, although Godfreyson was equally entitled to be so called, and that the second record of the plunder of Kilcullen is a duplicate entry of the same event, a thing not uncommon in those Annals. Also that in the Four M. the plunder of Kilcullen by Olaf Cuaran is out of its place, and really belongs to the year in which Æthelstan died, or 940. These suppositions render unnecessary Dr. O'Donovan's suggestion that the Four M., at 944 (= 946), have confounded the death of Æthelstan with that of his successor Eadmund.

<sup>2</sup> *Patron saint.* His real name was Aenghus, surnamed Mac-Tail, or son of an adze [i.e., son of a carpenter]; see Martyrol. of Donegal (11 June) p. 167. Dr. O'Donovan (Four M., 937, p. 638

*n.*) suggests that Mac-Tail was also patron of St. Michael le Pole's church, Dublin, "Mac-Tail" having been corrupted to "Michael," by the English.

<sup>3</sup> *Interposition.* The A. Sax. Chron. (at 943, which is probably the more correct date), gives a different account. It tells us that Eadmund "beset King Olaf and Archbishop Wulstan," (who seems to have openly espoused the Danish cause in Leicester), and would have captured them had they not escaped from the town by night. Both stories, however, may be true; and the peace may have been effected after his escape by Wulstan, aided by Archbishop Odo, who was himself of a Danish family.

<sup>4</sup> *Really 941.* There is an error of seven years in the dates of Clonm. The Ann. Cambriae, at 942, have "Abloye [i.e., Amlaf] rex moritur;" [e for f, as usual in the Welsh dialect of Celtic].

Table VII.  
(B).—  
The Hy  
Ivar of  
Dublin.—  
Olaf  
Cuaran.

(quoted by O'Donovan, *Four M.*, p. 645 *n.*), showing that the compiler of those Annals so understood the English chronicles. Dunchadh, son of Flann Sionna, was at this time King of Ireland, and on the departure of the garrison of Dublin, or perhaps a little before, for the date given is 938, he united his forces to those of Muirheartach Leather cloaks, son of Niall Glindubh (see *Geneal.* Table I., p. 245), and plundered the Danish territory around Dublin as far as Ath-Trusten, a ford on the River Greece, near Athy, in the south of the co. of Kildare; (*Ult.*, 938. *Four M.*, 936=938). In 941 Olaf Cuaran was chosen King by the Northumbrians, and in 943, or immediately after the peace of Leicester, was received into the favour of Eadmund, and baptized, Eadmund himself being his godfather. Shortly after, Regnald, King of York, son of Gothfrith [see No. (12)], was confirmed, having probably received baptism some time before, and Eadmund adopted him as his own son; *Flor. Wigorn.* *Henr.* *Huntend.* But this peace was of short duration. The next year (944) Eadmund subdued Northumbria, and having expelled Olaf and Regnald (*A. Sax.*, *Ethelw.*, *Flor. Wigorn.*) took Northumbria into his own jurisdiction. In 945 he reduced Cumberland, but in 946 was murdered at Pucklechurch, on the mass-day of St. Augustine of Canterbury (May 26). Eathred, his brother, succeeded to the throne, and was received by the Northumbrians, who by their "witan" and Archbishop Wulstan, gave him their oaths of fealty, A.D. 947. In the interval Olaf Cuaran appears in Ireland. The Annals describe a great plunder of Dublin by Congalach, son of Maelmithigh, in 944, a few months before that chieftain became King of Ireland. He was joined in the assault by the troops of Leinster; and the *Four M.* represent the destruction of Dublin as complete. Its houses and shipping were burned, the male inhabitants and warriors put to death, the women and boys carried off; a few men escaped in boats to Dealguis (translated by the Norsemen *Deilg-ei*, now Dalkey island), where the Danes had a fortress; comp. *Ult.* 944. This, it will be remembered, was the year in which, according to the English chronicles, Olaf was expelled from Northumbria. The next year we find him in Ireland. "Blacar renewed Dublin, and Olaf along with him," say the Annals of Ulster, at 945; if the old English translation<sup>1</sup> be correct. But the *Four M.*, the translator of the *Ann. Clonm.*, and Dr. O'Connor understand this passage to mean that Blacar was expelled from Dublin, and that Olaf became king of that city in his place. In the same year some of the people or tribe of O'Canannan (whose chieftain laid claim to the throne of Ireland, see *Intro.*, p. xcvi), were slain by the actual King Congalach, in alliance with Olaf Cuaran, in Conaille Muirtheimhne

<sup>1</sup> *Translation.* *Cod. Clarendon*, tom. 49 (*Ayscough*, 4795). The words in the original are, "Blacair do thelcudh Atha Cliath ocus Amlaip tar a eisi." The difficulty is in the word "thelcudh," which if derived from the verb "teilgim" to cast, to cast out, may signify "was expelled;" and so the *Four M.* render it "do ionnarbhadh a hAth-cliath." The old English translator of *Ult.* seems to have taken it as the

consuetudinal preterite of *telcaim*, or *tealcaim*, I maintain, support, sustain, restore; a word of rare occurrence, not found in our existing dictionaries. See *Book of Rights*, p. 52, line 1. It should be observed however that *Atha-Cliath*, the name of Dublin, is in the genitive case, which seems to favour the version given by the *Four M.*, and their authority is, of course, of great weight.

(co. of Louth) Ult. 944. Such sudden alliances between the bitterest enemies were common, both in England and Ireland, in those days, and were broken, even though ratified by oaths, as readily as they were made. In 946 the Danes of Dublin, doubtless under their King Olaf, plundered Clonmacnois and other churches "of the men of Meath," from which phrase we may, perhaps, infer that these acts of hostility were directed against "the men" and their King Congalach, rather than undertaken for mere plunder's sake; (Ult., 945, Four M., 943 = A.D. 945). In 947 Ruadhri O'Canannain advanced into Meath, but was met at Slane by Congalach and Olaf Cuaran, again apparently in alliance, unless we suppose each party to have come on its own account, both being, for different reasons, hostile to O'Canannain. If so, Olaf was no match for the double enemy; his Dublin Danes were defeated, and many of them slain or drowned.<sup>1</sup> The same year (Four M.), 948 (Ult.), Dublin was again plundered and Blacar slain, by Congalach, taking advantage; no doubt, of Olaf's absence, whom we find in Northumberland again in 948, the second year<sup>2</sup> of King Eadred, where he seems to have maintained himself until 952, when he was expelled by the fickle Northumbrians, and Eric, son of Harold Blaatand, made King. See Table VI. (B.), No. (?), p. 266, 267. Eric was himself driven away, and Eadred's sovereignty once more acknowledged in 954. Hoveden says that on this occasion the Northumbrians slew Amancus, No. (19), son of Olaf, and from that time forth Northumbria was governed by Earls, and not by Kings; (Savile, *Rev. Angl. Scriptt.*, p. 423).

In 953, the year after his expulsion from Northumbria, Olaf Cuaran re-appears in Ireland, and in conjunction with Tuathal, or Toole, son of Ugaire, King of Leinster, (see *Introd.*, p. lxxxix), plundered Inis Doimhle and Inis Uladh.<sup>3</sup> In 956 Congalach, King of Ireland, was slain by the foreigners of

<sup>1</sup> *Drowned.* The Ann. Ult. thus record the event: "An expedition by Ruadhri O'Canannan as far as Slane, where the Gaill and Gaedhil met him, i.e., Congalach, son of Maelmithidh, and Anlaibh Cuaran, and a victory was gained over the Gaill of Ath Cliath, in qua multi occisi et mersi sunt." This with the corresponding entry in the Four M. has generally been understood to signify that Olaf was in alliance with Congalach, which seems difficult to believe, especially as it is said that the victory was gained over the Gaill, without any mention of Congalach.

<sup>2</sup> *Second year.* So says Gaimar, *ver.* 3549—

"Quand il regnout elsecund an  
Idunckes vint Anlaf Quiran."

There is confusion in the Anglo-Sax. Chron. about these changes. The Northumbrians swore fealty to Eadred in 947; took Eric to be their King in

948; expelled him and returned to their fealty the same year; received Olaf Cuaran in 949; expelled him and restored Eric in 952. Flor. Wigorn. makes no mention of Olaf, but speaks of "Ircus" as chosen King in 949, and expelled in 950. *Henr. Hunten.* says that Olaf was received with joy in 947, and remained King for four years, when in 952 the Northumbrians "solita infidelitate utentes," drove him away and chose "Hyrc, son of Harold," to be their King. "Hyrc," however, was also expelled in 954. *Conf. Gaimar, ver.* 3554. The Anglo-Sax. Chronicle alone mentions a double expulsion of Eric.

<sup>3</sup> *Inis Uladh.* See Dr. O'Donovan's curious account of this place, which was near Dunlavin, co. of Wicklow; note on Four M. at their year 594. For Inis Doimhle see p. xxxvii, n. 2. *supra.* There were several places so called. See *Mart. Donegal, Index of Places.*

Table VII. Dublin and the Leinstermen, at Tigh-Giuran in Leinster, together with Aedh Mac Aicidi, King of Teflía, and many others (Ult.) The Four M. (954=A.D. 956) add that the Danes of Dublin were commanded by Olaf *Godfreyson*, who laid an ambuscade for Congalach and his chieftains. This is clearly a mistake of the Four M., for Olaf *Sitricson*; Godfreyson, as we have seen, having been now dead fifteen years. Six years after the death of Congalach, or 962, we read of a certain Sitric Cam (or the crooked), probably a chieftain of some of the Scottish islands, who is described as coming "from the sea," to Ui Colgan, in the co. of Kildare; "but he was overtaken" (say the Four M.) "by Olaf, with the Gaill of Dublin and the Leinstermen, and Olaf wounded him in his thigh with an arrow, and gained the victory over Sitric Cam, who escaped to his ships after the slaughter of his people."<sup>1</sup> In 964, it is recorded by the Four M. that Olaf Sitricson was defeated by the men of Ossory at Inis-Teoc, now Innistiogue, in the co. of Kilkenny, where he lost many of his men, with Bathbarr, son of Nira or Ira, a chieftain evidently foreign, but who does not seem to be elsewhere mentioned. We have no further notice of Olaf in the Annals until the year 970, when the plundering of Ceanannus (now Kells) by him, in alliance with the Leinstermen, is mentioned. He lost there a great number of his people, but carried off a good prey of cows, and gained a victory over the Ui Neill at Ard-Maelcon. The plunder of Kells, but not the victory, is also recorded in the Ann. Ult., 970; and it is curious that at the year before, the Four M. tell us of another plunder of Kells by *Sitric, son of Olaf*, aided also by the King of Leinster; but with this difference<sup>2</sup> that Sitric was overtaken by Domhnall O'Neill, King of Ireland, and defeated. In this same year, 970, the Ann. Ult. date the battle of Cill-Mona, or Kilmooon, gained by Olaf in alliance with Domhnall, son of the late King Congalach, over the actual King of Ireland, Domhnall O'Neill. This battle is dated 973 by our author, and 976=A.D. 978 by the Four M.; see *Introd.*, pp. xeviii, xcix. In 970 (Ult.) the celebrated abbeys, Monaster-Boice and Lann Leire, then in possession of the Danes of Dublin, were plundered by King Domhnall O'Neill. We next hear of Olaf in 978, at which year both the Four M. (975=978), and Ult. (977=978), record his having slain the two heirs to the throne of Ireland in the two royal lines of the Northern and Southern O'Neill; see *Introd.*, p. xcix. The battle of Bithlann, gained over the Leinstermen by the Danes of Dublin in 979 (see p. 47), was probably under the conduct of Olaf, although his name is not mentioned; (Ult. 978. Four M. 976). See *Introd.*, p. c.

The last act of Olaf's life, as a warrior, was the battle of Tara, fought in 980, against Maelsechláinn, or Malachy II., who afterwards, but in the same year, became King of Ireland. Olaf had called in the aid of the warriors of the islands, but was nevertheless defeated with great loss (see *Introd.*, p. c). His

<sup>1</sup> *People*. Four M., 969=962. The above is the correct translation of this passage, which has been strangely mistaken by Dr. O'Donovan, who omits an important clause in the text, and makes the Annalists say that Olaf was wounded and fled to his ships, instead of Sitric Cam.

<sup>2</sup> *Difference*. Were it not for this difference we might reasonably suspect here a duplicate entry of the same event, "Sitric, son of Olaf," being an error in the text of the Four M. for "Olaf, son of Sitric." Such duplicate entries are common in the Annals.

son Ragnall [No. (17)], was slain in the battle, with Conmael or Conamhal, probably one of the leaders from the islands, and all the nobles or chieftains of the Dublin foreigners [see p. (47)]; Ult. 980. Malachy followed up his victory, aided by Eochaidh, King of Uladh,<sup>1</sup> by a lengthened siege of Dublin, which ended in the complete subjection of Olaf. The result is said to have been a deliverance from "the Babylonian captivity of Ireland," which was "inferior only to the captivity of hell" (Fig., Four M.); and the language of the Annals implies that Olaf, before this defeat, had acquired throughout the country an absolute sway. See Tighernach's account, quoted Introd., p. ci, n. 2. Four M. 979=980. Nevertheless in 983 (Ult., Tig.), we find Gluniarainn [No. (15)], son of Olaf, in alliance with King Malachy, against Domhnall Claon, King of Leinster, and Ivar of Waterford. See Introd., p. cxlii. n. 1. This circumstance indicates perhaps some dissension among the sons of Olaf in Dublin, and may account for the despair which led the aged chieftain to retire "on a pilgrimage" (as our author says, p. 47), to the society of St. Columba in Hy, where he died in 981.

Mr. Lindsay notices but one coin of Olaf Cuaran (whom he calls Anlaf IV.) Coinage of Ireland, p. 10, Plate I., No. 3.

(6) *Gyda* had been married to "a great earl" in England, whose estates she inherited. On his death a "Thing" was assembled, "that she might choose a husband." She chose Olaf Tryggvesson, who was accidentally present; they were married and lived "sometimes in England, sometimes in Ireland." Heimskr. Saga vi., c. 33, (Laing's transl. i., p. 399; see also c. 52, where Olaf Cuaran is erroneously called "his wife's father," instead of *brother*, ib. p. 417).

(7) Sichfrith and Oisle are put down in the foregoing Table as sons of Sitric Ua Inhair, on the authority of the Ann. of Clonmacnois (quoted by O'Donovan, Four M., 935, n. p. 633), where we are told they were both slain at the battle of Brunanburh. These Annals, however (of which we no longer possess the original), are not very much to be depended upon, and, therefore, the names of Sichfrith and Oisle are printed in parentheses as doubtful.

(8) See what has been said on the history of this Olaf, under No. (5).

(9) Lachtin is mentioned as "son of Goffraith," by our author, ch. xxxvii., p. 43, where his death is alluded to as a mode of dating the battle of Muine Broccain. He appears to have been slain in 947. Intr. p. xvci.

(10) Albdan, Alphthan, or Halfdene, son of Gothbrith, is mentioned, Ult. 926, as in command of the fleet of Loch Cuan (Strangford Lough), which was stationed at Linn-Duachail, on the 4th of Sept.; but on Thursday, 28th Dec., of the same year, Muirheartach Leather-cloaks, son of Niall Glundubh, defeated him at the Bridge of Cluain-na-Cruimther (a place now unknown), where "Alphthan, son of Gothbrith," was slain, "cum magna strage exercitus sui." The half of the army that escaped slaughter were shut up for a week at Ath-Cruithne, until Gothbrith, Halfdene's father, came from Dublin to their relief; (Ult., Four M.) See O'Donovan's *Circuit of Ireland*, p. 6.

(11) Blacair, or Blacar, has already been mentioned under No. (5), p. 284. He remained in command of the garrison of Dublin, when the two Olafs went to England in 941. Here he had to sustain the inroad of Muirheartach Leather-cloaks, to whom he was forced to give "Sitric, lord of the foreigners of Dublin,"

<sup>1</sup> *King of Uladh*. See Dr. Reeves's *Eccles. Antiq. of Down and Connor*, list of the Kings of Uladh, No. 44. | p. 355.

Table VII.  
(B).

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The Hy  
Ivar of  
Dublin.

as a hostage; O'Donovan, *Circuit of Ireland*, p. 9, sq. This was probably Sitric the son of Olaf Cuaran [No. (16)], who must have been then a boy of about 11 or 12 years of age. Blacar was probably not sorry to get rid of his claims to the crown of Dublin by giving him up; but the hostages were well treated, and before the end of the year surrendered to Donnchad, King of Ireland. In 942 Blacar, with "the gentiles of Dublin," plundered Clonmacnois and Kildare, (Ult., Four M.); and in 943 (941 of the Four M.), on Sunday, the 26th of Feb., Muirheartach was slain by Blacar at Glassliathan, near Cluain-cain (now Clonkeen), near Ardee, co. of Louth; (Ult., Four M.) In 945 (if the Four M. have rightly interpreted the Ann. Ult.) Blacar was expelled from Dublin (see p. 284), and Olaf Cuaran took his place. In 948 he was slain (in the battle of Dublin, Four M.), by Congalach, King of Ireland, with 1,600 men killed or wounded, the same year in which Olaf Cuaran returned to Northumberland. (Ult.) See p. 285.

(12) See what has been said of Ragnall, son of Gothfrith, under Nos. (3) and (4). He became King of York in 923. Henr. Hunt. (ap. Monum. Hist. Brit., p. 745, B.) The date of his death does not seem to be on record.

(13) Comman is mentioned in Ult., at the year 960, "a defeat given to Comman, son of Olaf, son of Gothfrith, at [the river] Dubh." Dr. O'Conor, in his translation of the Ann. of Ulster, has entirely misunderstood this passage, not knowing that the Dubh (now the Duff), was a river on the confines of Fermanagh and Leitrim, running from Lough Melvin to Donegal Bay.

(14) The death of "Gofraidh, son of Amlaimh," or Olaf, is recorded at the year 963. (Ult.) The Ann. Clonm., at 957 (= 963), have "Godfrey Mac Awley, a very fair and homesome man, died;" (quoted by O'Donovan, Four M. 961, p. 684, n.) See *Dubl. Ann. Inisf.* 961.

(15) Glun-iarainn (Iron-knee) was the son of Olaf Cuaran by *Donnflaith*, daur. of Muirheartach Leather-cloaks (see *Introd.* p. cxlvii, n. 3), who had been first married to Domhnall (son of Donnchad, King of Ireland, Table II., p. 246), by whom she had Maelseachlainn, or Malachy II.; so that Gluniarainn was Malachy's brother on the mother's side, which may account for his being found in Malachy's army, notwithstanding the decisive overthrow given to his father Olaf at the battle of Tara. The Ann. of Tigern. at 983, three years after that battle, speak of his having joined Malachy, and gained a victory over Domhnall Claon, King of Leinster, and Ivar of Waterford, (Ult. 983, Four M. 982). In 989 he was slain by Colbain, his own slave, who was drunk at the time; (Tig., Ult., Four M.) Gillaciarain, son of Glun-iarainn, son of Olaf, is mentioned in the present work (p. 165) as one of the leaders of the Dublin Danes at Clontarf; and again, p. 207, as having been slain in that battle. In Ult. 1014 he is called "righdomhna," or heir apparent of the foreigners. *Comp. Four M.* 1013.

(16) Sitric was the son of Olaf Cuaran by *Gormflaith*, sister of Maelmordha, king of Leinster, who was afterwards successively the wife of Malachy II., and of Brian Borumha, and repudiated by both (*Introd.*, p. cxlviii, n. 3). Sitric was called Silkiskegg, or Silken-beard, by the Norsemen (*Gunlaug.*, p. 99). In 994 he was expelled<sup>1</sup> from Dublin (Ult.); the *Four M.* say, "Ivar was

Sitric  
Silken-  
beard.

<sup>1</sup> *Expelled.* Dr. O'Conor translates this "occisus est," which he ought to have seen was wrong, because of Sitric's part in the battle of Clontarf,

ten years afterwards. He mistook το ιμαρβα, or το ιμαρβαθ, "was expelled," for το μαρβα, or το μαρβαθ, "was slain."

expelled from Dublin by the prayers of the saints" (992=A.D. 994); and in the following year "Sitric, son of Olaf, was expelled from Dublin." The Ivar here mentioned was, doubtless, Ivar of Waterford; for Tigern. says, An. 995:—"Ivar in Dublin after the son of the son of Olaf," where we should probably read, "son of Olaf;" for the Annalist adds—"Ivar iterum insecutus evasis, et Sitric in locum ejus." We may reconcile these statements by supposing that Ivar of Waterford drove Sitric from Dublin in 994, but at the close of the following year was himself expelled, and Sitric restored. In 996, the Four M. say, "Ivar came to Dublin after [i.e. in succession to] Sitric, son of Olaf," and shortly after, in the same year, "Ivar fled again from Dublin, and Sitric took his place." This may be a duplicate entry, but however that be, the contest ended in the year 1000, when Tigern. records the death of Ivar of Waterford. In 999, the year before his defeat at Glenmama, Donchadh, son of Domhnall Claon, K. of Leinster, was taken prisoner by Sitric and his ally Maelmordha Mac Murchada, his mother's brother; (Ult.) Sitric's history from his defeat at Glenmama, A.D. 1000, to Brian's victory at Clontarf, will be found in the foregoing pages. See *Introd.*, p. cxlviii. sq. Sitric was married to Brian's daughter, and his sister *Maelmuire* No. (21), (who lived to 1021, Four M.) was married to King Malachy II. Dr. O'Donovan (not in loc.) remarks, "No wonder that he did not join either party at the battle of Clontarf." But when he set forth to enlist such ferocious warriors as Brodar and Sigurd Lödverson to join him against Brian, and when he himself held the garrison of Dublin for the Danes, this was surely joining very decidedly the party opposed to Brian and Malachy. That Malachy regarded Sitric as an avowed enemy is evident from the fact, that in 1015, the year after the battle, he and his auxiliaries attacked Dublin, burned "all the houses outside the fortress," and then plundered *Ui Cennsealaigh*. See *Introd.*, p. cxevi. It does not appear that in this attack any damage was done within the fort, and Sitric seems to have held his ground. In 1018 he blinded Braen or Bran (ancestor of the *Ui Brain* or O'Byrne of Leinster), son of his uncle and ally, Maelmordha, King of Leinster. Bran, being thus blinded, was incapacitated for the throne. He afterwards went abroad, and died in the Irish monastery of Cologne, 1052. (Ult. Four M.) In 1019 Sitric and the Danes of Dublin plundered Kells, in Meath, carried off spoils and prisoners, and slew many people in the body of the church; (Four M.) In 1021 Sitric and the Dublin foreigners were vanquished with great slaughter by Ugaire, son of Dunlaing, King of Leinster, at Dergne Mogorog, now Delgany, in the county of Wicklow; (Ult. Four M.) In 1022 the Four M. record two defeats of the Dublin Danes, one by King Malachy, who died the same year, and another at sea, by Niall, son of Eochaidh, King of Ulidia. In neither of these, however, is Sitric's name mentioned. Ult. and Tig. record the naval victory alone. In 1027 Sitric, in alliance with Donnchadh, K. of Bregia, made an inroad into Meath, but was repulsed; (Tig. Four M.) In 1028 he went to Rome on a pilgrimage, and according to Tigernach, returned the same year.<sup>2</sup> In 1030 *Gormflaith*, Sitric's mother, died. In 1031 (Ult.) we read that Ragnall, son of Ragnall, son of Ivar of

<sup>2</sup> *Same year.* The Annals of Ulster say that "Sitric son of the son of Olaf," went to Rome this year. But this is the mistake which so often

occurs, for "Sitric, son of Olaf," as in Tigern. and Four M. Neither Ult. nor Four M. mention the date of Sitric's return from Rome.

Table VII.  
(B).

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The Hy  
Ivar of  
Dublin.

—  
Sitric  
Silken-  
beard.

Waterford, was slain at Dublin, by treachery; and again, at 1035 (Ult.) that he was slain at Dublin. The same Ragnall cannot be intended, and it is most probable that in the case of the former entry, the true reading is that preserved in Tighernach, at 1031, "Ragnall, son of *Radnall*, daughter of Ivar, King of Waterford, was treacherously slain at Dublin." The same year, according to this Annalist, Sitric plundered Ardraccan, and carried off oxen and captives: this plundering is dated 1035 in Ult., and connected with the second entry of the death of Ragnall, a clear proof that the two entries have been confounded. In 1032 Sitric gained a battle at the mouth of the Boyne, over the Conaille,<sup>1</sup> the Ui Tortain, and the Ui Meith; (Four M.) In 1035, according to Tighernach, Sitric left his kingdom (probably for the sake of religious retirement) and went across the sea, leaving his nephew, Eachmarcach, No. (22), King of Dublin. It is not said where he went to, and the next notice of him in the Annals is his death, in 1042, in which year his daughter, *Finen*, No. (24), who seems to have been a nun,<sup>2</sup> died also; (Tig., Four M.)

During Sitric's reign, the Danish bishopric of Dublin had been established, and it is said that in 1038, Donat, the first bishop, obtained from him a grant of certain *voltæ*, or vaults, in one of which St. Patrick was said to have celebrated Mass. Upon these the bishop built his cathedral, dedicated to the Most Holy Trinity, and now called Christ Church. The vaults still remain, forming a crypt under the cathedral, but are now filled with rubbish, and lie in a disgracefully neglected state. No record of this foundation by Sitric occurs in the Irish Annals; and the story rests upon a late and very legendary document preserved in the Black Book of Christ Church, and printed in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* (ed. Caley, Ellis, and Bandinel, vol. vi., p. 1148.)

Sitric, son of Olaf Cuaran, is the Sitric who is called by Mr. Lindsay, Sitric III. (Coinage of Ireland, pp. 7, 8, 10, Plate I., and Suppl. Plate I.)

(17) Ragnall, son of Olaf Cuaran, was slain at the battle of Tara, 980; (Tig. Ult.) See above, p. 47. *Intro.*, p. c. The Annals of Ult. and of Tighern., at 1075, record the death of a Godfrey, whom Tig. calls simply, "King of the Gaill;" but in Ult. he is said to have been K. of Dublin, and to have been "s. of Olaf, or s. of Ragnall." He can scarcely have been the son of Olaf Cuaran, who was dead ninety-four years in 1075. He must therefore have been the son of this Ragnall, or else of Olaf, son of Sitric Silken-beard; No. (28). In this uncertainty his name has been omitted in the Table.

(18) Aralt, or Harold, called Righdomhna, heir apparent, or eligible to the throne of his father, was slain at the battle of Glenmama, A.D. 1000. See p. 111. *Intro.*, p. cxliv.

(19) Amaccus, or Amaccus (? Magnus) is called son of Olaf, by Hoveden, who tells us that when his father Olaf was expelled from Northumberland, in 954, the Northumbrians slew Amaccus. See No. (6), p. 285.

<sup>1</sup> *Conaille*. The Conaille, or Conaille Muirtheimhne, were seated in the co. of Louth; the Ui Tortain, near Ardraccan, in Meath; and the Ui Meith, in the co. of Monaghan.

<sup>2</sup> *A nun*. Dr. O'Donovan understands the Four M. to call her *Cailleach-*

*Fionain*, as if that was her name. *Cailleach*, signifies a nun, and Dr. O'Conor translates "Monacha Finiani," a nun of St. Finian. Tighernach calls her "Cailleach Finen;" the nun *Finen*. The Ann. Ult. do not mention the death of Sitric or of his daughter.

(20) This name is put in brackets, because it occurs only in a doubtful reading of the Dublin MS. of the Ann. Ult. at 982, al. 983. "A battle gained by Maelsechnaill, son of Domhnall, and Gluniarainn, son of Olaf," [see No. (15)] "over Domhnall Cloen, King of Leinster, and over Imhar of Waterford, which fell many, both drowned and slain, together with *Gillapatraic, son of Olaf*, Gillapatraic, son of Imhar, and others." The words in italics do not occur in the corresponding record in Tighernach and the Four M., nor in Dr. O'Connor's text of the Ann. Ult. In the old English MS. Transl. of Ult. (Ayscough, 4795), the names of Gluniarainn, son of Olaf, and of Ivar of Waterford, are omitted, and Gillpatrick, son of Imhair, is called "Patrick, son of Anlaiv of Waterford." The whole entry is as follows: "An overthrow by Maoisechnaill M'Donell upon Donell Claon, King of Leinster, where a great number were drowned and killed, together with Patrick M'Anlaiv of Waterford." There was therefore evidently some confusion in the ancient MSS. of these annals in this place.

(21) *Maelmuire*, dr. of Olaf Cuaran, was married to King Maelsechlainn, or Malachy II., and died 1021: (Four M.) See No. (16), p. 289.

(22) Eachmarcach became K. of Dublin when his Uncle Sitric abandoned his kingdom, and went across the sea, in 1035. See No. (16), p. 280. In 1038 Ivar, [No. (23)] son of Aralt, or Harold, displaced him (Fig.), and in 1046 Ivar was expelled, and Eachmarcach restored; (Four M.) In 1052 Diarmaid (son of Dunchadh, surnamed Mael-na-mbo), plundered Fine-gall, the Danish territory north of Dublin. Several skirmishes took place around the city, in which many fell on both sides, "and Eachmarcach, son of Ragnall, went over seas, and the son of Mael-na-mbo assumed the kingship of the foreigners after him;" (Fig., Four M.) In 1061 Murchadh, son of Diarmaid, son of Mael-na-mbo, "went to Man, and took tribute from thence, and defeated the son of Ragnall," meaning Eachmarcach; (Fig., Four M.) Mr. Lindsay thinks that one coin of Eachmarcach has been found. Coinage of Irel., p. 15, Plate 2, (26).

(23) For all that seems to be known of this Ivar, Harold's son, see No. (22).

(24) See No. (16), p. 290.

(25) Goffraigh, or Godfrey, son of Sitric [Olaf's son], was slain, according to Tighernach, by Gluniarainn in Britain, 1036. But who this Gluniarainn was is not said.

(26) Tighernach states that this Artalach, son of Sitric, was slain at the battle of Glenmama, A.D. 1000 (Fig. 998); but he is not mentioned in the present work, nor by Ult. or Four M.

(27) Gluniarainn, son of Sitric, was slain in 1031 by the people of South Breagh. (Fig., Four M.)

(28) The Four M. tell us that this Olaf, son of Sitric, was slain in 1012. (See Introd., p. clxxiv., n. 2.) Their words are,—“A great fleet of the foreigners came to Munster, and burned Cork. But God soon avenged the deed upon them; for Amlaoibh, son of Sitric, i.e. son of the lord of the foreigners, and Mathgamhain, son of Dubhgaill, and many others, were slain by Cathal, son of Domhnall, son of Dubhdabhoirenn.” As Mathgamhain is here mentioned as one of the Danish chieftains slain, it is probable that he was the son of Dubhgaill, No. (30), and therefore a grandson of Olaf Sitric's son, No. (28). This Dubhgaill was slain at Clontarf; see pp. 165, 207; Introd., pp. clxxiv., exci., n. The Cathal by whom the burning of Cork was avenged was the son of the Domhnall (son of Dubhdabhoirenn, or Davoren), who afterwards led the forces of Desmond

Table VII. at the battle of Clontarf. See Gen. Table, IV., No. 21, p. 248; *Introd.*, p. (C). cxciii.

— (29) This Aralt (Harold), son of Gofraidh, or Godfrey, is mentioned in the Book of Lecan (fol. 196, *b.a.*), in a remarkable list of the eminent women of Ireland, where he is said to have been the father of *Maelmuire*, wife of Gillapatrick, K. of Ossory, who was the mother of Donnchadh, King of Leinster and Ossory. (See No. 38 of the Genealogy in O'Donovan's Tribes of Ossory, p. 12.) Gillapatrick is mentioned in the present work (p. 107) as having been put in fetters by Brian, and his son Donnchadh, after the battle of Clontarf, resisted the passage of the shattered forces of the Daleais through his territory. See p. 217, and *Introd.*, p. cxciv. Gillapatrick was slain in 996 (Fig.), by Donovan, son of Ivar of Waterford (see Gen. Table V., No. 25, p. 249), and Donnchadh died in 1039, (Fig.)

(30) See what is said of this Dubhgall under No. (28).

(31) See No. (29).

(C). *Grandsons of Ivar (Waterford Branch).*

Early settlement of the Danes at Waterford.

The ancient native name of Waterford was Loch Dacaecli, which is supposed by some to be taken from the name of a woman named *Dacacch*; see *Introd.*, p. lxxxiv. n. 1. The harbour was afterwards called Port Lairge, from Laraig, probably a Danish chieftain, who is mentioned by the Four M. as having plundered Teach Moling (St. Mullin's, co. of Carlow), "from the sea" in 951 (=A.D. 953). But the Danish name of the town is that which it still bears, Vedrafiordr, or Waterford, meaning Weatherhaven. The Norsemen, attracted no doubt by the excellence of this harbour, appear to have made a settlement at Waterford at an early period, possibly about the same time when the Black Gentiles appeared at Dublin, or 852. It is the only place in Ireland mentioned by name in the *Lodbrokar Quida*, or *Death-song*, attributed to Regnar Lodbrog, a composition which, though not the genuine production of that hero, is of some antiquity. A barony forming the western side of the harbour, still bears the name of Gaultier (Gall-tire) "the foreign country," where in all probability the Gaill first settled; see p. 27, n. 12. The Waterford Danes are first mentioned in the *Annals A.D. 891*, and the following is an abstract of the principal facts recorded respecting their settlement there:—

The Four M. at their year 888 (=A.D. 891) mention a victory by Riagan, son of Dungal of Ossory [brother of Cearbhall], over the Gaill of Port Lairge [Waterford], Loeh Carman [Wexford], and Teach Moling [now St. Mullins]; *Introd.*, p. lxxvi., n. So that there was then a regular settlement of Norsemen in that district. At 910 (=913), they tell us that "Gaill arrived in Ireland, and

took up at Port Lairge;" and at 912 (=915), "a great new fleet of Gaill came to Loch Dacaoch, and put a stronghold there;" at 913 (=916), "great and frequent reinforcements of Gaill continued to arrive at Loch Dacaoch;" and at 914 (=917), "the Gaill of Loch Dacaoch still continued to plunder Munster and Leinster." Similar notices, in nearly the same words, occur in *Ult.*, and it will be observed that they imply the existence of a former settlement of the foreigners at Waterford, as well as at Wexford; but the names of the leaders are not mentioned.

Our author, at a date which corresponds to A.D. 915, records the arrival of a fleet at Loch Dacaoch, or Waterford harbour, under the command of Haconn and Cossa-nara, who plundered Munster, but were defeated and apparently destroyed by the native chieftains. See p. 27, and *Introd.*, p. lxxxvii.

The arrival of Ragnall, grandson of Ivar, with large reinforcements to the Danes of Waterford, is next mentioned (ch. xxviii., p. 31). See what has been already said on the history of this chieftain, *Introd.*, p. lxxxiv., lxxxvi. He appears to have arrived 916, and died 921 (*Ult.*), when Gothfrith or Godfrey of Northumberland (*Table VII.* (B), No. (†), p. 278) seems to have succeeded as K. of Waterford: after whose departure to England, in 926 or 927, his son Olaf took the command at Waterford, as well as in Dublin. See *Table VII.* (B), No. (‡), 273, and No. (†), p. 280.

Another chieftain, whose name is connected with the Danes of Waterford, is Ottir Dubh, or Ottar, called Ottir Dubh, or the black, by our author. He appears to have accompanied Ragnall, in 916 (ch. xxviii.), and shortly afterwards, having gone to seek reinforcements, to have returned with 100 ships (ch. xxxv.), to Port Lairge, to complete the subjection of Munster. The names of several chieftains<sup>1</sup> are enumerated (ch. xxxvi.) who seem to have followed in his wake. At all events, they are said to have settled in Munster, and to have assisted in the plunder and devastation of the whole province. They were most probably the "innumerable hordes" who are said by our author to have followed Ragnall and Ottir to Waterford. There is, however, some difficulty about Ottir. Two chieftains of the name seem to be mentioned. One is said to have been banished with Ragnall from Munster, and to have fled to Scotland, where they were defeated and both slain in a battle against Constantine III., King of Scotland, in 917 or 918 (ch. xxix., p. 35). The other Ottir, called Dubh, whose arrival is not dated, appears to have succeeded in establishing his sway over the south of Ireland, and bringing into subjection all Munster. There is reason, however, to suspect some inaccuracy in the account given by our author of the battle in Scotland. Ragnall certainly was not killed there, and the *Annals of Ulster* do not say that either of the two chieftains was slain. See *Introd.*, p. lxxxvi., and the remark made on the readings of the MS. L., p. 235.

We have no evidence that Ragnall left any sons—none, at least, are named in the *Annals*; for the "Mac Ragnall," of whom we sometimes find mention, was most probably the son of a Ragnall of a different branch, see *Table VII.*,

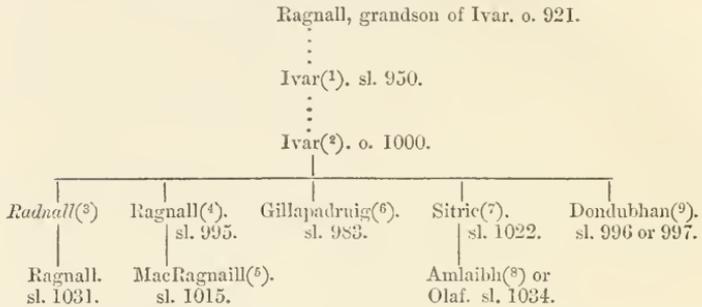
<sup>1</sup> *Chieftains.* An Ottir Dubh is mentioned as having fallen on the Danish side in the battle of Clontarf. See p. 207. This may have been the grandson of the Ottir Dubh who arrived in Waterford about 916; and

we recognise among the slain on that occasion, the sons or grandsons of several of the "commanders of fleets," whose names are to be found in the list of arrivals given, chap. xxxvi.

Table VII. (A), No. (9), p. 272; or else the son of a later Ragnall; see No. (5) of following Table. There is, therefore, a considerable blank in the genealogy of this Waterford branch of the Hy Ivar, between the Ragnall, grandson of Ivar, who was

undoubtedly the founder of the Waterford dynasty, with Sitric and Godfrey of Northumberland, and the two Ivar's Nos. (1) and (2) who appear at the beginning and close of the tenth century. This defect is denoted by the dotted lines in the following Table.

*Descendants of Ragnall of Waterford.*



(1) The Four M. (948) tell us that Ivar "tanist," or next in succession to the throne of the Foreigners, was slain at the battle of Muine-Broccain, A.D. 950. He is not mentioned, however, in our author's account of the battle, ch. xxxvii., nor by Ult. As there appears to have been no other Ivar, at this date, who could be called "tanist of the foreigners," it is probable that he belonged to the Waterford branch. But the Editor is unable to supply the links of his descent from Ragnall.

(2) This Ivar is called "Ivar, grand-son of Ivar," by our author, p. 207; but we cannot infer that he was the grand-son of the Ivar last mentioned, although the dates would not be inconsistent. The Danes did not usually give the father's name to the son, but this rule is not without exceptions. In 969 (Four M. 967), Ivar, King of Waterford, was in alliance with Mathgambain, or Mahoun, brother of Brian Borumha, to repel an invasion into Leinster and Ossory, made by Murchadh, son of Finn, lord of Offaly. A common cause had then united the Waterford Danes with the "men of Munster," the two Ely's, (in King's County and Tipperary; see B. of Rights, p. 78, n.), the Deisi, and the King of Ossory. In 982 (981, Four M.) Ivar plundered Kildare (Ult.) In the following year he took the side of Domhnall Claon, one of the claimants for the crown of Leinster, but was defeated by Malachy II., K. of Ireland, and the Danes of Dublin. In this battle his son Gillapadruig was slain. See Table (B), No. (20), p. 291. Between the years 994 and 1000 a contest was carried on with varying success between Ivar of Waterford and Sitric, son of Olaf Cuaran, for the possession of Dublin. See Table (B), No. (16), p. 289. In the year 1000, according to Tighernach, Ivar died. See Brut y Tywys. 1001, where the death of "Iuor Porth Talarthi" (Ivar of Port Laarge) is recorded.

(3) The names of Radnall, and her son Ragnall, are here inserted on the authority of Tighernach, 1031. See Table (B), No. (16), p. 290.

(4) Ragnall, son of Ivar, "was slain by Murchadh," (Ult. 994), his father Table VII. Ivar being then in possession of Dublin, although he was expelled the same or (C). following year; (Tigh. 995).

(5) This son of Ragnall is not named. But the Four M. record his death at 1014(=1015) thus—"Mac Ragnaill, son of Ivar, Lord of Port Lairge, was slain by the Ui Liathain;" a tribe seated on the borders of Cork and Waterford in the present baronies of Barrymore, Kinnatalloon, and Imokilly (co. of Cork), Coshmore and Coshbride (co. of Waterford). Descendants of Ragnall of Waterford.

(6) Gillapadruig was slain, fighting against Malachy II., K. of Ireland, in 983; (Four M.) See No. (2).

(7) Sitric, son of Ivar, King of Port Lairge, according to Ult., was slain 1022. In Tig. at the same date there is a corresponding record, but Dr. O'Connor's text is evidently wrong. He reads, "Mac Cerbhaill, King of Eile, was slain by Sitric. Imhair, King of Waterford, was slain by the King of Ossory." The name *Imhair* being in the gen. case, clearly indicates some error. The Four M., the Ann. Clonm., and the old English version of Ult., all agree in what is beyond doubt the true reading, "Sitric, son of Imbar, lord [king, Tig.] of Port Lairge, was slain by the lord [king, in Tig.] of Ossory." In Ult., however, it is not said by whom Sitric was slain. This was the year in which Malachy II., called by the Annalists "Maelsechlainn Mór," or "the Great," died.

(8) The following curious entry relating to this Olaf, son of Sitric of Waterford, is given by the Four M. at the year 1029:—"Olaf, son of Sitric, Lord of Gaill, was taken prisoner by Mathgamhain O'Riagain, Lord of Bregia, who exacted as his ransom 1200 cows, and seven score British [i.e. Welsh] horses, and three score ounces of gold, and the sword of Carlus, and the hostages of the Gaidhel, whether of Leinster or of Leth Cuind, and sixty ounces of white silver, as his fetter ounce, and four score cows for word and supplication, and four hostages to O'Riagain himself for peace, and the full value for the life of the third hostage." A similar account is given by Tigern. and Ult. Tigernach's words are as follow:—"Olaf, son of Sitric, King of Gaill, was captured by Mathgamhain O'Riagain, King of Bregia, until he had received 200 oxen, and six score horses, and the sword of Carlus, and the son of Anfer Rot who was in captivity," so Dr. O'Connor renders *Mac Anfer rot nergaib*. There is, probably, a misreading; *rot*, is certainly not a proper name, but a verbal prefix, or a prefix with infixed verb; perhaps we should read, *rot in ergabail*, "who was in captivity." The sword of Carlus was carried away from Dublin by Malachy II., in 996: it appears from the foregoing entry that the Waterford Danes had recovered it. In 1034 Olaf, son of Sitric, was slain by the Saxons on his way to Rome (Tig., Ult., Four M.); he was, therefore, at that time a Christian.

(9) Dondubhan, or Donovan, was the grandson of Donnabhainn, chief of Hy Cairbre, by a daughter, whose name is not on record, but who was married to Ivar of Waterford; see Geneal. Table V., No. 25, p. 249. This Dondubhan or Donnabhainn, son of Ivar, was slain in 996, by the Leinstermen; (Tig.) The Four M. record his death at their year 995 (A.D. 997) thus: "Diarmaid, son of Domhnall, lord of Ui Ceinnselaigh, was slain by Dondubhan, son of Ivar, through treachery. Gillapadruig, son of Donnchadh, lord of Ossory" [see Table (B), No. (29), p. 292], "was slain by Dondubhan, son of Ivar, and by Domhnall Mac Faolain, lord of the Deisi. Dondubhan, son of Ivar, was slain by the Leinstermen afterwards, viz., by Cuduiligh, son of

Table VII. Cinaedh, of the Ui Failge, at the end of a week, in revenge for Diarmaid, son of Domhnall." (C).

— We find mention of Oisill, son of Ivar (p. 207, of the present work), where, in the list of the slain, on the Danish side, at the battle of Clontarf, we have "Oisill and Ragnall, the two sons of Ivar, grandson of Ivar." This seems to imply that Ivar [see No. (2)], the father of these sons, was himself son of an Ivar, unless we interpret grandson of Ivar as signifying only *descendant*. But the Ragnall, son of Ivar, mentioned in the present Table No. (1), was slain in 994, ten years before the battle of Clontarf. There is, therefore, probably some mistake, for which reason the name of Oisill has not been given in the Table.

There seems, however, to have been an Ivar, and a Ragnall Ua Ivaire, in the first half of the 11th century, who do not appear in the foregoing Table, p. 294. It is probable that this Ragnall may have been the Ragnall, son of *Radnall*, daur. of Ivar of Waterford, No. (3) of the Table p. 294; and that his death, dated 1031 by Tig., has been entered under 1035 by Ult. and Four M. We have seen that in these latter Chronicles there are indications of some confusion in their record of the death of Ragnall and the plunder of Ardraccan, which Tig. enables us to correct by giving 1031 as the true date of Ragnall's death and of the plunder of Ardraccan and burning of Swords,—all which events belong to the same year: so that whether we make that year 1031 or 1035, the same Ragnall must be intended. See Table (B) No. (16), p. 290. At the year 1035 (Four M.) there is the following entry, which occurs also at the same date in Ult. We quote from this latter authority,—“Ragnall, grandson of Ivar, lord of Port-Lairge, was slain at Dublin by Sitric, son of Olaf. [Ard Breacain was plundered by Sitric, son of Olaf.] Sord of Colum-cille was plundered and burned by Conchobhair Ua Maelsechlainn, in revenge:”—meaning evidently in revenge for the plunder of Ard-Breacain; but the Four M., by omitting the clause within brackets, represent the burning of Swords, as if it were in revenge for the slaying of Ragnall, with which it could have had no connexion.<sup>1</sup>

In 1037 we read in Tighernach that “Cu-Mumhain Ua Rabann, or O’Rubann, King of Port-Lairge, was slain;” Ult. and Four M. add, a suis occisus est, slain by his own people: they call him also, not Cu-Mumhan [Hound of Munster,] as in Tig., but Cu-ionmhain, or Cu-inmhain [Beloved Hound]. This may not have been his real name, but a soubriquet substituted for his name. Waterford, in this year, was burned and plundered by Diarmaid, son of Donnchadh, called Mael-na-mbo, [Chief of the Cows], King of Leinster, of the race of Enna Censelach, K. of Leinster in the fourth century: and the Four M. (the only authority for the fact) tell us, in the same year 1035, that “Ivar was treacherously slain by the Gaill of Port-Lairge.”

The list of the slain at Clontarf, given in the present work (p. 207), mentions Goistilin Gall, and Amond, son of Dubhginn, “two kings of Port-Lairge,” as having fallen on the Danish side in that battle. Amond or Hamund, as we have already remarked, may have been a grandson of Ivar of Limerick. See Table (A), p. 275. But of Goistilin Gall we seem to have no other mention.

<sup>1</sup> *No connexion.* Swords was in Meath, the territory of Conchobhair, in Fingall, or Fine-gall, the territory of who was the great grandson of Mael-sechlainn, or Malachy II. the Dublin Danes. Ard-Breacain was

## TABLE VIII.

*Descendants of Cearbhall, Lord of Ossory and Danish King of Dublin.*

The Landnamabok (p. 4) names Cearbhall, or Kiarvall (K. of Dublin from A.D. 872 to 887), as one of the principal sovereigns of Europe, at the time when Iceland was peopled by the noblemen and others who fled from the tyranny of Harold Harfagr. Iceland had been known to the Irish long before that time, (more than 100 years, according to one reading); and the earlier settlers had found men in the island "whom the Norwegians called *Papæ*" [i.e., priests or bishops], professing Christianity, and who were believed to have come by sea from the West. By them were left behind (for they appear to have been driven out by the newcomers), "Irish books, bells, pastoral staffs, and other things, which seemed to prove that they were Westmen" (i.e., Irishmen) who had formed a religious community in the island. Prolog. Landnama, p. 2.

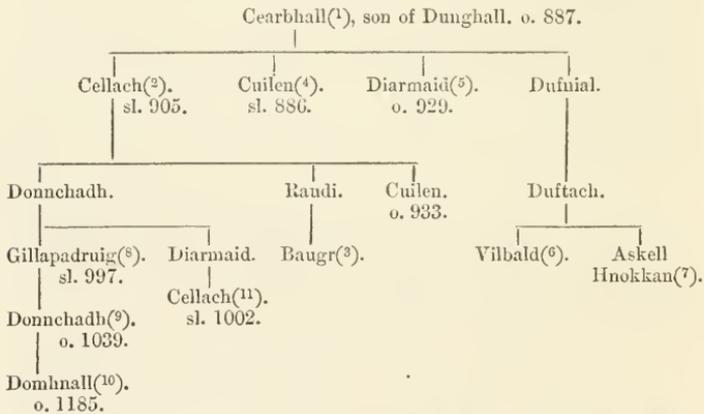
Ingulf and Leif, who were distant cousins, were the first Norwegians who visited Iceland with a view to colonization, about the year 870. They spent there a winter, and returned to Norway. Ingulf then commenced preparations for another voyage to Iceland, while Leif set off on a piratical excursion to Ireland. There he entered a subterraneous cavern, which was quite dark, but as he advanced (probably carrying a light), he noticed the flashing of a sword in the hands of a man at the end of the cave. The man was slain; and the sword, with great wealth, which was found in the cave, carried away. Leif then plundered or "harried" (*heriade*) in other parts of Ireland, and amassed great booty, with which, and ten slaves, he returned to Norway. There he married *Helga*, Ingulf's sister, and all set sail for Iceland. Leif took the name of Hiör-leif or Sword-leif, from his adventure with the Irishman in the cave. This was the 12th year of Harold Harfagr, or A.D. 874, (Carroll being then King of Dublin). On the voyage they were in want of water, but the Irish captives made a mixture of butter and meal, which had the effect of quenching thirst, and which they in their own tongue called *Mynthak* [mum, meal or flour; mntæch, made of flour]. Rain coming on, and the *Mynthak* not being wanted, it became mouldy and was cast into

Table VIII. (A). Descendants of Cearbhall by his sons.

the sea. They found it afterwards on the shore, at a place to which they gave the name of Mynthaks-eyri. Hiör-leif gave his own name to Hiörleifs-hofdr, where he settled; but was soon after murdered by his Irish slaves, acting under the command of one of them named Dufthak (Dubhthach), who was probably a man of higher rank than the rest in his own country. The slaves fled to the small islands south of Iceland, carrying with them the women and property. Here they were pursued and taken by Ingulf, who slew them all. The place where their leader fell was called Duftaksker, and the islands received the name of Vestmanna-eyer [Westmen, or Irishmen's islands]. Landnama, Part I., chap. 3-7.

This ancient connexion between Ireland and Iceland was kept up by the descendants of Cearbhall, or Carroll, as the following Table will show. It is divided into two parts—(A) contains the genealogical history of his sons; (B) that of his daughters.

(A). *Descendants of Cearbhall, or Carroll, by his Sons.*



(1) Cearbhall had married a daughter of King Maelseachlainn, son of Mael-ranaigh (Malachy I.), who had himself married *Lann*, or *Flann*, Cearbhall's sister, daughter of the same father Dunghal, or as he is also called Dunal. *Fragm.*, p. 129. Cearbhall died A.D. 887 (885, Four M.) See above, p. 263.

(2) Cellach is called Kiallak, *Landnama*, p. 334. His brother Diarmaid having been driven from Ossory, 903 (900, Four M.), Cellach succeeded to the throne, but was sl. 905 (903, *Ibid.*) His son Cuilen was K. of Ossory, and died 933, *Ult.*, where he is described as "optimus laicus."

(3) This Baugr, or Baugus, was settled at Flíotshlid in Iceland, and was foster brother of Ketel Hlang. It is not necessary to give here the names of

his children and grandchildren, as they played no part in Irish history. They will be found Landnama, loc. cit. Table VIII. (A).

(4) Cuilen, s. of Cearbhall, was slain by the Norsemen in 886 (884 Four M.) The Four M. have quoted a quatrain written on his death, which implies that he was a Christian. *Maelfebhail*, daughter of Maelseachlain, the same probably who was married to Cearbhall, died the same year. Whether or not she was the mother of Cuilen is unknown. Descendants of Cearbhall by his sons.

(5) There are no records of the descendants of this Diarmaid. In 897 (894 Four M.) he is said to have restored and celebrated the Fair of Tailltin or Telltown. He seems to have succeeded his father as K. of Ossory, but was driven out, A.D., 903, when his brother Cellach was made King. See above, No. (3). He died 929 (Four M. 927).

(6) Vilbald came from Ireland, where he appears to have been born, to Iceland, in a ship called Kuda [Cútaó, fierce, furious], from which the river at which he landed was called Kuda-flíots. See Landnama, p. 312., where his father's name is erroneously spelt Dofnak: it is afterwards (ib., p. 350) more correctly written Dufthak, the Irish Dubhthach. His grandfather is called Dufnial, i.e. Domhnall, or more probably Dungall, which was a name in the family.

(7) Askell Hnokkan, of Askells-höfda, settled in Iceland, Landn., p. 350, where his descendants are given.

(8) Gillapadruig, lord of Ossory, was slain by Donovan, son of Ivar, King of the Danes of Waterford, 997 (995 Four M.) Another entry of his death occurs Four M. 997 (A.D. 999). Tig. gives 996 as the date of his death. He was taken prisoner and put in fetters by Brian, p. cxi. and p. 107, *supra*. O'Donovan, Tribes of Ossory, p. 12.

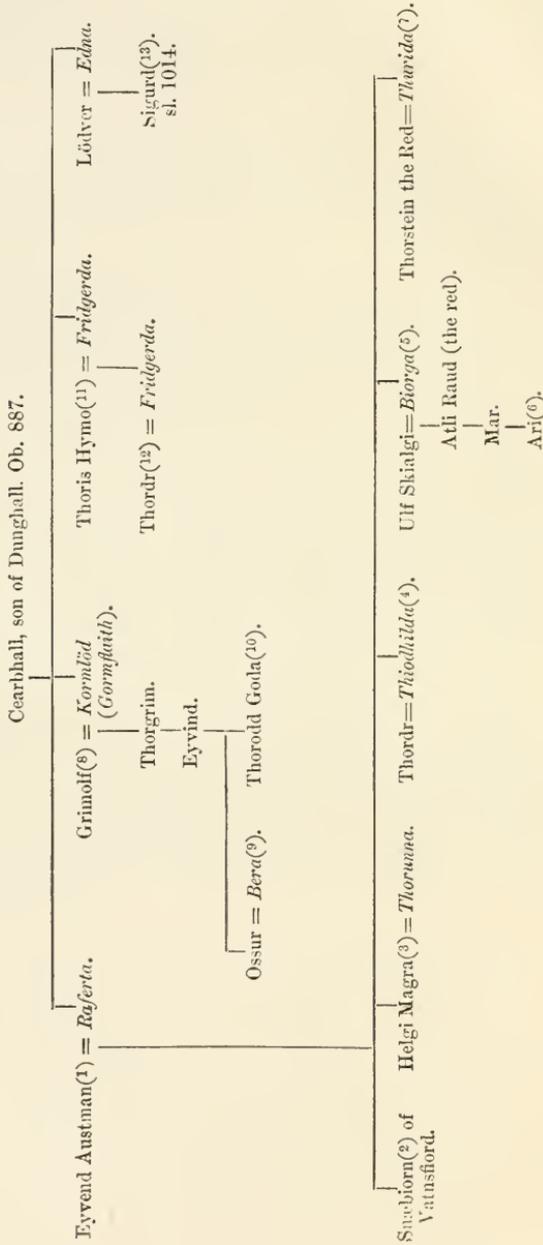
(9) This Donnchadh is mentioned, ch. cxxi. p. 215, *supra*. He is called "Lord of Ossory and of the greater part of Leinster" by the Four M., who record his death "after long illness," in 1039. He was ancestor of the family of O'Donnchadha, now anglicized Dunphy, or O'Dunphy, (Topogr. Poems, p. 77, and note 382), although in other parts of Ireland the same name is anglicized O'Donoghue and Donoghy.

(10) Domhnall, founder of the Cistercian abbey of Jerpoint, co. of Kilkenny, 1180, died 1185. Archdall erroneously calls him Donough O'Donoghue, instead of Domhnall Mac Donchadha [or Mac Dunphy]. Monast. Hibern., p. 355.

(11) Cellach is called "lord of Ossory" by the Four M.; who record (1002) that he was in that year slain by Donnchadh, son of his father's brother, Gillapadruig.

Table VIII.  
(B).(B). *Descendants of Cearbhall by his Daughters.*

Descendants of Cearbhall by his daughters.



(1) Eyvind Austmann, or Ostmann, so called because he had come to the Hebrides from Sweden; see Landnama, (part iii., c. 12), p. 228, where his history and genealogy will be found. (B.)

(2) Snæbiorn. For his history and descendants, see Landnama, p. 159. Descendants of

(3) Helgi Magra, or the Lean, was born in the Hebrides, but his father and mother being obliged to go on some mercantile or piratical expedition, were forced to leave the child there. On their return, two years afterwards, they found him so reduced for want of proper food, that they could not recognise him. They therefore called him "Helga hinn Magra," the Lean, and took him to Ireland, where he was educated. He married *Thorunna Hyrna* (the Horned), daur. of Ketill Flat-nose, lord of the Hebrides, and of *Inguilda*, daur. of Ketill of Ringarikia. Landnama, p. 228, 229. Eyrbygg, cap. i., p. 5. Ceardhall  
by his  
daughters.

(4) *Thiodhilda* married Thodr, or Thordus, a viking's son, said by many to have been really a son of King Harold Harfagr. See Landnama, p. 149, where his descendants are given.

(5) *Biorga*, married Ulf Skiallgi, who had escaped from the tyranny of Harold Harfagr, and colonized Reykianes in Iceland. Landnama, p. 132.

(6) Ari Marson was one of the earliest discoverers of America, A. D. 983. In a voyage westwards he was driven out of his course, and either wrecked or forced to land on "Hvitra Mauna land" (White-man's land), called also "Irland er Mikla" (Great Ireland). There, Ari, having no means of returning, and being honourably received by the Christian settlers (probably Irish), became himself a Christian, and was baptized; "Rafn of Limerick, who had resided for a long time in Limerick, in Ireland, first brought news of this." Landnama, p. 133. "White-man's land" is supposed to be that part of the coast of North America, which extends southwards from Chesapeak Bay, including North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida; Antiq. American., p. xxxvii., and p. 208, *sq.* As the distance of White-man's land is described as "sex dagra sigling vestur fra Irlandi" (six days' sailing westwards from Ireland), it is probable that Ari had sailed from Ireland.

(7) *Thurida* was married to Thorstein Raudr, or the Red, son of Olaf the White, K. of Dublin. See Table VI. No. (3), p. 264. A Genealogical Table of his descendants is given. Kristni, p. 191.

(8) Grimolf had settled at Agde, in Iceland, where he and his family inherited the property of his brother Alfr; Landnama, p. 374-5. See his Genealogy, Gunnlaug, p. 315.

(9) *Bera* was the daur. of Egil-Skallagrímson; Egils., p. 599; Landnama, p. 375.

(10) Thorodd, called Goda, or the Pretor. For his Genealogy, see Gunnlaug, p. 315; Landnama, p. 375.

(11) Thoris is called Hymo, or according to another reading, Hyrno. Landnama, p. 219.

(12) Thodr or Thordus, of Höfda-strond, called Höfda-Thodr, from Höfda, the place where he had his house. His descent from Regnar Lodbrok is thus given, Landnama, p. 218, 219.

Regnar Lodbrok.  
|  
Biörn Ironside.  
|  
Asleik.  
|  
Harold Hrygg.  
|  
Biörn Byrdsmiör.  
|  
Thodr.

Table VIII. He is said to have had nineteen children by his wife *Fridgerda*, granddaur. (B). of Cearbhall. Ibid.

— (13) Earl Sigurd's paternal descent is given, Table VI. (A), p. 264 No. (11). He was surnamed Digri, the Gross, or the Fat. His father Lödver (Ludovicus) was the son of Thorfinn Hausaklyfur (or Skull-cleaver,) son of Einar or Torf-einar, son of Rögvald, Earl of Möre, ex concubina. See Scripta Hist. Islandorum, vol. iii., Geneal. Tab. I.; Landnama, part iv., c. 8, p. 301, 302; Heimsk. (Saga iii., c. 22 Laing's Transl. i., p. 291). *Edna*, his mother's name, is probably the Irish *Eithne*. Sigurd married *Doda*, or *Donada*, daur. of Malcolm II., King of Scots, son of Kenneth II. By her he had a son, Thorfinn, who was but five years old at his father's death, and was sent to his grandfather, King Malcolm, who created him Earl of Caithness and Sutherland. Sigurd by a former wife had four sons, Sumarlid, Brusli, Einar Rangmudr (or Wrymouth), and Hund (the Hound). Hund was taken by Olaf Tryggveson as a hostage for Sigurd's becoming a Christian, and introducing Christianity into his dominions. He died in that captivity. Heimsk. (Saga vii., c. 99. Laing, ii., 131).

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ERRATA.

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- p. lxi, line 11, for *Maelseachlaim*, read *Maelseachlainn*.  
lxxv, note, col. 1, line 6 from bottom, for *Suanloag*, read *Suanloga*.  
lxxxvii, note, col. 2, line 2 from bottom, for *Cathach*, read *Carthach*.  
xciii, note, col. 1, line 7 from bottom, for *Eochadh*, read *Eochaidh*.  
c, note, col. 1, line 6 from bottom, for *Oighialla*, read *Oirghialla*.  
cviii, note, col. 2, line 27 from bottom, for "920," read "907, 8."  
cxii, note, col. 2, last line, for "920," read "907, 8."  
cxiv, note, col. 2, line 2 from bottom, for *Cenneideigh*, read *Cenneidigh*.  
cxv, line 3, for *Legh Mogha*, read *Leth Mogha*.  
— line 24, for "the present county of Kerry," read "in the present county of Kerry."  
clxxiv, note, col. 2, line 12 from bottom, for "Dalaradia," read "Dalriada."  
p. 21, line 10, for "Laighen," read "Laighin."  
135, line 10, for "Gall," read "Gaill."  
177, line 10, for "Ferghail," read "Ferghal."





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