Imarcaigh sund ar gach sá: An Early Modern Irish Poem on the Contemporaneous Emperors of Byzantium and the Kings and Ecclesiastics of Ireland

Introduction

Imarcaigh sund ar gach sá, an anonymous Early Modern Irish poem of 108\(^1\) quatrains in *deibhidhe* metre (7\(7\times4\) 7\(7\times4\)) presents a reading of Irish history which recites the contemporaneous reigns of the high-kings of Ireland, the reigns of the provincial kings of Ireland, the births and deaths of the leading Irish ecclesiastics, and the reigns of the Emperors of the Eastern Roman Empire. The period involved is circa AD 420–740.

Manuscripts, Scribes, Author and Date

The edition presented below is based on the most complete copy of the poem that I have been able to identify, namely, that preserved on folios 154ra37-155ra22 of Dublin, Royal Irish Academy\(^2\) manuscript D ii 1, Book of Uí Maine (M), a manuscript which was written for Muirchertach Ó Ceallaigh, bishop of Clonfert (1378-1392) and later Archbishop of Tuam (1392-1407).\(^3\) The scribe of this portion of the book was Adam Cusin.\(^4\)

The copy is defective, lacking lines 35c-d, 37c-d and 41a-b. The final verse in M beginning *Clanda Cuirc le mbronntar ba* appears to be out of character with the tone of the body of the poem and is absent from all other copies. On these grounds, I am inclined to the view that *Clanda Cuirc le mbronntar ba* is merely a scribal addition and formed no part of the original text. I have therefore labelled this quatrain as 107A.

An acephalous version of the poem beginning *Re lind Constaintín cen chol* (85a) and finishing at *is oircheas mé do mhaidheamh* (107d) has come down to us in a manuscript which was written by Seaghan Ó Maol Chonaire in 1560\(^5\) and is here assigned the siglum *S*. The manuscript has been

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1 I suggest that 107A is not original and that the quatrain was added some time after the original composition of the poem. It is absent from the other copies.
2 I am grateful to the Royal Irish Academy for granting me permission to publish *Imarcaigh sund ar gach sá* from the Book of Uí Maine. Dr. Dan McCarthy, Department of Computer Science, Trinity College, Dublin enlightened me as to the chronological workings of this poem. Dr. Paul Russell, Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, Cambridge University was kind enough to read an early transcription of the text. Professor Pádraig Ó Macháin, School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, helped me to clarify several readings which were almost illegible in the MS. I am most grateful to my colleague, Professor Greg Toner, Research Institute for Irish and Celtic Studies, University of Ulster, Coleraine, for coming to my aid with a number of emendations that have improved the sense of the text. As ever, I am beholden to the Editor of *Peritia* for sharing with me his erudition in a most unstinting and patient manner.
5 Catalogued by Mullingar Library as MS 6 and by de Brún as MS 1. See P. de Brún, ‘Láimhscribhinní Gaeilge sa Mhuileann gcEarr’, *Éigse* 19 (1982) 82-85. See also P. de Brún, *Láimhscribhinní Gaeilge:*
preserved on long-term loan until recent years in the Longford-Westmeath County Library in Mullingar. S has since been returned to its owner. In the preparation of this edition, I have been dependent on the National Library of Ireland’s microfilm copy of the manuscript.

Quatrains 85-104 are on folio 86r-v and quatrains 105-107 are on folio 80r-80v. Ó Maol Chonaire’s text contains a few scribal errors. One example is: 89a Colga] M, Cola S. In general, S does not differ greatly from M and because it contains only a small portion of the text, S is of limited value.

At least three modern scribes have provided us with copies that can all be traced back to the Mullingar version. The earliest of these is preserved on pp. 84.16-86.12 (qq. 85-104) and + p. 76.13-18 (qq. 105-107) of Dublin, NLI MS G 476, which was written by Micheál mac Pheadair Uí Longáin some time before his death in 1770. Peadar mac Mhíchíl Uí Longáin made a further copy of the poem in 1848 on p. 131 ff. of NLI MS G 155. A third copy was written by either Pól or Peadar Ó Longáin in the 19th century on pp. 96.1-97.20 of RIA MS 23 Q 9 [# 697]. Éamonn Ó Mathghamhna wrote two copies of the poem in Cork. He wrote the first of these in 1840 on pp. 74.12-75.26 of RIA 24 C 3 [# 595], and a second in 1844, beginning on fol. 80 i of CF 11, Coláiste Cholmáin, Fermoy. In general, this group of modern manuscripts add little to what we can learn from S and indeed introduce new errors. However, for the sake of completeness, significant variants from G 476 [G] are also presented.

Historical poems can be difficult to date on linguistic grounds because of the preponderance of proper nouns and the unpredictable tendency of some scribes to innovate. However, a few linguistic features are worth noting here. First, ro- is used in the text (ros-n-áin 57d, ros brond 75a, rob soraidh 105d), but it appears to have been largely superceded by do- as the marker of the past tense: doba (51d, 56c), dob urasa (103d); second, compound verbs have largely disappeared, a few exceptions being the common petrified one ad-bath (24a, 82a, 99a), and more interestingly ad-cluine (13a); third, the complicated nominal flexion of Old and Middle Irish is on the decline as exemplified by a sbéis i ngleo for earlier a sbéis i ngliaid (11d); fourth, a few verbal endings such as –ibhair in do ráidhibhair (21b) ‘which you (pl.) have mentioned’ for earlier ro ráidisid assign the text firmly to the Early Modern Irish rather than the Middle Irish period. The continued use of ro alongside do as a preverbal past tense marker, a preference for the Middle-Irish article in rather than the Modern Irish article an and the continued presence of a handful of compound verbs tend to lead me to believe that the poem was written at some time in the thirteenth rather than in the fourteenth century.

Contemporaneous reigns and lives

The ‘synchronisms’ in this poem concern the Emperors of Byzantium, the Kings of Ireland, the Kings of the Uaidh, the Kings of the Connachta, the Kings of the Laighin, the Kings of Munster, ecclesiastics, and one king of Scotland. The poem starts with Emperor Theodosius (408-450) and finishes with the death of Cathal mac Finguine in 742.

It should be noted that there are discrepancies in the Irish annals regarding the regnal years of the Emperors of Byzantium. This will be clear from a glance at the Index Nominum in which I have

Treoirliosta (Dublin 1988) pp. 28-29, item no. 89.


G. Murphy et al., Catalogue of Irish MSS in the RIA, fasc. xi-xiv, (Dublin nd) pp. 1882-1884.

inserted after the name of each Emperor his years according to McCarthy’s *Chronological Synchronisation of the Irish Annals*\(^\text{10}\) followed by the accepted dates.

Secondly, the poet deliberately skips over the names of some of the kings of Ireland: Aínmire mac Séithna (d. *568*), Baedán mac Muircheartaigh (d. *571*) and Eochaidh mac Domhnaill mac Muircheartaigh (d. *571*) are mentioned only obliquely: *Triúr rígh Éireand dá éis sin* (after 562: 70a).

Thirdly, the provincial kings of the Ulaith (8) and the Laighin (9), while represented are far from being numerous. The kings of the Connachta (9) are mentioned very sporadically, while the list of the Scottish kings is limited to Comghall (d. *537*). On the other hand, a great deal of attention is paid to ecclesiastics, a total of forty-four of whom are listed.

Fourthly, the fullest list after the lists of the Byzantine Emperors (23) and kings of Ireland (23) is that containing the kings of Munster (20). As Dan McCarthy has indicated to me, our list of Munster kings can be usefully compared with the list of Munster kings contained in the *Laud Synchronisms*.\(^\text{11}\)

### Sources and Provenance

The vast majority of personages mentioned in *Imarcaigh sund* can be identified in the extant Irish annals. By comparing our poem with Dan McCarthy’s *Chronological Synchronisation*,\(^\text{12}\) it can be seen that the source of the raw material for *Imarcaigh sund* was a copy of the Clonmacnoise version of the Chronicle of Ireland which contained a detailed list of the Kings of Munster, similar to the one found in the extant *Laud Synchronisms*. The poet’s particular interest in the kings of Munster, his reference to Cathal, king of Munster as being ‘from us’ in q. 104, added to the mention in the additional quatrain (107A) of Clanna Cuirc may suggest a Munster provenance for *Imarcaigh sund*.

### Orthography, Normalisation and Editorial Policy

The spelling system is a mixture of Late Middle and Early Modern Irish. The orthography of M has been adhered to as far as possible in the edition. A few of the more salient features may be highlighted. Modern Irish lenition of intervocalic *c*, *p*, *t*, *g*, *b*, *d*, *m*, is usually indicated, but not consistently. Where such lenition has been supplied, it is indicated by the use of italics, thus, for example, *seanchas* for scribal *sencas* (2b). Intervocalic *-gh-* and *-dh-* are occasionally confused as in *aimsudadh* for *aimsughadh* (10d). In such instances the historically correct spelling is silently supplied. *-ea-* is generally written where Old and Middle Irish would have used *-e-*.

The scribe is not consistent in this. Again, I have italicised instances where *-a-* has been inserted after scribal *-e-*, thus *tshencas* for *tsheanchas* (2b). I have allowed scribal *ě* for Modern Irish *ěa* to stand as in, for example, *Eoghan Bél* (31b). The old dipthongs in *óe/áe* have been reduced to *æ* [ε:], are represented by ligatured *æ* in the manuscript (e.g. *laegaire*) and as *-ae-* in the edition (e.g. *Laeghaire* 5c). Moreover, *oi/üi/ai* have been reduced to *ai* [i:] and are represented in the manuscript as *-ai-* and as *-ai-* in the edition, thus scribal *sgailldh* for *sgaildh* (16d). Short unstressed vowels in final position have since the Early Middle-Irish period fallen together as *schwa* [ə] and are represented in this

\(^{10}\) www.cs.tcd.ie/Dan.McCarthy/chronology/synchronisms/annals-chron.htm


manuscript by either -e or -i. I have allowed such manuscript spellings to stand. Unstressed vowels in final closed contexts are, of course, unclear and liable to be incorrectly rendered. Thus A n-oíghidh| A noighe_dh M (49a).

In final position -nd is used to represent –mn [N], thus scribal mind : eir- for mend : Éireand (3a-b). Appropriate nasalisation is frequently omitted by the scribe. It has been supplied in square brackets, thus a [c]omhhrígh (26d). On occasion, I have used square brackets to indicate insertion of letters that have been omitted by the scribe, thus Luig[hdhd]each (18c). Sometimes a cluster of letters is added to the end of words which have historically ended in a vowel. Such redundant letters are omitted as in dain<adh> (72a). I have normalised where the preposition a + nasalisation is used to represent i + nasalisation ‘in’, as in arre for i rré (7a etc.). The scribe frequently writes righ (e.g. fa righ maith matciamus 8b) alongside historically correct ri (e.g. 18b, 19c, 31a) in the nominative singular. Depending on the context, scribal righ may either stand for nominative singular ri or genitive plural rígh. I have attempted to resolve this problem by taking manuscript righ as the genitive plural where this is syntactically possible as in Feargus rígh Mumhan (Feargus rígh muman 46a) ‘Feargus of the kings of Munster’. In other instances in which there is no doubt as to the historically correct form, as in fa ri (fa rígh 9c), I have silently emended manuscript rígh to ri.15 Fa, the late Middle-Irish 3 singular absolute preterite form of the copula is used interchangeably with ba and is allowed to stand. Interestingly, the scribe prefers to use the Middle-Irish form of the article in in preference to Modern Irish an.

In view of the fact that the edition is essentially a conservative one and for the most part based on a single manuscript, efforts have been made to keep the manuscript readings to an absolute minimum. Orthographical normalisations will not generally be accounted for in the manuscript readings except in instances where the correct form may be in doubt. Thus, for example, recurring scribal a for the preposition i n- as in arre for i rré will not be recorded in the apparatus.

Punctuation and capitalisation in the text have been supplied throughout. Length marks are not clearly indicated by this scribe. Sínte fada have therefore been supplied silently. In the margin to the right of the poems I give references to the historical record where it exists so that the material may be appreciated within its proper historical framework. The chronological system used has been derived from the Chronological Synchronisation of the Irish Annals compiled by D. McCarthy14 and extensive use has been made of the editions of the Irish annals provided online by the CELT Project at NUI Cork.15 Difficulties regarding the text and translation are discussed in the Textual Notes and Commentary. Personal names and place-names are listed in the Indices. In compiling the Index of Place-Names extensive use has been made of the index in CGH I, Onomasticon Goedelicum16 and The Annals of Tír Eoghain: Index of Names.17

13 In the few instances where I have been unsure as to which interpretation is correct, I have printed ri<gh> in the edition.
15 http://celt.ucc.ie/
1. Imarcaigh sund ar gach saí dar luaidh sean<ch>has go saergnai; gidh olc maith leo, léigfíd dam, tréigfeid gleo tref<e>i<gh>it tachar.

2. Gí himdha ball sochair saer sa tseanchas nósmhar neamhchlaen dearbhthar go bráth in ball sin: ‘Seanchaidh Cách go Comhraimsir’.

3. Rígha in domhain, deargadh mend, ocus airdrigha Éireand, a ré do chur le ché[í]le, ní dul é ó aimhréidhe.


6. Dé airdrigh in aig/hní<gh> bhuig, ’na [t]rémhisi tháinig Pádraig go port na Fódhla i frith bladh d’fhógra a holc do dhíth deama<h>á<i>n. arr. *432


8. Iar Te[o]th<h>í<s>i>sius gan tlús, fá ri maith Marcianus; d. *449 r. *449 (recte 450)
ba mhaith gné cind gach cuire,
is é re lind Laeghaire.

9. Iar Marcianus mór mear,
re lind Laeghaire luaitear
fa ri Leo na sciath sgeanmhadha,
fa bheo in triath ’s a tighearna.

d. *456
r. *462
r. *456 (recte 457)

10. Leo deaghri in domhain uili
in tan teasta Laeghaire;
Oilill Molt uaind ’na inadh
nár smuain o lc na aimsiughadh.

d. *462
r. *465

11. In tan teasta Leo, dar leam,
Oilill dob airdrí Éireand:
Sdeonan tar éis Leo tar lear,
a sbéis i ngleo ’s i ngaisgeadh.

d. *473 (recte 474)
r. 473 (recte 474)

12. Bás Conaill re ám[m] thai<dh> gan chrádh
i ré Sdeonán rig Róm[h]án
is bás Oilella Muilt mir
do thoirind uile ’na aimsir.

d. *480
r. *484

13. San aimsir chénta ad-cluine
Lugaid Lond mac Laeghaire,
dá gabháil Éireand gan aeil
dá radháil céimeand coscair.

14. I ré Sdenóin, fa ghormghá,
Aenghus mac Nadfraích fraechdha,
é fèn ’s a bhean dá aidheadh and
le seadh cloidheamh is comhland.

d. *489

15. In ré cénta is dá ceann[n]aibh:
mac Énna caímh Ceandsealaigh,
guin Cream/thaind fa chrádh le scoil
ní chuir i ndán már dearbhair.

d. *486

16. Bás Sdenóin, sgáilidh gach scol,

d. *490 (recte 491)
is bás Pádraig puirt Breaton, d. *491
i rré mac Laeghaire lóir,
na haenaigh 'na anóir.

17. Ag teasdáil Pádraig peannglain, d.* 491
ní dearbh sin a seinleabhraib,
ri ar in domhan go ngné g<l>oin
d’[f]h[<a>]-muise [i]mon amson.

18. Anastasius, uair blaidh, r. *491
fa ri in domhain 'na dheaghaidh;
do bhi seal re lind Luig[hd]each,
a fheadh lúidh is lánc/ruimh/neach.

19. Fraech mac Findchadha, is fír dam, d. *495
fuair bás i rré in dá rígh sin;
fa ri Laighean Fraech feardha,
daigh-únear da thraeth tíghearna.

20. Mochae Naendroma ó Chluain Cha, d. *497
naemh do Shíl Luig[hd]each Lágha;
's é do ég imon amsin,
fa bhéid i gcré in ca landsin.

21. Bás Bríghdhi is easbaig Ibhair
'sa ré sin do ráidhilháir;
tearc 'ga bhfuil a [bh]fis a chhind
a lis 'nár muigh 'nár mail[l]índ
*d. 524, d. *502

22. Anastasius, léir líbh,
teasta i nEirind 'na [i]msir
borrshlat dar cubhaidh cuiri,
Lughaidh Lond mac Laeghairi. d. *509

23. Muirchertaigh mór mac Earca
togthar ima mórg/reasa,
gan fairbhrigh gan é[i]nheall de
'na airdrígh Éireand uile. r. *510

24. Re lind Muirchertaigh ad-bath
25. Anastasius, fa theand, d. 518
fuair bás gér chneasta i [c]uing[gh]eall
i remis Muircheartaigh móir
do thuilcheartaigh na tromslóigh.

26. Iustinus ' na inadh thair r. *519 (recte 518)
i rré Muircheartaigh meanmaigh;
in dá eao bunaidh bríghi,
fa chubhaidh a [c]omhrighi.

27. Ailbhe is Mac Duach, Colmán Cóir, d. *525; d. ?
is Buidhe agus Beo-aedh,
an díth sin mar t[h]or<t>aing te;
agus gein Coluim Cille.
b. *520

Iustinianus and-sein;
gein Caemháin Bric i rré in righ,
doba ghlic é gan fairbh/righ.
r. *526 (recte 527)
b. *527

29. Bás Muircheartaigh mic Earca r. *533
d. *532
'mun am-sin, nirba geanta;
Tuathal dá éis 'na tãriath teand,
a sbéis i n-iath na hÉireand.

30. Baitín dalta Coluim cóir, b. *534
and do geineadh is Grigóir;
is teas[t?]?a in dream a-dér:
ní cneasta lium-sa leithsgél.
b. *539

31. Comhghall ri Alban gan acht, d. *537
Eoghan Bél righ caemh Connacht,
is Eochaidh righ móir Mumhan,
a [n]glór do bhí ar beathughudh.
d. *542

32. Bás Mobhi nachar gabh gus d. *540
i rré Justinianus,
i rré Thuathail Maeil Gairbh grind
ón Bhaill Bailbh is ón Bhóind.

33. Ciarán mac int Shaír gan tsal,
in aenló teasta is Tuathal;
ba fliath Diarmait ’na dhéaghaidh,
maith tiaghmaid sa tromfeadhain.

d. *543

34. Tig/earnach Cluana na caebh,
líbhearna<ch> buadha in bláthnaemh:¹⁴

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35. Findia mac ua Teallaibh tréin,
Colum mac Cribh/thain[n] cneasréidh,
Colum Indsí Cealltra ón chill,
is Mac Táil Cilli Chuilind.

d. *550

36. Eochaidh is Feargna na fleadh,
dá rígh Uladh re n-áireamh;
Oilill Inbanna gan acht
airdrigh cosgorach Connacht.¹⁹

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37. In cuiri, ba scíth lér dil,
a ndíth ulí ’mon am-sín,²⁰

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38. Gein Molua mic Foiche find,
is gein Caem/áin Léith, luaidhim,
uausal in gnímh”’ Dhé deas,
i rré in dá rígh do ráidheas.

b. *553

b. *554

¹⁴ This couplet follows the quatrain beginning *Findia Moccu Tealldaibh tréin* in M. There is no indication in M of there being a caesura between the end of 33 and the beginning of this couplet.

¹⁹ It is possible that the scribe has mistakenly transposed the couplets in this quatrain.

²⁰ Again, there is no indication of a caesura between 36d and this couplet.

²¹ Now very faint and almost illegible. Written in right margin.
39. Iustinus beg nár beg gus
tar éis Iustineanus;
faí theasta Diarmaid nár dhocht,
in fialbaig gan aenlocht.

r. *563 (recte 565)
d. 565
d. *563

40. Cland Muirc/heartaigh mic Earca
d’éis Diarmaid in deighéachta;
i ré in dá righ teacht thair
ri Mumhan Crimthand cubhaidh.

r. *563
d. *563

41. ---------------------------------

154ra54-56

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teasta Mulaisi ria lind,
cneau a mhaisi ar a mhórchill.\(^{22}\)
d. *562

42. Tríúr rígh d’Éirind dá éis sin
re lind Iustinus uaibh\(\)righ;
in tslat lér cleachtadh cneadha
go mac neartmar Ninneadha.

r. *572

43. Mac Ninneadha fa thriath teand
in oireochas na hÉireand
in tan ba ri Tiber thair
ar in tír mbíledh mbuaidhi.

r. *575 (recte 574, 578)

44. *In dá Bréanaind dearbh/thair de*:\(^{23}\)

Findia ó Mhuigh ler mian goil
d. *577

Cairbre mac cródh Crimthain[n],
a ndith, nír gnimh é gan fis,
i ré in dá rígh do ráidhis.

45. Marcianus fa thoirr\(\)each tír,
tar éis Tibh\(\)ir, ba triath rígh,
in cing fa dhata dáil
re lind bunada Baedáin.

r. *582
d. 582

46. Feargus rígh Mum\(\)han, mian slóigh,
d. *582

\(^{22}\) Follows immediately after 40d. No indication of a caesura between 40d and this couplet.

\(^{23}\) This line, a kind of introductory gloss, appears to act as a preface for the following four lines which when taken together constitute the quatrain.
is Ruadhán Lothra in leabróir: d. *583
in raen sin légh agus leanfead ‘mun am sin a n-oigheadh.

47. Marbhthar Baedán na mbreath nglan, d. *584
mac Ainmireach ’na inad, r. *584
saer a ainm os gach feadhain,
Aedh ’ga ghairm ag Gaídhealaibh.

48. Colum Cille gan taemh te d. *593
dá bith o[c] Cill mhóir Muine;
Feidlimidh rígh Muimhneach móir, d. *588
ba chuimhneach mhín a mhallghlór.

49. A n-oighidh imon am-sin b. *588
gabhaidh cáech mar chomaimisir;
gein Cumáin mic Fiachna and, 
aínbhriathra det do dhearbhtsam.

50. Aighidh Aedha dá éis sin d. *596
i rré Maircius meanmnaigh;
Colmán and is Aedh ele, r. *596
dá chrand ths anurllaide.

51. And-sin teasta Garbhán grind, d. *596
ri Mumhán na múr mbind;
gabhais Focas treisi thair r. *603 (recte 602)
doba deisi da dubh<th>aigh.

52. A n-aighidh and-sin fá seach: d. *600
Comhghall Beannchair caemh cráibht each,
Caemh/deach mac ua Dallán dil,
prap a anam go hainglibh.

53. Rí Mumhán Amhalgaidh ard, d. *601
mac Léinín, Laisrén láng harg; d. *603
mór in lén, bás na buidhhe,
sgél gan chás ná celaimne.

54. Bás dá ríg Êireann gérbh ail
Focus fá tríath 'mon am-sin; r. *603 (recte 602)
más eol duid, fégh in fis sin,
tuig is légigh na letri sin.

55. Aedh Uairidhmach, luaitear lind, r. *603
fa rí dá n-éis ar Éirind;
aderthai ris 'Aedh Allán',
 craeabh-inis amar Manannán.

56. Bás Branduith mic Eathach aird, d. *603
rí Laighean Lughaidh saerbhaird;
doba daenna é is nír fois
i rré Aedha is Focois.

57. Eraclius fá triath thair r. *611 (recte 610)
in aimsir Aedha Idnaigh;
a dhéis fortail, in fis sin?
ros-n-áin roim[he i n-] irrisin.

bás Colmáin Eala in uair sin,
bás Aedha Róin ri Laighean,
is gnímh cóir a [c]euimh[n]igheadh.

59. Gabhais Éirind dá éis sin, r. *610
Mael Chabha ceand dá cbhéiric<h>ibh;
flaith fa ghrádh in fear fearrdha,
maith a lámh gé leithshearg[t]ha.

60. Tar éis Mael Chabha na [c]ath d. *613
gabhais Suibhne Meand maimnach
righi nÉireand gan faladh
léibhind sídhí snuadh'hamha<i>l.

61. Rónán righ Laighean laech séimh, d. *613
Finghean is Cathal cneasréidh,
dá righ Mumhan, mór a mblasth,
nár tubhadh glór ná greadhan.

62. Caeimhín Glínni Dá Lacha, d. *622
Maedog Fear<(person)> na in phrimhratha,
a ndith re lind Suibhne [i]ar sin,
a [c]cuimhne lend 'nár leabhraibh.

63. Domhnall ri Éireand iar sin,
Eraclius ri in domhain,
dá ching is cneasta ináir laídh,
teasta réna lá acht aín.

64. Eraclonus, fa ghormghá,
re lind Domhnaill 'na dheaghaidh
in chomhlaind bhind bheocneadhaigh.

65. Is air sin, trócair 'ga thig,
Cremthann[d] mac Aedha échtaigh
ri Laighean na lann seabhrach,
daigh[gh]ear nár ghand ghmáthtriadh.

66. Consail[gh]dín mac Erachfind
i ré Domhnaill, a-derim,
triath, at<h>-lum<h>-sidhi fa sámh,
i rígh rathmar Rómhán.

67. Munda mac Tulcháin 'ga Thig,
fgair bás i ré in dá rígh sin,
a inad arna ég neamh,
int idhan créd fá chaintear?

68. Da ghabh rígh thair is tir
Consail[gh]dín ele int airídh<gh>;
and-sin ogheadh Congail Claein
i n-oírir fondghlain ferchaemh.

69. Failbhe Fland is Cuan Cliach,
dá rígh Mumhan na mórscaiath;
Aedh Dubh rígh Laighean na long,
ba daighféar re cur cómhlon.

70. Mulaise Leith [G]lindi lán,
is mac Dá Chéard[a] in Comháin, a ndíth fá Dhomhnull nár dhocht ó frith comhland is cróidhocht.

71. Teasta Domhnull 'na dbhaidh sin i rré Consail[d]in cneisg[hal], É[i]rin magh gleannach nár ghand do ghabh Ceallach is Conall. d. *643 r. *644

72. Díth daine<adh> is díth naemh re lind in dá righ rochaemh, ticeam tar droing dibh annois, gango poind dibh adermois.


76. I rré in Chonsaindín chéitna Diarmait, Blathmac baisghégdha, do gabh[th]ai le rind uili guna léib[h]ind laechraidh. r. *654

77. Bás Cumain mic Fiachna find, bás Conaill Clogaigh ceol [m]bind, is bás Guairi Aighne fhéil, maighre na huailli eisein. d. *661 d. *661 d. *663

78. Bás Maenaigh mic Fin[gh]in aird d. *661
rígh Mumhan, molaidh saerbháird,  
i rré dá mac Aedha fhind,  
craebha do ghlac go [n]gluaislaínd.

79. Sa ré chéitna gérbo chreach,  
táinig in galar gainmheach  
darbh ainm in Buidhi Chonail[l],  
tuili ar maidhm dá mhóirtonnaibh.

80. Manchán Léith, Féchin Fbhair  
marbh do neimh i[n] neartghalair;  
is mac Bearaigh Rónán ré[i]dh  
fa bhróinán d’Ihearaíb eisein.

81. Aenghus rígh Uladh gan ail,  
mór déis Cú móir Gan Mháthair  
rígh Mumhan, in ri gan chol,  
nár tubhadh ar bhru bearnadh.

82. Diarmaid is Blathmac ad-bath  
don ghalar chéitna creathach;  
dá mhac Aedha Sláine séimh,  
fa chraebha aílli iad sein.

83. Mac Bla[i]thmic Seachnasach seang,  
dá n-éis dob airdri<g> Éireand;  
a sáith ’a-raen and d’oig/ri  
gur bháith craebh mbhall Modhoirni.

84. Gabhais Consaindin ele  
rigí Rómhán rathmhaire  
i rréimeas mic Blaithmic bhind,  
gleic is att glic ’na intind.

85. Re lind Consaindin gan chol  
gabha[i]s Ceand Faeladh fleadhmhór  
rigí Fódhla na ngort ngrind  
d’[f]ógra na n-olc a hÉirind.

86. Bás Congail Ceannfhada cain,

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*[664]*665
87. Gabhráis Finnachta Fleadhach
Éirinn na ngort ngaidelach,
ché do mhíll go fuileach fir,
buidheach mo lind don laech-sin.

88. Dá churaidh do chonghaimhadh smacht,
dá airdrígh cródha Connacht,
dream oll nár claenadh tre chol,
Ceand Faeladh dorch is Dúncadh.

89. Colga rígh Mumhan gan mhear,
Fiandamhail righ léir Laighean,
a ndith ’mun am-sin uili,
scith le ham/hasilh irghaile.

90. Justinianus fuair rath,
agus Findachta Fleadhach,
ché thuir fa ré[i]dhí ríghi,
cuir le céile a chom/hdhiini.

91. Mobheóc Cluana Aird úir,
Bran rígh Laighean in laechmeúir,
a [c]rádh fa chré, is cáis gan chair,
a mbás i ré in dá rígh sin.

92. Leo rí in domhain nár dhochta
in tan teasta Finnachta;
flaith do fuair go coimseach crodh;
Loingseach uaind ina inadh.

93. Finghuine mearnmnaich Mac Con
Gan Máthair rígh móir Mumhan;
is and sin teasta in triath teand,
teasta in fir fa iath nÉireand.

94. Is é Tibher fa triath thair
95. Oilill rígh Mumhan a-muigh,  
mac Con maerdha Gan Máthair;  
a oigheadh 'mon am chéitna,  
oigh[a]r na land lainghéidhda.

96. Teasta Loingseach lér, dos goil,  
righthar Conghal Cind Maghair;  
's é re lind Tibhir gan tar  
agus Filidh [Fh]ind dámrhradh.

97. Iustinianus ele  
d'éis Tibhir aird urrlaidhe  
re lind Conghail Cind Maghair,  
in bhínd fhondmhair irghalaigh.

98. Bás trí rígh Connacht trí chair  
re lind Conghail Cind Maghair:  
Ceallach is Dúnchadh fa dhath,  
Indrac/tach súchar searcach.

99. Ad-bath Conghal fa chaemh li,  
Fearghal dá éis 'na airdrígh,  
mac Maeili Dúin nár dbochta  
'na dhúil naidhi nuachorchra.

100. Pilipicus fa mhaith méin<n>,  
Anustatius and-sein;  
iad i ré firi Fearghail,  
gné sídhi ar a snuaidhealbhaibh.

101. Bás Cormic ua Maenaigh mir  
ri<gh> Mumhan i ré in rígnisn;  
fairsing crich i [t]Teallaigh thall,  
agus dith Ceallaigh Chual<l>and.

102. T<h>e[o]thosius fa triath thair  
r. 715
isin aimsir sin Fearghail
ár sbéis isin é ó fírí,
Leo dá éis in airdríghi.  

103. Sa ré sin bás Béic Boirche,
ri Uladh nárbh anfoirc[t]he,
and do fearadh na frosa
ina da rand dob urasa.

104. Eidirsgél oendha féil,
ri Mumhan nárin mbhín cathréim
dá bhás, ni fuair achadh ar,
Cathal uaind ina inadh.

105. Ó aimsir Leo nár lag dáil
oighrí échtminic esgain;
righa in domlain, nir léir lind,
rob soraidh do[n] féin foiltfhind.

106. Cuid fear nÉireand donn eisin,
dá [bh]fédaind a indeisin:
fearr freagra ar gach faith feadh/nach;
ní maith eagna urbearn<n>ach.

107. Aínn don line, réidh ra indsin,
in<n>eadh ar gach comhaimsir,
is doirbh/cheleas é do gach fir
is oircheas mé do mhaidheamh.
Imarcaigh sund ar …

107A. Clanda Cuirc le mbronntar ba
do mac crethe is lease lámha,
sluagh suidhe 'nár n-aicme bind,
dá aitreibh uilí éirgheim.
Imarcaigh sund ar gach saí<dh>.

Translation
1. 

18
[There are] abundances herein for every scholar of all that *senchas* has mentioned with noble distinction; whether they [other scholars] deem it bad or good — I will entrust myself — I will abandon the noise of the bellows of conflicts.

2.
Though numerous the articles of noble benefit in the precedent-based and unbiased *senchas*, let that article be for ever put to the test: ‘Everyone is a Seanchaidh until [it comes to cultivating] synchronism’.

3.
The kings of the world — reddening of blemishes — and the over-kings of Ireland, to put their reigns together, it is no escape from dissension.

4.
That which is ingeniously composed thereof until [the coming of] the Faith let that be composed; — pride in its strength with solidity — it is I who composed it after [the coming] of the Faith.

5.
Theodosius [r. *420] — he was strong in the east — whose title was ‘Emperor of the World’, and Laeghaire [r. *423] during his period [was] shepherd of Ireland.

6.
Two over-kings of the tender advocate, in their period Pádraig came to the shore of Ireland [*432] — in which was found renown — to banish her evil-doers [and] to slaughter demons.

7.
In the era of those two virtuous kings gifted Brigit was born [b. *439]; I consider her the beloved maiden of the Laighin, she was the miraculous virgin of Ireland.

8.
After Theodosius without falsehood [d. *449], Marcianus was a good king [r. *449]; — good was the appearance of the leader of every muster — it is he [who was king] during the time of Láegaire.

9.
After Marcianus great [and] swift [d. *456], [and] during the period of Laeghaire it is mentioned that Leo [r. *456] of the spiked shields was king, [and] that the king and his lords were alive [then].

10.
Leo [was] good king of the entire world when Laeghaire died [*462]; Oilill Molt [r. *465] from among us [was] his successor who did not conceive of evil or attacking.

11. When Leo died [d. *473] — in my opinion — Ailill was over-king of Ireland; Zeno [r. *473] [was] after Leo overseas, his concern [was] for battle and feats of heroism.


13. In that same time you hear [of] Lughaidh Lonn son of Laeghaire [r. *485], of his taking over of Ireland without weapon-point when he bestowed ranks of triumph.

14. In the era of Zeno — he was a grey spear — Aenghus son of fierce Nadfraích [d. *489], he himself and his wife were overwhelmed (?) there by the strength of swords and combats.

15. Of the same era and its leaders: son of handsome Énna Ceannsealaigh, the slaying of Crimthann [AT 489] — it was a torment to the school — it [the school] does not put it in a poem as it is being verified.

16. The death of Zeno [*490] — let every school be dispersed — and the death of Pádraig [*491] of the haven of the Britons, in the era of Láegaire of abundance, [there were] assemblies in his honour.

17. With the death of Pádraig of the pure pen — that is not certain from old books — king over the world with pure countenance as result of an attack about that time.

18. Anastasius [r. *491] — a time of renown — he was king of the world after him; he was [king] for a while during the period of Lugaid, his length of time of power is fully-remembered.

19. Fraech son of Finnchadh [d. *495] — it is true for me — he died in the era of those two kings; virile Fraech was king of the Laighin, a nobleman who subdued a lord.

20.
Mochae of Náendruim [d. *497] from Cluain Chaí, a saint of the lineage of Lughaidh Lágha; it is he who died about that time, it was a loss that that body was in [the] clay.

21. The death of Brigit [d. *524] and of the bishop Ibhar [d. *502] in that time which you have mentioned; few are those who have knowledge of them of their own accord, [namely] their enclosures in our plain [and] in our placid lake.

22. Anastasius — [let it be] clear to you — there died in Ireland in his time a strong rod for whom a muster was appropriate, [namely], Lughaidh Lonn mac Laeghaire [d. *509].

23. Great Muircheartach mac Earca [r. *510] is selected on account of his great attacks, without exercising undue power, without any treachery from him as high-king of all Ireland.

24. During the time of Muircheartach there died psalm-singing Bishop Earc of Sláine [d. *513]; the reputation of Earc of the precise quatrain, his miracles [are] in my thought[s] and on my mind.

25. Anastasius [d. *518] – he was strong – he died, though kind was he in the discipline of sureties during the reign of great Muircheartach who subdued powerful armies.

26. Justin [I] [r. *519] was his successor in the East in the time of spirited Muircheartach; the two hereditary champions of authority, their contemporaneous kingships were harmonious.

27. Ailbhe [d. *525] and the son of Duach, Colmán Cóir, and Buidhe [d. 520] and Beoaedh [d. 520], that loss was like a fierce loud noise [?] and the birth of Colum Cille [b. 520].

28. The death of Justin [I] [d. 525] whose disposition was good, Justinian [I] [ the Great r. 526] then; the birth of Caemhán Breac [b. 527] in the time of the king, he was shrewd without exercising undue power.

29. The death of Muircheartach son of Earc [d. 532] about that time – he was no heathen; Túathal [r. 533] was powerful lord after him, his concern was for the land of Ireland.
30. Baithin [b. 534] pupil of virtuous Colum, [it is] then that he was born, and Gregory [b. 539]; and the people died of whom I will speak: I do not look kindly on a half story.

31. Comhghall king of Scotland [d. 537] without doubt, Eoghan Bél [d. 542] of the fair kings of Connacht, and Eochaidh [d. 522] of the great kings of Munster, their fame was sustained.

32. The death of Mobhi [d. 540] who did not accept death in the time of Justinian [I], [and] in the time of perceptive Túathal Máel Garb from the Baill Bailbh and from the Boyne.

33. Ciarán son of the Wright [d. 543] without sin, on the same day he and Túathal died [d. 543]; Darmaid [r. 543] was lord after him, well we go in the mighty company [of warriors].

34. Tighearnach of Clúain Eois [d. 544] of the scions, offices of virtue [was] the holy blossom; (…).


36. Eochaidh [d. 552] and Feargna [d. 552] of the feasts, two kings of the Ulaidh to be ennumerated; Oilill Inbanna [d. 549] without doubt, of the triumphant over-kings of the Connachta.

37. The host it was an obvious and beloved sorrow – the loss of them all about that time; (…).

38. The birth of Molua [b. *553] son of fair Foiche, and the birth of Caemhán Liath [b. *554] — I mention; noble the deed from lovely God [?] in the time of the two kings that I have mentioned.

39. Justin Minor (II) [r. *563] whose vigour was not little [was] after Justinian (I) [d. *562]; alas that Diarmaid [d. *563] who was not niggardly died, the generous and tender one without a single fault.

40.
The descendants [Fearghus & Domhnall r. *563] of Muircheartach son of Earc [were] after Diarmaid of the good feat; in the time of the two kings [was] the coming in the east of the king of Munster, harmonious Crimthann [r. *552].

41.
(...). Molaise [d. *562] died during his time, fitting the adornment on his great church.

42.
[There were] three kings of Ireland after that during the time of haughty Iustinus; the chief who was accustomed to suffering [wounds] up until the [time of] the strong son of Ninneadh [r. *572].

43.
The son of Ninneadh [r. *572] was a strong lord in the sovereignty of Ireland when Tiberius [r. *575] was king in the east over the country of the scions of virtue.

44.
The two Brénainn it is proved (*Gloss: Finnia from Magh by whom valour is desired) Cairbre, brave son of Crimthann [d. *577] — their deaths were — it was not a deed without knowledge — in the reign of the two kings which you have mentioned.

45.
Marcianus [r. *582] whose country was fruitful, after Tiberius [d. 582] — he was a lord of kings — the king whose assembly was handsome, during the reign of the seed of Baedhán.

46.

47.
Baedán [d. *584] of the pure judgements is killed, the son of Ainmire [Aedh r. *584] in his stead, noble his name over every company, Àedh [was] being summoned by the Irish.

48.
Colum Cille [d. *593] without lustful sin when there was slain at great Cill Muine; Feidlimidh [d. *588] of the kings of the great Munstermen, well-remembered and soft was his gentle voice.

49.
Their deaths about that time, every one accepts as a synchronism; the birth of Cuimmíne [Fada] [b. *588] son of Fiachna then, untrue statements have we put to the test for you.
50. The death of Aedh [mac Ainmirech, d. *596] [was] after that in the era of spirited Marcius; Colmán [r. *596] then and the other Aedh [i.e. Aedh Sláine] [they became] two prostrate pillars of battle.

51. Then vigorous Garbhán [d. *596] died, king of Munster of the pleasant ramparts; Phocas [r. *603] seized power in the east, he was a suit of armour which grew dark.

52. Their deaths then in turn: fair and pious Comhghall [d. *600] of Bangor, dear Caemhdeach moccu Dalláin [d. *598], his soul leaped [up] to the angels.

53. The king of Munster, lofty Amhalgdadh [d. *601] the son of Léinín, completely fierce Laisrén [d. *603]; – great the sorrow – the death of the company, [that is] a story without reason that we do not hide.

54. The death of the two kings of Ireland though it was a misfortune, Phocas [r. *603] was lord around that time; if you know – pay attention to that knowledge – understand and read those writings.

55. Aedh Uairidhnach [r. *603] – it is mentioned to us – he was king after them over Ireland; he used to be called ‘Áedh Allán’, a branching island like Manannán.

56. The death of Brandubh [d. *603] son of lofty Eochaidh, the king of Leinster [was] Lughaidh [d. *607], the sáer bard; he was humane and there was no respite in the era of Aedh and of Phocus.

57. Heraclius [r. *611] was lord in the East in the time of Aedh Uairidhnach; his capable vassalry –do you know that?– which he drove before him into conflict.


59. He took Ireland after that, [namely]. Mael Cobha [r. *610] [was] leader of his clerics; [he was] a prince whose love was the virile man, good his hand although it was half wasted away.
60. After Mael Cobha [d. *613] of the battles, spirited Suibhne Meann [r. *613] took the kingship of Ireland of the wonderous and beautiful expansive territory without resentment.


62. Caemghean [d. *622] of Gleann Dá Locha, Maedhóg of Fearn [d. *627] of the pre-eminent palace, their deaths [were] during the time of Suibhne after that, we have memories of them in our books.

63. Domhnall [d. *643] [was] king of Ireland after that, Heraclius [d. 641] [was] king of the world, the two most fitting kings in our lay, they died before their day save for a fast-period

64. Heraclonius [r. *641] – he was a grey-blue lance – after royal Heraclius [and] during the time of Domhnall, after him, of the melodious-sounding combat of mortal woundings.

65. It is on account of that – let there be peace upon his house – that Crimthann [d. *636] son of death-dealing Aedh, [became] king of the Laighin of the trusty blades, [he was] a good man who was not mean and was given to fasting.

66. Constantine son of Heraclius in the era of Domhnall — I say — a lord — he rises up peacefully — in the prosperous kingship of the Romans.

67. Munnu son of Tulchán [d. *633] at his House (Teach Munna), he died in the era of those two kings, his place after his death [was] heaven, the holy one, why is he lamented?

68. He took kingship in the east and the land, [namely], the other Constantin, [r. *644] the high-king; then [was] the death of Conghal Claen [d. *639] on the coast of the pure territory of the fair men.

69.
Failbhe Flann [d. *639] and Cúán [d. *641] of Clíú, two kings of Munster of the great shields; Aedh Dubh [d. *641] of the kings of the Laighin of the ships, he was a good man for the conduct of combats.

70. Accomplished Molaise of Leithgleann [d. *641], and the son of Dá Chearda, namely, Comghán [d. *642], their deaths under [the reign of] Domhnall who was not niggardly when combat and courage were encountered.

71. Domhnall [d. *643] died after that in the era of bright-skinned Constantine; Ériu of the valley-rich plains which were not barren did Cellach and Conall seize [r. *644].

72. The death of the people and the death of the saints during the time of those very fair kings,— I pass over a number of them now — though it be not a small number of them that we might mention.


75. Conall, Ceallach injured him, it was in the era of that same Constantine that both met certain death though it was a sorrow in every fair hill of assembly.

76. In the era of that same Constantine [were] Diarmaid and deft-handed Blathmhad [r. *654], they were all seized at spear-point with their phalanx of warriors.

77. The death of fair Cuimmíne son of Fiachna [d. *661], the death of Conall Clogach [d. *661] of melodious airs, and the death of hospitable Guaire of Aidhne [d. *663], that one [was] the salmon of haughtiness.

79.
In that same era, though it was a calamity, the sabulous disease came that was named the Buidhe Chonaill [*664-665], a flood tide after the breaking of its great waves.

80.
Manchán [d. *665] of Liath, Féichín [d. *665] of Fabhar died of the venom of the mighty disease; and [the death of] tranquil Rónán mac Bearaigh [d. *665], that was a sorrow to men.

81.
Aenghus [d. *665] of the kings of the Ulaidh without blemish, a great vassal [was] great Cú Gan Máthair [d. *665] of the kings of Munster, the king without sin, who was not reproached while facing contest. (ar brú na bearna)

82.
Diarmaid and Blathmac [d. *665] died of that same shake-inducing disease; the two sons of mild Aedh Sláine, those were beautiful scions.

83.
The son of Blathmac, slender Seachnasach [r. *665], after them he was the high-king of Ireland; [there was] a sufficiency of them together then as heirs until the gentle scion of Modhorn overwhelmed [them].

84.
Another Constantine [r. 668] took the prosperous kingship of the Romans in the reign of the son of melodious Blathmac, a struggle and accute tumour [was] in his mind.

85.
During the time of Constantine without sin Ceann Faeladh [r. *672] of the great feasts took the kingship of Ireland of the lovely pasture lands for the announcement of the banishment of the evil ones out of Ireland.

86.
The death of fair Conghal Ceannfhata [d. *674], over-king of the Ulaid about that time; and Ceann Faeladh [d. *675] himself died, I do not fear to mention that.

87.
Fínnachta Fleadhach [r. *675] took Ireland of the Gaelic pasture-lands — though men despoiled [her] with blood-shed — grateful is my story to that warrior.

88. Two warriors who use to uphold authority, two brave over-kings of the Connachta, — a great people who were not corrupted through sin — brown-haired Ceann Faeladh [d. *682] and Dúchadh [d. *683].

89. Colga [d. *678] of the kings of Munster without insane people, Fiannamhail [d. *680] of the zealous kings of the Laighin, all their deaths about that time, it was a sorrow to the mercenaries of battle.

90. Justinianus [r. *690] received rath, and Fínnachta Fleadhach, [resumed r. *689] — two pillars whose kingship was tranquil — put you (sg.) together their respective dynasties!

91. Noble Mobheóc [d. *690] of Cluain Ard, Bran [d. *690/*693] of the kings of the Laighin of the heroic rampart, their destruction under the soil — it is a circumstance without blame — their deaths [were] in the era of those two kings.

92. Leo, [r. *695], who was not niggardly, [was] king of the world when Fínnachta died [d. *695]; [he was] a prince who ably received chattels; from among us Loingseach [r. *695] [came] in his stead.

93. Spirited Finghuine [d. *696] son of Cú Gan Máthair of the great kings of Munster; it is then that the mighty lord died, [and that] the truth died about the land of Ireland.

94. It is Tiberius [r. 698] who was lord in the east after Leo – Lugaid of the contentious tall one – Moling [d. *697] of the Law – it is likely – his death during the time of Tiberius.

95. Oilill [d. *696] of the kings of Munster abroad, [and] son of noble Cú Gan Máthair; his death [was] around the same time, [he was] the heir of the fully deft blades.

96.
Zealous Loingseach [d. *703] died – a champion of valour – Conghal [r. *705] of Ceann Maghair is made king; and it is during the time of Tiberius without evil and [with] Fili [Finn ?] of the retinues of poets.

97. The other Justinian [r. 705] [came] after lofty smiting Tiberius [d. 705] [and] during the time of Conghal of Ceann Maghair [r. *705], the melodious one of the beautiful combative territory.

98. The deaths of three kings of the Connachta through a crime during the time of Conghal of Ceann Maghair: Ceallach [d. *705], and Dúncadh in colours appropriate to his rank, [and] pleasant and beloved Indrachtach [d. *707].

99. Conghal [d. *710] whose appearance was handsome died, Fearghal [r. *710] [came] after him as high-king, the Son of Mael Dúin, who was not miserly, as a fresh and new purple [bedecked] creature.

100. Philippicus [r. 711] whose disposition was good, Anastasius [r. 713] then; they [were] in the righteous era of Fearghal, the aspect of peace [was] on their pleasant physiques.


102. Theodosius [ r. 715] who was lord in the East in that time of Fearghal; our interest is in the salmon of truth, Leo [r. 717] [was] after him in high-kingship.

103. In that era [was] the death of Bècc Bhoirche [d. *718], the King of the Ulaidh who was not unlearned — [it was] then that the showers were poured — in their two apportionings it was easier.

104. Eterscél [d. *727], single-minded and hospitable, the king of Munster for whose death the cathréim [battle-list] was not trivial – he did not find a field of cultivations – Cathal [d. *742] [went] from among us in his stead.

105.
From the time of Leo whose ordinance was not weak, successors [who were] given to rough valorous deeds; the kings of the world – they were not clear to us – may it be easy going for the fair-haired warrior-band.

106. Those are some of the men of Ireland of the princes, if I might say it: it is a better answer for every prince of troops; defective knowledge is not good.

107. The name of the lineage — plain to tell — [and] the offspring for every synchronism [contemporaneous interval?], — it is a difficult feat for every man — it is fitting for me to declare. [There are] abundances herein.

107A Clanna Cuirc by whom cattle are presented to a poet whose hands are reticent, — a host of scholars in our melodious class — from all his habitations I arise. [There are] abundances herein for every scholar.

**Textual Notes and Commentary**


2d *comhaimsir*. Dan McCarthy, in a recent written communication to me, has noted that ‘*comhaimsir* is used, as in this poem, to refer to extended intervals such as lifetimes or reigns which overlap to some extent and which are in this sense “contemporaneous”’. The poet’s own assertion *A n-oighidh imon am-sin gabhaidh cáech mar chomaimsir* in q. 49 when referring to deaths in the interval of twelve years 582–593 makes it explicit that this was his understanding of the word *comhaimsir*. In McCarthy’s view, this would mean that our current translation of *comhaimsir* as ‘synchronism’ should perhaps be modified to something like ‘contemporaneous interval’.

5a. *Te[θ]hosius*. The name is spelt as *Teothósius* (AI § 342) and *Teodosius* (AU 449.1).

12a. *Bás Chonaill — re ám[n] thai<dh> gan crúdh*. *Ámm* means (a) ‘hand’, (b) ‘troop of men’; *thai<dh>* is derived from Middle Irish *toe/tai* ‘silent’ (DIL T.212.31-213.5).


14c. *É fen ’s a bhean da oigheadh and*| efensa bean doigead ann M. ‘he himself and his wife two deaths therein (i. e. in that era)’.

15d. in chuir i ndán] incuir / indan (...) M. G. Toner suggests reading ni chuir ‘it (i.e. the school) does not put it in a poem’
17d. d’fh[u]il<ae>[m]a[r]ui]se dfulamuisce M. I take scribal dfulamuisce to be a misspelling in which the epenthetic vowel has been written. Fölmaisse means ‘opportunity for attack’ DIL F.274.18-38.
25b. i [c]uing[g]heall]. This is a compound of cuing f. ‘obligation’ and geall m. ‘surety, pledge.
27a Mac Duach, Colmán Cóir]. This is Colmán Cóir mac Duach after whom Cill mic Duach is named. See CGSH, 376, 503, etc. I have been unable to identify a reference to him in the annals.
27c an díth sin mar thor<ai]nd té an / díth sin mar tortaind te M. I tentatively suggest translating this phrase as ‘that loss was like a fierce loud noise’. This requires us to take manuscript tortaind as a mistake for toraind, acc. sg. form of torann/torainn ‘thunder’; (loud) noise; battle’. Te normally means ‘hot’, but can also mean ‘fierce, keen’.
31c. Laud Sync. (p. 478.33-34) has Eochaidh mac Aenghusa (d. *522) as successor to Aenghus.
32d Bhaill Bailbh]. I have been unable to identify this placename.
34c-d. The poet had a problem here. A glance at McCarthy’s Chronological Synchronisation of the Irish Annals will show that the annals offer sparse pickings for the period 545-549. I think that the poet left space in his exemplar with the intention of returning to it after gleaning material from another source, not then readily to hand. In the event, the text was transmitted without the necessary couplet being added.
37c-d. Between the beginning of Fergusna’s reign (*552.6) and the birth of Molua (*553.2) only one really significant event happens: Cairpre begins his reign as king of the Laighin (*552.7). As in 34c-d, the poet may have intended to return to this quatrains and add material on Cairpre. Alternatively, he may have overlooked the cenn faoi eite.
38c —[uaisal in gnímh ó Dhé deas —]. This line is unclear in the manuscript and the reading, especially o dhe deas is tentative.
40. Crimthann mac Echach (d. *552), in Laud Sync. (p. 497.1-2) the successor to Eochaidh (cf. q. 31), appears to have been synchronized with Justin II (*563 + 11; recte: 565-573) rather than with Justinian I (526 + 38; recte 527-565).
41a-b. The couplet has been omitted. Compare 34c-d and 37c-d. This couplet may have contained a reference to the joint-reign of Fergus and Domnall mac Muirchertaig (*563-*565).
42a. The ‘three kings’ that are here mentioned only indirectly are Ainmhire mac Sédhna (r. *565-*568) and joint-kings, Baedán mac Muircheartaigh and Eochaidh mac Domhnaill mhic Muircheartaigh (r. *568-*571).
44. *Findia ó Mhuigh ler mia goil*] findia omuigh ler mi/an goil. This personage is Bishop Finnian (Findbarr) of Mag Bile (d. *577). See LL 331 a 10.
44. Cairpre [d. *577] is successor to Crimthann in Laud (p. 479.3-4).
46a. Fergus [d. *582] is successor to Cairpre in Laud (p. 479.5-6).

50d. *fhaen*. *fáen* (DIL F. 12.57-13.59) means ‘prostrate, supine, lying on ones back’. It can be used to refer to a dead body or dead person (*cuirp fáena* DIL F. 12.68).

53a. *mac Léinín*. The epithet appears to be corrupt. Amhalgadh [*d. 601] is mentioned in AT (Vol. I, p. 124) & AR as *Amalgaidh mac Ênda ri Muman*, but not in Laud, so he appears to have been added from the Clonmacnoise Chronicle.

56b. This is Lugaidh mac Cárthaigh *alias* Molua mac uí Oiche [d. *607]*.

57d. *ros-n-áin roim* [he i n-] *imrisin* *rosnaín roimrisín* (6 syllables) M. ‘which he drove before him into conflict’. I am grateful to G. Toner for suggesting this emendation.

58a. The death of Aedhán in *604 is out of sequence.

58c. *Aedh Róin*. Confusion surrounds the date of the death of this king of Uí Fáilge. Possible dates are *602.4 (AT 602.3) and *609.5 (AT 609.4).*

59d. *gé leithsheargtha* [ge leithfearrdha] M. The scribes has been distracted by *fearrdha* in the previous line. G. Toner suggests reading *seargtha* ‘withered’ with lenited *s* for lenited *f* in the manuscript.


61b. Fínghean mac Aedha [d. *618] is successor to Feidhlimidh in Laud (p. 479.16-18).

61b. Cathal mac Aedha [r. *618] is successor to Fínghean in Laud (p. 479.23-26).

63d. *teasta réna lá acht aín*. ‘he died before his day save for a fast-period’.

66a. Consai[n]dín mac Erachfind]. He is called *Constantinus filius Heracli* in AT 643.1.

67d. *int idhan créid fá chaíntear* [inti gan cred fachainte,r] M. I read this line as the article + *idhan* ‘pure, faithful’ (DIL I.50.15-50) used substantively + *créd* (< *cia + rét* ‘why, wherefore’, DIL 523.74-524.12) + prep. *fa* + relative clause. Compare *créd fá tâncabar*? (PH 2924).

68b. *Cons[i]n[din ele]*. This is Constans II ((Könstantinos Pogonatos), r. *643+ 28; recte 641-668), son of Constantine III.

68c. Congal Clæn is Congal Caech mac Scannláin, king of the Ulaidh [d. *639]*.


69a. Cuan of Clíú [d. *641] is successor to Failbe Flann [d. *639] and is called *Cúán m. Amalgada* in Laud (p. 479.29).

71c. *É[i]rinn* ere in M. Scribal error.


81b. Cú Gan Máthair [d. *665] is successor to Maenach in Laud (p. 479.32-33).

84a. The reference to Constantine IV [Könstantinos IV], r. *673; recte r. 668-685] is in AU only as *Constantinus fil. superioris Constantini* (673.6). It is omitted from AT. Our poet appears to have restored him to the Clonmacnoise Chronicle.

87d. *mo lind* M, *moling* SG. To follow SG and read Moling (d. *697) would leave the poem out of sequence. For *linn* in the transferred sense of ‘life-story, history’, see DIL L.164.57-63.

88c. *dream oll nar clænad tre chol*. *dream oll nar cloenadh tre col S, dre,m oll nar clænam tre col M.* The reading in M is corrupt.

90a. Iustinianus II (r. *690 + 10 years; recte 685-695), son of Constantine IV. This reference is preserved in AT (Vol. I, p. 171).

92a. Leo is Leontius II (recte 695-698). Leontius is not referred to in AU and is displaced in AT (Vol. I, p. 167) at 683.

93a. Finghuine [d. *696] is successor to Colga mac Failbhe in Laud (p. 479.36-37).


95a. The reference to Ailill [d. *696] is only found in AT (Vol. I, p. 175) and is not given in Laud. It appears to have been interpolated by the compiler from his Clonmacnoise Chronicle.

96a. *gan tar* ‘without evil’. *Tar*, glossed *ro-olc* and *olc* in Cormac Glossary is very poorly attested (DIL T.76.37-38). It would be tempting to read *cen tár* ‘without reproach’ (DIL T.76.43 ff.), but ā would disrupt the rime with *dámhradh*.

96c. *agus Filidh [Fh]*ind dámhradh] Is *filidh ind danvradh* M (*is filidh in gaimradh* S, *is fil-* in *gaimradh* G). The line is a syllable short in all copies. Emendation of *is* to *agus* restores the syllable count. I restore manuscript *ind to fhind* so that there can be internal rhyme with *lind* in line c. – *a-* in *tar* appears short in all copies. This emendation also provides the necessary alliteration. *tar* ‘evil’ is poorly attested. DIL (T.76.37-38) cites only one example, Corm. Y 1263. *Dámhradh* is ‘a retinue of poets’ (DIL D.69.19-35). Alternatively, we could read *damhradh* ‘of bands of warriors’, a fem. ā-stem (DIL D.69.5-17) in the gen. pl. I have been unable to identify Finn Fili in the annals, but there are several references to a person of this name in CGH.

97a. The reference to Justinian II (r. *705-*711) is in AU under 710 but is displaced at 693 in AT (Vol. I, p. 172).

98c. *Dúnchad*]. I have been unable to identify this figure. The sequence of Connacht kings at this point is: XV Ceann Faeladh (d. *682, q. 88), XVI Dúnchadh Muirisce (d. *683, q. 88), XVII Fearghal Aidhne (d. *696, omitted ), XVIII Muireadhach Muilleathan (d. *702, omitted) , XIX Ceallach (d. *705, q. 98) and XX Indreachtach (d. *707, q. 98).

98c. *fa dhath*] *Dath* is a m. u-stem meaning ‘colour’. It becomes synonymous with *miad, grád* ‘dignity, rank’. Specific colours were prescribed for specific grades or ranks. Cf. DIL D.116.58-117.7.

100a. Philippicus (Bardanes) (r. 711-713) is not mentioned in AU and is displaced in AT (Vol. I, p. 176) at 699. See Chron. Sync. *699.2.


101a. Cormac ua Maenaigh [d. 712] may be the same personage as Laud’s Cormac mac Ailella (p. 479.41) who succeeds Eterscéil (cf. q. 104).

101a. *mir*] *Mir* is the gen. sg. of *mer* (DIL M.105.34-106.43). The original meaning was ‘demented, insane’, but it came to be used in a complimentary sense in later literature. See IGT Decl. § 65.

101c. *crich i [t]Teallaigh thall*. *Crich* could be read as plural *cricha* if we allow for elision between the *a in cricha* and the vowel of the unstressed preposition *i*, thereby giving *fairising cricha i [t]Teallaigh thall*.

102a. Theodosius III has been misplaced in the annals. See Chron. Sync. *704.2.


103c. do fearadh na frosa]. Cf. uime ro ferad frossa (Met. Dind. III.200).

104. AT (Vol. I, p. 193) & AU (s.a. 727) have Eterscél mac Cellach Cualann [d. *727] at this stage in the king-list. However, Laud (p. 478.39-40) gives the successor as Finguine mac Con as Eterscél mac Mael Umai (d’Uib Ênnai), a contemporary of Cinaeth mac Írghalaich (d. 728). The compiler of Laud seems to have reversed Eterscél and Cormac of q. 101.

105d dāil]. Oblique form of fem. ā-stem dāl ‘judgement, ordinance’ (DIL D.43.11) used for Mid. Ir. nom. sg.

105b ēchtmhinic]. ‘given to performing valorous deeds’. See DIL E.34.7.

107A Clanna Cuirc]. Nadfráich mac Cuirc is the first of the kings of Cashel listed in Laud (p. 478.29) and father to Óengus mac Nadfraích (q. 14).

**Manuscript Readings**

M = Úi Maine
S = Seaghan Ó Maolchonaire
G = Dublin, NLI MS G 476

3a deargadh mend] deargad mind M.
3b ocus airdrigha] airdrīga M.
4d dha chum iar creidiumh] gacum iar creide mh M.
5c agus Laeghaire ria lind] lægaire re lind M.
6b Pádraig] padraic M.
10d aimsiughadh] aimsuada d M.
12c is bás Oilella Muilt mir] agus bas oilill mo,lt mir M.
14b Aenghus mac Nadfraíchdha] Ængus mac nadfraich fræchda M.
16b Pádraig] padraic M.
17d d’f[h]ul<æ>muise] dfulamuis M
19c Laigh्णan] laigin M.
20a Naendroma] næmhdroma M.
24c sdair] dair M.
24d ar m’uidh] ar muigh M.
25c i remis] ar remis M.
27b is Buidhe agus Be-eoigh] buide, be eoigh
27d agus] M.
30b Grigóir] grigoeir M.
32d ón Bhaile Bailbh is ón Bhoínd] onbaill bailbh is onboind M.
35a-b Omits second couplet.
37a-b Omits second couplet.
38a Foiche] foithe M.

38c uasal in gnimh ó Dhé deas] uasal in gnimh (in margin to right of column a) o dhe deas M.

39d fialbaig] fialbuiug M.

41a-b Omits couplet.

43c rí Tiber] rig tibir M.

46c leanfeadh] leanfegh M.

46d a n-oigheadh] a n-oige,dh M.

47d 'ga ghairm] ga gairn M.

48c Feidlimidh righ] feidlimigh righ M.

49a A n-oighidh] A noighe,dh M.

50d ō haen] ònhaen M.

56b Laighean] lugan (inserted as superscript) M.

61b Finghean] finiin M.

61d greadhan] gre,ghan M.

62 a [c]cuimhne] a cuibne M.

70b Comghán] comdan M.

71c

73d ur<r>dhubhadh] urrdubadh M.

76b Éirinn] eire MSG.

83a Seachnasach] seanachasach M.

85c na ngort ngrind] MG, na riga ngand S.

88a Colga] M, Cola SG.

89a Tibber] tibir M, tibh SG.

93c is and sin teasta] M, andsin do tEisda SG.

94a Finghuine] Finguiine M.

94b tar éis Leo – Lughaidh líbhair –] M, deis leo luaigh ; leb- SG.

95c a oigheadh] M, a oig- S, anoig- G; 'mon am chétna] mun am .c.na SG, imón (om. am) .c.na. M.
95d na land lainghéghdha] na land lan gegdha S, na land lan lainggdha M.
96a lér – dos goil – ] M, len do scoil SG.
96c gan tar] gan tar M, can tár S, chantar G.
96d agus Filidh [Fh]ind dámhradh] is filidh ind daimradh M, is fil- ind gaimradh SG.
97d thonndmhair] M, fonndmhuir SG.
98a tri chair] M, cen cair SG.
98c fa d/lath] M, condath SG.
99d nuachorchra] M, niancorcra SG.
100c iad] M, siat SG.
101b i rré] a rre M, are SG.
101c fa d/ath M, co/ndath SG.
102b isin aimsir sin Fearghail] M, isin aimsin fergail (6 syllables) SG.
103a Sa ré sin] M, Fon rig/sin SG.
103b anfoirc[t]he] M, onf-fi SG.
104a oendha] M, ohena SG.
104c achadh ar] M, a ch-ar SG.
105b oighri échtmhinic esgaín] M, (6 syllables illeg.) scain S, oigre echt minic ascai G.
105c nír léir lind] MS, ni leir lind G.
106a donn eisin] dō eisin M, don fir sin S don fis sin G.
107a ra indsin] raindśin M, roinsín S, rand sin G.
107c is doirrbchleas é do gach fir] M, is doirbceles line da gach fír S, is doirbcles lin da gach fír G.
107d Imarcaigh sund.] Imarcaigh. sund. ar. M, im- S, im. s. G.
107Ad Imarcaigh sund ar gach sai<dh>] Imarcaigh s. ar g- sai- M

Index of Personal Names

Aedh Dubh, ecclesiastic of Kildare, previously king of Laighin, (d. *641), 69c

Aedh mac Ainmireach mic Séidhna, king of Ireland, (r. *584-*596 ), 47b, 47d, 50a

Aedh Róin mac Cathail, king of Uí Failge, (d. *602/*609), 58c

Dates taken from McCarthy’s Chronological Synchronisation of the Irish Annals are indicted by an asterisk.
Aedh Sláine mac Diarmada, joint-king of Ireland with Colmán Rímidh, father of Diarmaid & Blathhmac, (r. *596-*602), 50c, 78c, 82c

Aedh Uairidhnach mac Domnail mac Domnaill Ilchealaigh (al. Aedh Allán), king of Ireland, (r. *603-*610), 55a, 55c, 56d, 57b

Aedhán mac Gabhráin, king of Dál Riada, (d. *604; AT 604.2), 58a

Aenghus mac Nadraíchdh, king of Munster, (r. -*489), 14b

Aenghus, king of Uaithidh, (d. *665), 81a

Ailbhe Imlich Ibhair, ecclesiastic of Emly, Co. Tipperary, (d. *532), 27a

Ailill Inbhauna mac Eoghain, king of the Connachta, (d. *545), 37c

Ailill mac Con Gan Máthair, king of Munster, (r. *696-*701), 95a

Ailill Molt mac Nath Í, king of Ireland, (r. *465-*484), 10c, 11b, 12c

Amhalgaidh mac Énna, king of Munster, (d. *601), 53a

Anastasius [Anastasius I], (r. *491-*518), Emperor, 18a, 22a, 25a

Anastasius [Anastasius II], Emperor, successor to Philippicus, (713-721), 100b

Baedán mac Ninneadha mac mic Conaill Gulban, king of Ireland, (r. *572-*584), 43a, 45d, 47a

Baithin(e), pupil of Colum Cille and abbot of Iona, (bn. *534), 30a

Béc(c) Boirche mac Bláithmhic, king of Uaithí, (d. *718), 103a

Beoaedh, bishop of Ard Carna, Co. Roscommon, (d. *519), 27b

Blathmac mac Aedha Shláine mac Diarmada, joint-king of Ireland, (r. *654-*665), 76b, 78c, 82a, 83a, 84c

Bran mac Conaillich, king of Laighinn, (d. *690/*693), 91b

Brandubh mac Eachach, king of Laighinn, (r. *593-*603), 56a,

Brénaínn mac ui Ealta (< Moccu Altæ), ecclesiastic of Cluain Fearta, Co. Galway, (d. *575), 44a

Brénaínn mac Nemainn, ecclesiastic of Birr, Co. Offaly, (d. *564/*572) or Brénaínn mac Briain, king of Tebtha, (d. *574) 44a

Brighid, ecclesiastic of Kildare, (bn. *439, d. *524), 7b, 21a

Buidhe mac Brónaigh, ecclesiastic, (d. *519), 27b

Caéimhin Glinne Dá Locha, ecclesiastic of Glendalough, Co. Wicklow, (d. *616/*622), 62a

Caemhán Breac, ecclesiastic, (bn. *520), 28c

Caemhán, (alias Mochaemhóg), ecclesiastic of Liath (Leigh), Co. Tipperary, (b. *554), 38b

Caemhdeach mac ua (< Moccu) Dalláín, (d. *598), 52c

Caim(m)ín(e), ecclesiastic of Inis Cealltra, Lough Derg, Co. Galway, (d. *652), 74b

Cairbre (Crom) mac Crimthain, king of Munster, (r. *571-*577), 44c

Cathal mac Aedha, king of Munster, (r. *618-*627), 61b

Cathal mac Finghuine, king of Munster, (r. *721-*741), 104d,

Ceallach Chualann mac Geirthidhe, king of Laighinn, (d. *715), 101d

Ceallach mac Mail Chobha mac Aedha, joint-king of Ireland, (r. *644-*653; d. *657 ), 71d, 75a

Ceallach mac Raghallaigh, king of Connachta, (d. *705), 98c

Ceann Faeladh mac Bláithmhic mac Aedha Sláine, king of Ireland, (r. *672-*675), 85b, 86c

Ceann Faeladh mac Colgan, King of Connachta, (d. *682), 88d
Ciarán mac an tSaír, ecclesiastic of Cluain Mhic Nóis, Co. Offaly, (d. *543), 33a
Colga mac Failbhe Fhlainn, king of Munster, (d. *683), 89a
Colmán Cóir mac Dúach, founder of Cill mac Duach (d. c. 525 ?), 27a
Colmán Eala, ecclesiastic of Lann Eala, Co. Offaly, (d. *609), 58b
Colmán Rimhidh mac Baedáin, king of Ireland, (r. *596-*602), 50c,
Colum Cille, ecclesiastic of Tir Chonail and Iona, (bn. *520, d. *593), 27d, 48a
Colum Insí Cealltra, ecclesiastic of Holy Island, Lough Derg, Co. Galway, (d. *550), 35c
Colum mac Crimthainn, ecclesiastic, (d. *550), 35b
Combghall Beannchair, ecclesiastic of Bangor, Co. Down, (d. *600), 52b
Combghall mac Domhonghaint, king of Alba, (d. *537), 31a
Combhn mac Dá Chearda, ecclesiastic, (d. *642), 70b
Conall Cael (al. Cóir) mac Mail Chobha, joint-king of Ireland, (r. *644-*653, d. *653), 71d, 75a
Conall Clogach, ecclesiastic, (d. *661), 77b
Conall Creinthainne mac Néill, king of Clann Cholmáin, (d. *480), 12a
Conghal Ceannfhada mac Dúncadhda, king of Uaithid, (d. *674), 86a
Conghal Cinn Maghair, king of Ireland, (r. *705-*710), 96b, 97c, 98b, 99a
Conghal Claen (al. Caech) mac Scannláin, king of Uaithid, (d. *639), 68c
Consaindín [Constantine IV], Emperor, son of Constans II, (joint-reign with father 654-668; reigned alone 668-685), 84a, 85a
Consaindín mac Consaindín [Constans II, Konstantinos Pogonatos], Emperor, son of Constantine III, (r. 641-668), 68b, 71b, 75b, 76a
Consaindín mac Erachlinn [Constantine III, Heraclius Constantine], Emperor, son of Heraclius, (r. 643, recte 641 (for 4 months), 66a
Core, progenitor of kings of Cashel, 107Aa.
Cormac mac Ailella mic Maenaigh, king of Munster, (d. *712), 101a
Crimthann (var. Creinthann) Cualann mac Aedha Cirr mic Colmáin, king of Laighin, (d. *636), 65b
Crimthann mac Énna Ceannsealaigh, king of Laighin, (r. – *486), 15c
Crimthann Sreamh (Feamhin) mac Eachdach, king of Munster, (r. *520-*552), 40d
Cú Gan Máthair, king of Munster, (d. *665), 81b
Cuan (Cliach) mac Amhalgaidh, king of Munster, (d. *641), 69a
Cuana mac Cailechined, king of Fir Mhuighe, (d. *644), 73a
Cumán (var. Cuimmine Fota, al. Carthach) mac Fiachna, ecclesiastic, (bn. *588, d. *661), 49c, 77a
Diarmaid mac Aedha Sláine, joint-king of Ireland, (r. *654-*665), 76b, 78c, 82a
Diarmaid mac Carbhaill, king of Ireland, (r. *543-*563), 33c, 39c, 40b
Domhnall mac Aedha mic Ainmíreach, king of Ireland, (r. *630-*643), 63a, 66b, 70c, 71a
Dúnchad Muirisce mac Mail Dubh, king of Connacht, (d. *683, AT 682.2), 88d
Dúnchad, king of Connacht (so styled in this source, but unidentified elsewhere), (d. 705/706 ?), 98c
Earc Sláine, ecclesiastic of Slane, Co. Meath, (d. *513), 24b, 24c
Eidirsgéal mac Maeile Dún (al. mac Maeile Umha), king of Munster, (d. *721), 104a

38
Eochaidh mac Aenghusa, king of Munster, (d. *522), 31c
Eochaidh mac Conla (al. Conallán), king of Uaithi, (d. *552), 37a
Éoghan Bél mac Duach, king of Connacht, (*546/47), 31b
Eraclius [Herakleios], Emperor, (r. *611 + 22 years; recte 610-641), 57a, 63b, 64b
Eraclonus [Heraklōn], Emperor, son of Herakleios, (r. *641 + 2 years; recte Feb.-Sept. 641), 64a
Faillbhe Flann of Feimhean, king of Munster, (r. *628-639), 69a
Fearghal mac Maéli Dúin, king of Ireland, (r. *710-*722), 99b, 100c, 102b
Feargha mac Aenghusa, king of Uaithi, (d. *556), 36a
Feargna mac Aenghusa, king of Munster, (r. *577-*582), 46b
Féichín, ecclesiastic of Fobhar, (d. *665), 80a
Feidhlimidh mac Tighearnaigh, king of Munster, (r. *582-*588), 48c
Fiandamhail mac Maíle Tuile, king of Laigin, (d. *680), 89b
Finghean mac Aedha Duibh, king of Munster, (r. *601-618), 61b
Finghuine Mac Con Gan Máthair, king of Munster, (*696), 93a-b
Finn Fill, 96d
Finnachta Fleadach mac Dúchadh mac Aedha Shláine, king of Ireland, (r.* 675-*688; *689-*695), 87a, 90b
Finnchú, ecclesiastic of Brí Gobann, Co. Cork, (d. *653), 74c
Finnia moccu Teallduibh, ecclesiastic of Cluain Earaidh, Co. Meath, (d. *544), 35a
Focas [Flavius Phocas Augustus], Emperor, successor to Mauricius I, (r. *603-*610; recte 602-610), 51c, 54b, 56d.
Fraech mac Finnchada, king of Laigin, (r. *485-*495), 19a, 19c
Garbhán mac Énna, king of Munster, (r./d? *597), 51a
Grigóir, (Gregory the Great), Pope and Saint, (bn. *539), 30b
Guaire Aighne mac Colmáin, king of Connacht, (d. *663), 77c
Ibar, bishop, (*d. 502), 21a
Innreachtach mac Muireadhaigh, king of Connachta, (d. *707), 98d
Justinianus, [Justinian II, Iouustinianos II Rinotmetos], Emperor, (r. 685-695; restored, second reign 705-711), successor to Constantine IV, 90a; successor to Tiberius III, 97a
Iustinus, (Justin II, Flavius Iustinus Iunior Augustus), Emperor, nephew and successor of Justinian I, (r. *563 + 11 years; recte 565-578), 39a, 42b
Iustinus, [Justin I, Flavius Iustinus], Emperor, (r. *519-*525; recte 518-527), 26a, 28a
Justinian I [the Great], Emperor, (r. *526-*563; recte 527-565), 28b, 32b, 39b
Laeghaire mac Néill, king of Ireland, (r. *423-*453/463), 5c, 8d, 9b, 10b
Laisrén (mac Léinín ?), ecclesiastic of Iona, (d. *603), 53b
Leo [Leo III the Isaurian], Emperor, (r. 717-741), 102d, 105a
Leo [Leontius], Emperor, (*r. 695-*698), 92a, 94b
Leo I [Leo the Thracian], (r. *456-473; recte 457-474), 9c, 10a, 11a, 11c
Loingseach mac Aenghusa, king of Ireland, (r. *695-703), 92d, 96a
Lughaidh Lonn mac Laeghaire mic Néill, king of Ireland, (*485-*509), 13b, 16c, 18c, 22d
Mac Táil, ecclesiastic of Cill Chuilinn, Co. Kildare, (d. *550), 35d
Maedóg Fearna, ecclesiastic of Ferns, Co. Wexford, (d. *627), 62b
Mael Chaba mac Fiaichna, king of the Uaithi, (d. *648), 73c
Mael Chobha mac Aedha, king of Ireland, (r. *610-613), 59b, 60a.
Maenach mac Finghin, king of Munster, (d. *661), 78a
Manchán, ecclesiastic of Liath [Manachán], (d. *665), 80a
Marcianus, (r. *449-456, recte 450-457), 8b, 9a
Marcus (Mauricius I), Emperor, successor of Tiberius II Constantine, (r. *582-602), 45a, 50b
Mobheóc, ecclesiastic of Cluain Ard, Co. Tipperary, (d. *690), 91a
Mobhi Cláirineach (al. Bearchán), ecclesiastic, (d. *540), 32a
Mochae, ecclesiastic of Naendruim, Co. Down, (d. *497), 20a
Moling, ecclesiastic of Luachair, Sliabh Luachra, Cork-Kerry border, (d. *697), 94c
Molua mac Fóiche (< mac úi Oiche), (alias Lugaidh mac Cáithbaigh of Cluain Fearta), (b. *553), 38a
Muchae, ecclesiastic of Naendruim, Co. Down, (d. *645), 74a
Muircheartach Mór mac Earca, king of Ireland, (r. *510-532), 23a, 24a, 25c, 26b, 29a, 40a
Mulaise moecu Dimma, ecclesiastic of Leith Glenn, (d. *641), 70a
Mulaise, ecclesiastic of Daimh Inis, Co. Fermanagh, (d. *562), 41c
Munda (al. Fintan Maelduibh) mac Tulcháin, ecclesiastic, (d. *633), 67a
Pádraig (arr. Irel. *432, d. *491), 6b, 16b, 17a
Pilipicus [Philippicus Bardanes], Emperor, successor to Justinian II in his second reign, (r. 711-713), 100a
Raghallach mac Uadach, king of Connachta, (d. *649), 73b
Rónán mac Bearaigh, patron of Druim Inasclainn, Co. Louth, (d. *665), 80c
Rónán mac Colmáin, king of Laighin, (r. *603-613), 61a
Ruadhán Lothra, ecclesiastic of Lothra, Co. Tipperary (d. *583), 46b
Sdeonan [Zeno] (r. 474 (?)-490; recte 474-491), 11c, 12b, 14a, 16a
Seachnasach mac Bláithmhic mic Aedha Sláine, king of Ireland, (*r. 665-671), 83a
Suibhne Meann mac Fiachna, king of Ireland, (*r. 613-630), 60b, 62c
Teothosius [Theodosius II], (r. *420-449; recte 408-450), 5a, 8a
Teothosius [Theodosius III], Emperor, (715-717), 102a
Tiber [Tiberius II Constantine], Emperor, successor of Justin II, (r. *575 + 7 years; recte 574, 578-582), 43c, 45b
Tiber [Tiberius III Apsimar], Emperor, (r. 698-705), 94a, 94d, 96c, 97b
Tighearnach mac Cairpre, bishop of Cluain Eois, Co. Monaghan, (*d. 544), 34a
Tuathal Maedgarbh mac Cormaic Caích, king of Ireland, (r. *533-543), 29c, 32c, 33b

Index of Names of Places and Population Groups

Aighe, territory equivalent to diocese of Kilmacduagh in S. W. Galway, 77c

For the compilation of this index, I have drawn frequently on D. Ó Murchadha, The Annals of Tigernach: Index of Names, Irish Texts Society, Subsidiary Series 6, (London 1997). Grammatical cases are not taken into consideration in my index.
Alba, Scotland, 31a
Baile Bailbh, unidentified, 32d
Beannchar, monastic site at Bangor, Co. Down, 52b
Bóinn, Boyne River, Co. Meath, 32d
Boirche, territory in Mournes, Co. Down, 103a
Breton, Britain, 16b
Bri Gabhann, monastic site in Brigown, barony of Condons and Clangibbon, Co. Cork, 74c
Cenn Maghann, Cranford, bar. Kilmacrennan, Co. Donegal, 96b, 97c, 98b
Cill Chuilinn, monastic site in townland of Oldkilcullen, parish of Kilcullen, Co. Kildare, 35d
Cill Muine, monastic site in Kilmoney townland, Rathangan parish, barony of Offaly East, Co. Kildare, 48b
Clann Cuirc, Munster people, 107Aa
Clíú (In Chlíú), a territory in the Galtees embracing parts of Co. Tipperary, East Limerick and adjacent N. Cork, 69a
Cluain Ard, (al. Cell Bécan, Kilpeacan), in barony of Clanwilliam, Co. Tipperary, 91a
Cluain Cha[í], 20a
Cluain Eois, monastic site, at Clones, Co. Monaghan, 34a
Connacht, Connacht 31b, 36d, 88b
Cruachain, Croghan, (historical seat of the kings of Connacht), Co. Roscommon, 73b
Cuala, old name for the Wicklow and S. Dublin mountains, gen. Cualand
Cualann, see Cuala
Éire, Ireland, 3b, et passim
Fabhar, Fore, monastic site in barony of Fore, Co. Westmeath, 80a
Fearna, monastic site at Ferns, Co. Wexford, 62b
Fódhla, poetic epithet for Ireland, 6c, et passim
Gaidhil, The Irish people, 47d
Gleann Dá Locha, monastic site of Glendalough, Co. Wicklow, 62a
Innis Cealtra, Holy Island, Lough Derg on Shannon, 35c, 74b
Laighin, Leinstermen, 7c, 19b, 56b, 58c, 61a, 65c, 69c et passim
Leathgleann, monastic site in Oldleighlin, barony of Idrone, W. Carlow, 70a
Liath Manacháin, Lemanaghan, barony of Garrycastle, Co. Offaly, 80a
Moccu Tellaibh, people holding territory at Clonard, barony of Moyfenrath Upper, Co. Meath 35a
Modhorn, (< Mugdorna?), people in Cos. Monaghan, Lough and N. Meath; barony of Cremorne, Co. Monaghan 83d
Mog Leith = Leth Mhogha, the Southern Half of Ireland, 74a
Mumhu, Munster, 31c, 40d, 46a, 46d, 51b, 53a, 61c, 69b et passim
Naendroim, monastic site in townland of Mahee Island, barony of Castlereagh Lower, Co. Down, 20a, 74a
Rómháin, Romans, 12b, 66d, 84b
Síl Luighdeach Lágha, Corco Loígde, people of S. W. Cork, 20b
Sláine, Slane Co. Meath, 24b, 82c, et passim

Teach Munna, Taghmon townland and parish, 67a

Teallach, ? (only one element of place-name given) 101c

Ulaidh, the Ulaíd, 36b, 73c, 86b