

A crosántacht composed for Dáibhídh
de Barra († 10 April, 1617)



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A *CROSÁNTACHT* COMPOSED FOR DÁIBHÍDH
DE BARRA († 10 APRIL 1617)

ABSTRACT

This article presents an edition and translation of *Teallach coisreagtha críoch Bharrach*, a *crosántacht* composed for Dáibhídh mac Séamais (mac Risteard) de Barra († 10 April 1617). The poem is attributed to Dáibhídh Ó Bruadair, though evidence examined here does not support the attribution. An introductory analysis considers the historical context, including an intriguing allusion to Aodh Mág Uidhir († 1600), chieftain of Fermanagh. Images of *fír flaithemon* are also highlighted. The fertile state of Barrymore is the result of the chieftain's sacral marriage to the land, but also of St. Patrick's blessing upon Munster. The regenerative power of the land is further exemplified in an apologue about Antaeus mac Tíre, who renews his strength by yielding to opponents and touching the earth, his mother. With a mix of praise and comic wit, the poet of *Teallach* extolls his patron and affirms the enduring bond between patron and patrimony.

The following is an edition of *Teallach coisreagtha críoch Bharrach* 'The land of the Barrys is a blessed homestead',¹ a *crosántacht* addressed to Dáibhídh († 10 April 1617) son of Séamas († 10 April 1581) son of Risteard de Barra of Barrymore, whose chief residence was Barryscourt Castle, near Carrigtohill, Co. Cork.² *Teallach* is a medley of verse (42½ quatrains) and four interspersed prose passages, two of which are drawn from medieval literary tales.³ The poem is undated. It is attributed to Dáibhídh Ó Bruadair in all of

¹For some discussion of the poem see Pádraig A. Breatnach, *Téamaí Taighde Nua-Ghaeilge* (Maigh Nuad, 1997), 33–6. I thank Pádraig Breatnach for reading this edition and offering many improving suggestions and corrections, and Damian McManus for helpful insights on the translation of several quatrains. Pádraig Ó Macháin has generously answered questions on the manuscripts, and Seán Ó Coileáin offered references relating to Prose B. I am indebted to the peer-reviewer for his/her careful reading and corrections, and to the editors of *Celtica* for their attention to the text. The contributions of these and other scholars are included in the notes. Any remaining errors are my own.

²E. Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 5 (1899), 1–17, 77–92, 153–68, 209–24; *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 1–11, 65–87, 129–46, 193–209; *JCHAS* 7 (1901), 1–16, 65–80, 129–38, 193–204; *JCHAS* 8 (1902), 1–17, 129–50. Here *JCHAS* 6 (1900), at 143. The patron's mother was Ellen, daughter of Cormac 'na haoine' McCarthy Reagh (*ibid.*, 134); cf. Gibbs, *The Complete Peerage of England Scotland Ireland Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, vol. 1 (London, 1910), 442.

³For some discussion see M. Griffin-Wilson, 'St Patrick and Antaeus: two bardic apologues', in John Carey, Kevin Murray and Caitriona Ó Dochartaigh (eds), *Sacred Histories: A Festschrift for Máire Herbert* (Dublin, 2015), 161–74. Cf. M. Griffin-Wilson, 'Zegening van patroon

the manuscripts, but the attribution has been called into question and will be considered further below.

Teallach is eulogistic in tone, with traces of the wit and ironic praise which characterize *crosántacht*. Throughout the composition, verse and prose are woven together thematically and verbally; the prose not only restates themes set out in the verse, but creatively articulates them and pushes the boundaries of style and form. Its opening section establishes the predominant theme of *fír flaithemon* ‘the sovereign’s truth’ and the resulting fecundity of the chieftain’s patrimony.⁴ An apologue narrating St Patrick’s baptism of Aonghus son of Nad Fraoich and blessing upon Munster (q. 3, Prose A) intersects with traditional images of the sacred marriage between chieftain and land.⁵ Dáibhídh de Barra is united to *Críoch Bharrach* (q. 9), and presides over a blessed and fruitful territory. He is extolled as a fierce warrior (qq. 19–23), a man of learning and master of every craft (qq. 24–5). Imitating the customs of the sun, which shines equitably upon all (Prose C), he extends hospitality to both high-born and low-born, accomplished poets and lower entertainers (qq. 27–36). In a rare bardic apologue which concludes the poem, he is compared to the Classical figure, Antaeus son of Terra (*Anteus mac Tíre*), who was born from the earth and whose extraordinary strength is renewed by falling to the ground and touching (*tadhall*) the earth, his mother (Prose D).⁶ Dáibhídh de Barra likewise has been ‘burnished’ (*foighreadh*) in the fertile land of Barrymore (39d), and his prowess and generosity are increased by contact with the land of his birth.

THE POET

Teallach is attributed in all of the manuscripts to Dáibhídh Ó Bruadair. It is the reputable scribe of the oldest manuscript (British Library Additional 29614), Seán Ó Murchadha na Ráithíneach, who first questioned the attribution in a marginal note: ‘Ní thuigim gurb é Dáibhídh <Ó> Bruadair do rin. Féach geinealach an Bharraigh san leabharsa’ (‘I do not think that it was Dáibhídh Ó Bruadair that composed it; consult the Barry genealogy in this book’).⁷ Ó Murchadha’s opinion is of considerable weight, as he knew Ó Bruadair’s work and had access to some of his manuscripts.

en erfgoed in *Teallach coisreagtha Críoch Bharrach*’, in *Kelten: Mededeling van de Stichting A. G. van Hamel voor Keltische Studies* 57 (Utrecht, 2013), 5–9.

⁴For a discussion of the theme see Damian McManus, ‘“The smallest man in Ireland can reach the tops of her trees”: images of the king’s peace and bounty in bardic poetry’, in Joseph Falaky Nagy (ed.), *Memory and the Modern in Celtic Literatures*, CSANA Yearbook 5 (Dublin, 2006), 61–117.

⁵Sources are noted at Prose A, notes.

⁶*CCath.*, 220–2, ll. 2887–914.

⁷London, BL Additional 29614, fol. 57v. The colophon appears in the upper right hand corner. Angular brackets indicate letters illegible in the manuscript which have been supplied editorially. The common abbreviation *bb* has been expanded as *Dáibhídh*.

John C. MacErlean does not refer to *Teallach* in his edition of Ó Bruadair's poetry, but a surviving personal correspondence confirms that he regarded the poem as too early to be Ó Bruadair's work.⁸ The patron's death on 10 April 1617 is well-documented,⁹ and the date is difficult to reconcile with Mac Erlean's view that Ó Bruadair lived c. 1625–1697.¹⁰ Scholars remain sceptical.¹¹ Pádraig Breatnach concluded that the attribution was in error,¹² and Liam Ó Murchú has drawn my attention to *Do chonnradh foirceadal*, dated 1648 in one manuscript, which Ó Bruadair presents as the 'start and substance' (*tosach is toradh*) of his writing,¹³ suggesting the 'first fruits' of his work at a considerably later date. An erroneous scribal attribution of *Teallach* to Ó Bruadair could be explained by his close association with the Barrys. Ó Bruadair composed several poems for members of the family and may have been born in the barony of Barrymore.¹⁴ His composition of two wedding *croisantachta* later in the seventeenth century adds a stylistic association. It is of some interest that the earliest manuscript of *Teallach* also contains a text of the later wedding poem, *Cuirfead cluain ar chrobhaing gealGhall*, composed in 1674.¹⁵ *Teallach* exhibits far greater skill in the syllabic metre *snéadhbhairdne* than is found in Ó Bruadair's *croisantachta*, but Ó Bruadair may have studied (or recited) *Teallach* in a bardic school in Barrymore and kept it among his works. The poem undoubtedly bears Ó Bruadair's name, but given the evidence which we have, the attribution does not stand. The question of who composed *Teallach* remains unresolved.

THE PATRON

Teallach was composed for Dáibhídh son of Séamas (son of Risteard) de Barra, Viscount Buttevant († 10 April 1617), whose chief residence was in Barrymore, Co. Cork. He is addressed in the poem as *mac Séamuis* (11a, 18a), and *Mac meic Risdeard* (37a), the latter indicating his descent from Richard 'of the Rath'

⁸McKenna (*Content*. ii, 228 n. 3) comments on a note which he received from Mac Erlean, who concluded that *Teallach* was not Ó Bruadair's work and 'must have been composed a century earlier'.

⁹See Gibbs, *The Complete Peerage*, 442; Barry, 'Barrymore' *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 201.

¹⁰*DOB* I, xix–xx. Tradition preserves conflicting dates of Ó Bruadair's death: one source gives the year 1697 (*DOB* I, xlvi), another 1710; see Pádraig de Brún, 'Tuireamh Laidne ar Dháibhí Ó Bruadair', *Éigse* 12 (1967–8), 327–30, at 327 n. 3; *Clár Lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge Choláiste Ollscoile Chorcaí: Cnuasach Thorna* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1967), 131; M. Griffin-Wilson, *The Wedding Poems of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair* (Dublin, 2010), 14–15.

¹¹Standish Hayes O'Grady (*BLCat*. 1, 557) notes the 'judicious' marginalia of Seán na Ráithineach. Gerard Murphy (*RIACat*., p. 1366 (no. 191)) viewed the attribution to Ó Bruadair as impossible.

¹²Breatnach, *Téamaí Taighde Nua-Ghaeilge*, 33 n. 104; cf. Griffin-Wilson, *The Wedding Poems of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair*, 2.

¹³*DOB* I, 20 §1. I thank Liam P. Ó Murchú for helpful comments following my initial presentation on the poem (August 2012).

¹⁴*DOB* I, xv–xix; Griffin-Wilson, *The Wedding Poems of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair*, 12–15.

¹⁵BL Additional 29614, fol. 50r–53v.

in Ibane.¹⁶ Séamas (mac Risteard) de Barra had five sons and five daughters by his wife, Ellen, daughter of Cormac ‘na haoine’ McCarthy Reagh, and the marriage is further confirmed in the poem *Decair teacht re tréan Barrach*, where Dáibhídh de Barra is referred to as the son of Séamas (*cumhain le saormhac Séamais*) and as *Mac Eibhilín*.¹⁷ Séamas mac Risteard de Barra was imprisoned in Dublin Castle for his role in the Desmond rising and died there on 10 April 1581.¹⁸ He is extolled in the annals as one of the ‘true stock of the Barry Roes ... who had *at first* no hope or expectation of obtaining even the title of Barry Roe. But, however, God bestowed upon him the chieftainship both of Barry Mael and Barry Roe ... but he was elected chief over the Barry Mores, after the extinction of those chieftains whose hereditary right it was to rule over that seigniorship till that period.’¹⁹ A pedigree by Florence McCarthy (written in 1595) presents a different scenario, claiming that Séamas mac Risteard (James fitzRichard) took forcible possession of Barryscourt Castle through treachery, dispossessed the deceased Lord’s only child and procured (18 March 1560) an assignment of Barrymore and also the Barryroe estates and titles.²⁰ Upon the death of Séamas mac Risteard, Dáibhídh de Barra (the patron of *Teallach*) got assignments of all their rights to the Barrymore estates.²¹ The eldest son, Richard, was deaf and dumb (‘though of sound understanding’), and for this reason was superseded in titles and estates.²²

The patron is praised in *Teallach* as *An Barrach Mór* ‘the great Barry’ (Prose A, D), a title which he assumed on 1 May 1581, following the death of his father. The annals record that Dáibhídh mac Séamais was afterwards called *An Barrach* ‘the Barry’ by the Earl of Desmond,²³ and our poet’s exclusive use of the Irish title *An Barrach Mór* is of some interest. Dáibhídh de Barra also assumed the title of ‘Viscount’. He is referred to in English sources as the ‘now Viscount Barry’ on 25 October, 1582,²⁴ and appears in a list of Peers (26 April, 1585) as the ‘Viscount of Barry, *alias* Buttevant’. It has been noted that he joined the Desmond Rebellion as ‘Viscount Barry’, but abandoned the rebel cause in or before 1599 as ‘Viscount Buttevant’, which afterwards became the usual designation.²⁵ Dáibhídh is addressed as *Bhíocont Barrach* in another bardic poem, also undated,²⁶ and as both *barún* and *bhíocunt* in a third

¹⁶Richard ‘of the Rath’, the first son of James Barry Roe, is said to have been illegitimate; see Barry, ‘Barrymore’, *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 78–9; cf. Gibbs, *The Complete Peerage*, 441.

¹⁷RIA 23 D 4 (5), 358, lines 20, 29; cf. *ABM* 156.27d, 30a (p. 205). See also n. 2 above.

¹⁸Barry, ‘Barrymore’ *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 133; cf. *Cal. SP Ire. 1574–85*, 250 (8 September 1580).

¹⁹*AFM* V, 1752.

²⁰Barry, ‘Barrymore’, *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 72–4, 78–9, 129–30; *JCHAS* 7 (1901), 65–6.

²¹Barry, ‘Barrymore’, *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 131. For a pedigree of the Barrys given to Sir George Carew by Dáibhídh de Barra in 1600–3 see Barry, ‘Barrymore’, *JCHAS* 5 (1899), 84–5.

²²See Barry, ‘Barrymore’, *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 84–5; Gibbs, *The Complete Peerage*, 442.

²³*AFM* s.a. 1581.4. The State Papers contain this notice: ‘David Barry proclaimed 1 May. The Viscount, his father, dead. 140 followers of Sir James Fitzgerald, Lord of the Decies, revolted’ (*Cal. SP Ire. 1574–1585*, 303 (May 12, 1581)).

²⁴*Cal. SP Ire. 1574–85*, 406.

²⁵Gibbs, *The Complete Peerage*, 442.

²⁶*DDána* no. 87.22d. Although the poem is undated, his visits to Elizabeth I († 24 March 1603) and King James I are mentioned (qq. 18–21). Cf. P. A. Breatnach, ‘A poem on the end of patronage’, *Éigse* 31 (1999), 79–88, at 84 n. 24.

composition, which interestingly contains a seemingly nostalgic recollection of his earlier Irish title:

Ráinig iarumh *ucht* re *hucht*
bheith 'na bharún 'na bhiocont
o tharla ar bhreith bháirr na sgath
nir chaill bheith 'na Bharrach.²⁷

'He came to be then, one after the other, a baron and a viscount;
seeing that upon securing the pre-eminence of the scions, he did
not cease to be "the Barry".'

The exclusive use of the Irish title in *Teallach* might suggest composition at an earlier period in his career, though the evidence is inconclusive. The poet may intentionally use the Irish title to sway Dáibhídh de Barra's allegiance to the Irish cause during a period of political turmoil and shifting alliances. Interestingly, the Irish title seems to have adhered more enduringly to his father, Séamas de Barra. Long after both of their deaths, Dáibhídh is extolled (along with other deceased chieftains) as *Dáibhí mac an Bharraigh Mhóir*.²⁸

During his father's lifetime Dáibhídh de Barra joined the rebellion. There are records of his pardon in 1577 and 1579,²⁹ but in 1580 he and his father are named as 'traitors' in a letter from Sir Warham St Leger.³⁰ After his father's death, Dáibhídh de Barra is accused of joining with other Munster chieftains 'to become Robin Hoods';³¹ he 'burnt his own houses and joined the rebels with great force' (24 February 1581) and, with the seneschal of Imokilly, 'burnt 36 towns in the Decies and carried off 7,000 kine'.³²

Rebellion was short-lived. During a meeting between Dáibhídh de Barra and the son of the Earl of Desmond (John son of James), which was arranged to resolve disputes amongst the Irish,³³ the band was attacked in the wood of Aherlow by Captain Zouch. John of Desmond was mortally wounded and was brought to Cork; he was 'cut into quarters, and his head was sent to Dublin, as a token of victory'.³⁴ Dáibhídh de Barra afterwards submitted to the Crown.³⁵ English documents note his 'humility and offers of service' (7 June 1582), and his 'offer to repair into England and commit himself simply

²⁷See *ABM* 156 q. 35 (=RIA 23 D 4 (5), 359, ll. 19–22) (translation mine). There may be a pun on *barr* and *Barrach*. The patron's surname is rendered *do Bárr* (*do Barr*) in *Teallach* (Prose A, D), possibly with a similar pun.

²⁸See Breatnach, 'A poem on the end of patronage', 84, 88 (§13).

²⁹*Irish Fiants*, ii, 414–15 (§3079), 442 (§3554).

³⁰*Cal. SP Ire. 1574–85*, 223 (Letter to Lord Burghley, 21 May 1580).

³¹*Cal. SP Ire. 1574–85*, 287 (20 February 1581).

³²*Cal. SP Ire. 1574–85*, 289, 306. Cf. *ibid.*, 292 (14 March 1581).

³³The dispute involved Dáibhídh de Barra and the seneschal of Imokilly. See Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 144.

³⁴*AFM* s.a. 1582.11. For another account see Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 144–5.

³⁵*Cal. SP Ire. 1574–85*, 311 (Letter from the Earl of Ormond to Lord Burghley, 15 July 1581).

to Her Majesty's mercy' (12 June 1582).³⁶ He was pardoned on 24 August 1582,³⁷ and the Barrymore estate was restored to him. By 1588 he and his wife, Ellen Roche, were living at Barryscourt, as indicated in an account by John Windele, who visited the castle in 1817 and noted this inscription on the moulding of a fireplace: 'A° D' O. 1588. DB. ET ER. ME . FIERI. FECERVT'.³⁸ Ellen is not mentioned in *Teallach*, but she is extolled in another poem addressed to Dáibhídh as *inghean rosgmhall an Róisdig* 'languid-eyed daughter of Roche';³⁹ that is, David Roche, Lord of Fermoy.⁴⁰ She is again praised as his spouse in the *iargcomharc* of two other bardic eulogies,⁴¹ both of which address Dáibhídh de Barra as *bhíocunt Barrach*.⁴²

A staunch Catholic, Dáibhídh de Barra nevertheless refused to join the Earl of Tyrone, Aodh Ó Néill, during the Desmond rising in 1599–1600; he is named as 'the only man of note that seemeth to affect dutiful obedience to Her Magesty'.⁴³ Aodh Ó Néill and the Earl of Desmond urged Dáibhídh de Barra to join the rebellion and 'shake off the cruel yoke of heresy and tyranny'.⁴⁴ In spite of Ó Néill's accusation that he had been 'seduced to hold with the Queen of England, and to serve against us and the Church',⁴⁵ and ignoring threats of excommunication from the bishop of Cork for his refusal to support 'this Catholic action',⁴⁶ Dáibhídh de Barra remained loyal to the Queen. Consequently, his lands were burned and plundered by Ó Néill *o chúil go cuil etir magh, ⁊ mothar, etir mín, agus ainmhín, co ná baoi súil na saoilechtain aon duine fri a haitiucchadh, no fri a haittreabhadh go haimsir imchein* 'from one extremity to the other, both plain and wood, both level and rugged, so that no one hoped or expected that it could be inhabited for a long time afterwards'.⁴⁷ He pleads on behalf of the 'poor inhabitants' of his

³⁶*Cal. SP Ire. 1574–85*, 376–7.

³⁷*Irish Fiants*, ii, 550 (§3974). Cf. Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 145–6.

³⁸For Windele's account see James Coleman, 'The old castles around Cork harbour', *JCHAS* 21 (1915), 53–68, at 67–8. The date 1596 on a chimney piece in one of the towers is also noted. Cf. Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 194, where the inscription is translated: 'In the year of the Lord 1588, Jesus, Saviour of Men, David Barry and Ellen Roche caused me to be made'. I was informed, during a visit to Barryscourt Castle (November 2013), that these stones were not recovered during a recent restoration. The initials of the couple have been engraved on a table in the main hall, presumably in imitation of the original inscription.

³⁹RIA 23 D 4 (5), 361, l. 10; *ABM* 156.48b. She is addressed as *Inghean Dái-bhídh* (*DDána* 87.25a). Dáibhídh de Barra is named as 'brother-in-law' of Lord Roche (*Cal. SP Ire. 1586–88*, 3 (4 January 1585–6)).

⁴⁰Gibbs, *The Complete Peerage*, 442.

⁴¹*Mar an gcéadna a chéile dil / Oiléan óg aigneadh suilbhir* (*DDána* 87.23ab); *Mór ttarbha don tír a bhfuil / do-ní baincheile an Bharraidh* (RIA MS 23 D 4 (5), 361, l. 13; *ABM* 156.49ab); *bean d'ainnribh is uaisle fréimh / a hairrgibh uaisle Oilén* (RIA MS 23 D 4 (5), 361, ll. 22–3; *ABM* 156.51cd). Ellen was still living in 1602 (*Irish Fiants*, iii, 531 (§6700)).

⁴²*DDána* 87.22b. Cf. RIA 23 D 4 (5) 358, l. 22; *ibid.*, 359, l. 20; *ABM* 156.28b, 35b.

⁴³*Cal. SP Ire. 1599–1600*, 481 (letter dated 16 February 1600).

⁴⁴*Cal. SP Ire. 1599–1600*, 497–8 (letter dated 25 February – 6 March 1600); cf. *ibid.*, 493–5.

⁴⁵Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 196; *Cal. SP Ire. 1599–1600*, 493–4 (letter dated 13 February 1599).

⁴⁶Barry, 'Barrymore', *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 196; *Cal. Carew Manuscripts 1589–1600*, 362 (13 February 1599). Cf. *Cal. Cal. SP Ire. 1599–1600*, 494; *AFM* s.a. 1600.10 n.

⁴⁷*AFM* s.a. 1600.10.

country, 'whose corn and haggards with most of their cattle, the traitor Tyrone this last summer altogether burned, foraged, and spoiled'.⁴⁸

Dáibhídh de Barra was loyal to the Crown throughout the end of the Nine Years War, and he and his wife Ellen Roche were granted a pardon in 1602.⁴⁹ In the Crown's final suppression of rebellion in Munster, he was given charge of a company and joined forces with Sir George Thornton and Sir Charles Wilmot to 'round and hunt [the Rebels] out of the Fastnesse'.⁵⁰ In 1606 Sir John Davies, Attorney-General, reports dining with the Viscount Barry who, 'at his castle at Barrie Court "gave us civil and plentiful entertainment"'.⁵¹ His loyalty was rewarded. Upon the succession of King James I, Dáibhídh de Barra was granted a fair at Castlelyons and Timoleague in 1607.⁵² His death in 1617 provides a *terminus ad quem* for the poem composed in his honour.

‘AODH MHÁG UIDHIR ... AODH ÓS AODHAIBH’

The only reference to an historical person (other than the patron) in *Teallach* is an oblique allusion to Aodh Mág Uidhir (q. 16). This is very likely Aodh Mág Uidhir, who succeeded his father, Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir, as chieftain of Fermanagh in 1589.⁵³ While a quatrain to Aodh would not be expected in a poem addressed to Dáibhídh de Barra, a Munster chieftain, we know that Mág Uidhir journeyed into Munster to aid Aodh Ó Néill, earl of Tyrone, who raided and burned the lands of Dáibhídh de Barra in Co. Cork in 1599–1600 because of his refusal to join the uprising.⁵⁴ In a letter written by Dáibhídh de Barra from Barryscourt (19 February 1600), ‘Maguire’ is named among those who devastated his lands: ‘The traitors Tyrone, Maguire, and others, are now drawn up to this province ... accompanied with five thousand foot and five hundred horse of Ulster forces, besides the province’s rebels. Their first attempt in this country was against me, most of their forces being robbing and spoiling of me and my tenants this seven days’.⁵⁵ Evidence is also found in a poem by Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa, to whom Aodh Mág Uidhir was a special patron, and who pledged to include a quatrain to Aodh in his poems.⁵⁶ Ó hEódhusa expressed anxiety

⁴⁸Cal. SP Ire. 1600–01, 22 (§20) (Letter from Barryscourt, 8 November 1600).

⁴⁹Irish Fiants, iii, 531 (§6700).

⁵⁰Thomas Stafford, *Pacata Hibernia* (London, 1633), 358, 362–3, 365.

⁵¹J. Coleman, ‘The old castles around Cork harbour’, 64 (letter to Lord Salisbury). The castle at Barryscourt appears on a map from this period; cf. Stafford, *Pacata Hibernia*, between pp. 4–5.

⁵²E. Barry, ‘Barrymore’, *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 200.

⁵³AFM s.a. 1589.1.

⁵⁴*Beatha Aodha Ruaidh*, i, 238–41 (§127). Cf. P. A. Breatnach, ‘Irish records of the Nine Years’ War: a brief survey, with particular notice of the relationship between *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill* and the Annals of the Four Masters’, in P. Ó Riain (ed.), *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh: The Life of Red Hugh O’Donnell. Historical and Literary Contexts*, ITS Subsidiary Series (London, 2002), 115–38.

⁵⁵Cal. SP Ire. 1599–1600, 492–3 (Letter dated February 19 1599[–1600]).

⁵⁶P. A. Breatnach, ‘A covenant between Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa and Aodh Mág Uidhir’, *Éigse* 27 (1993), 59–66; Breatnach, ‘Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa (c. 1560–1612)’, *Éigse* 27 (1993), 127–9. The presence of a quatrain to Aodh Mág Uidhir in *Teallach* is not presented as evidence that Ó Eódhusa is the author. Other poets sought Mág Uidhir’s patronage; for example, Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn complains that the northern poets deny him access to Aodh (*TD* i, no.12).

over Aodh's safety during the Munster campaign in the poem *Fúar liom an adhaighsi dh'Aodh*.⁵⁷ His fears were well-founded, as Aodh († 13 March 1600) died of wounds inflicted by Sir Warham St Leger in a skirmish outside of Cork city.⁵⁸ The allusion to Aodh in *Teallach*, along with satiric hints at the plundering *sionnach* 'fox' (Prose B) and references to raids upon the patron's lands (Prose D),⁵⁹ suggest that *Teallach* may refer to this period of conflict which affected the patron, Dáibhídh de Barra.

The allusion to Aodh Mág Uidhir immediately follows a comic prose anecdote about a greedy 'fox' (*sionnach*) who intrudes into church lands and pulls on the rope of the church bell (Prose B), presumably sounding a call to Mass or perhaps raising an alarm. The juxtaposition hints at some connection between Aodh and the *sionnach*, with the suggestion of a satiric jest. *Sionnach* 'fox' occurs elsewhere in verse to deride a Maguire chieftain,⁶⁰ and occurs commonly as a term of opprobrium in other Irish texts.⁶¹ The Middle Irish poem *Can as ticc macc léinn*, for example, alludes to 'foxes' (*sinnaig*) feasting on corpses in the graves at Clonmacnoise, which has been interpreted as a satiric gibe directed at Muintir Thadhgáin, a family in Co. Meath known as the 'Foxes' (*Sinnaig*), who were long remembered for the desecration.⁶² Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn bitterly derides *An Sionnach* 'the Fox', a chieftain of that family, in a *crosántacht*,⁶³ and while there is no reference to this family in *Teallach*, the prose anecdote of the *sionnach*'s intrusion into the churchyard may have evoked such images of plunder and desecration. A 'covenant' involving the 'Fox' and an account of the submission of the chief of the 'Sionnaigh' to the English Crown during the Nine Years War offers an intriguing record of the family's allegiance to the Crown.⁶⁴

⁵⁷IBP no. 29.

⁵⁸*Beatha Aodha Ruaidh*, i, 238–9 (§126); cf. *AFM* s.a. 1600 (vol. vi, 2160–5). St Leger was slain by Mág Uidhir in the skirmish. Aodh was succeeded by his younger brother, Cú Chonnacht († 1608), who left Ireland for the continent with Tyrone in 1607.

⁵⁹Note especially the following phrasing, as the poet acknowledges such raids upon his patron, e.g. *ní bhfuil dá mhéid d'imreasafijn ná d'eaasanta do-ghnid a fhoghluidh 7 a eascaruid dō ...* (Prose D). Cf. also q. 38.

⁶⁰John O'Donovan (ed.), *The Tribes of Ireland* (Dublin, 1852), 52–3, l. 12 and n. 3. Cf. Prose B, note at *sionnach*.

⁶¹See note on *sionnach* (Prose B).

⁶²For a proposed connection between the poem and the destruction of Clonmacnoise by the 'Foxes', i.e. the Ó Catharnaigh (Muintir Thadhgáin), see Caitilín Ní Mhaol-Chróin, 'Macalla as Cluain-Mhac-Nois A.D. 1050', *Galvia* 1 (1954), 15–17. I thank Seán Ó Coileáin for this reference and for helpful insights on this passage. Cf. note at *sionnach* (Prose B). For remarks on the Ó Catharnaigh see Margaret E. Dobbs, 'The territory and people of Tethba', *JRSAI* (1942), 136–48. Cf. also Micheál Ó Flaithhearta, "'No fox can foul the lair the badger swept': aspects of the fox in Irish tradition", in Ailbhe Ó Corráin and Gordon Ó Riain (eds), *Celebrating Sixty Years of Celtic Studies at Uppsala University: Proceedings of the Eleventh Symposium of Societas Celtologica Nordica* (Uppsala, 2013), 63–75.

⁶³TD i, poem 34, qq. 28–29 with intervening prose; TD ii, pp. 165–6. See also below Prose B, notes.

⁶⁴In 1526 'The Fox' (Breasal son of Eoghan) made a covenant with Connla Mageoghegan at Suidhe Adhamnain, in the barony of Kinealeagh, in which Mageoghegan became lord over the Fox; see J. O'Donovan, 'Covenant between Mageoghegan and the Fox, with brief historical notices of the two families', in *The Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society* (Dublin, 1846), 179–97, at

In the shift from prose to verse, the satiric jesting spills over into the opening quatrain: *'S iomdha glór dīomhaoín sa chlog-soin* 'there is a lot of nonsense in that bell' (15a), a translation suggested by comparable phrasing which survives in Modern Irish: *is mó glór díomhaoín id' cheann, mar dubhairt an madadh leis an gclog* 'you have many silly things to say, as the fox said to the bell'.⁶⁵

'S iomdha glór dīomhaoín sa chlog-soin
is cúis aonaigh;
 beanaidh fear a-nuas um nónaidh
 cnuas do chraobhaibh.

Rug a mbí do thart ar thánuibh,
lacht ó laoghuibh,
 Aodh Mháig Uidhir don taobh tuaidhín,
 Aodh ós Aodhuibh. (qq. 15–16)

'There is a lot of nonsense in that bell, which summons an assembly (?); a man strikes down clusters of nuts from branches at [the ringing of] nones.

Aodh Mág Uidhir in the north, Aodh above [all other] Aodhs,
caused (?) the thirst that was on herds of cattle, depriving calves
of [their] milk.'

While Mág Uidhir is recognized as *Aodh ós Aodhaibh* 'Aodh above [all other] Aodhs', the juxtaposition of the comic anecdote suggests a mix of praise and ironic jesting, a common feature of *croisantacht*. The quatrains cited above depict, on the surface, a reign which typifies *fir flaithemon*: trees laden with nuts (q. 15) recall the showers of nuts during a fruitful reign,⁶⁶ and herds of cows straying from their young in search of water (16ab) correspond to images of intense summer heat associated with *fir flaithemon*.⁶⁷ Here, however, the poet seems to mock the proceedings in a chaotic intersection of sound and sense. The striking down of nuts echoes the ringing of the bell; the scorched land which leaves calves without milk suggests the plundering and burning of the lands of Barrymore by Aodh Mág Uidhir. The poet may mock an action taken at an inappropriate time: the unnamed *fear* 'man, fellow' (perhaps Aodh Mág Uidhir?) harvests nuts when he should heed the call to Mass. The poet himself concedes: *Ní beag linn ar*

191–97. During the Nine Years War (1594–1603), Hoibeard († 1600), son of Breasal, who was chief, or the 'Sionnach' of the family (in Co. Offaly), signed an agreement of 'surrender and regrant' with the English Crown, 'to express his zeal and loyalty'. For an extract from a Patent Roll of Chancery see O'Donovan, 'Covenant between Mageoghegan and the Fox', 185. For some remarks see P. A. Breatnach, 'The chief's poet', *PRIA-C* 83 (1983), 37–79, at 56. Cf. notes at 14c, Prose B.

⁶⁵Dinneen s.v. *glór* (ref. P. A. Breatnach).

⁶⁶For examples from verse see McManus, "'The smallest man in Ireland'", 106.

⁶⁷Compare *táinte ag loighe a leapthaibh tonn* 'herds of cattle take refuge in the sea'; *táin a n-áth sreabha 'na súan* 'cattle [are] slumbering in the river-ford'; cf. McManus, "'The smallest man in Ireland'", 97 (§§104, 105).

leansom d'fhuarchúis 'I have been pursuing a pointless matter long enough' (q. 17a). All of these untimely actions comprise the poet's *fuarchúis*, which merely forestalls the praise due to the Barry chieftain. One is reminded of the pointless 'barking of the fox at the bell', which elsewhere in bardic verse signifies a futile action: *Glór an tsionnaigh ris an gclog. ní beag nod dá chur i suim / go leigfeadh Leath Mogha mhór. a gcána le slógh ó gCuinn* 'Like the barking of the fox at the bell – a hint is enough to show you what I mean – is your idea that Leath Mogha would let her tribute be taken by the hosts of Conn's race'.⁶⁸

Was Aodh Mág Uidhir alive when the poet acknowledged his status as *Aodh ós Aodhaibh*? The comic tone strongly suggests that he is, though the context is unspecific and the intriguing allusions are couched in satiric banter. When and by whom *Teallach* was composed remains uncertain, but composition before Mág Uidhir's death in March, 1600, is certainly plausible.⁶⁹ Even if randomly introduced as a part of the verbal nonsense, a quatrain naming the 'supreme Aodh' would be odd in a poem composed after the death of this renowned chieftain, who was a generous patron of poets and who was regarded, even by Sir John Davies, as a 'valiant rebel'.⁷⁰ The poet, aware of Aodh's fame as a tenacious fighter, may have sought to navigate the shifting alliances and unpredictable outcome of events with such robust jesting.

Teallach may have been composed when Aodh Mág Uidhir was conducting raids in Munster (1599–1600), at a time when the Earl of Tyrone, Aodh Ó Néill, sought the allegiance of Dáibhídh de Barra and appealed to his Catholic faith as grounds for joining the Irish cause. The Catholic faith is a prominent theme in the opening prose apologue, and there is the rarely attested word *ómhannta* (see Prose A, notes), an apparent by-form of *ómánta* 'humble, obedient', occurring in the religious prose of John Carswell and Seaán Ó Cearnaigh, the latter a native of Leyney, Co. Sligo. The poet may have been familiar with these religious works, or the word may have been in use in his native district. Whether the poet was on tour in Munster,⁷¹ and included a quatrain to Aodh, or whether he had only a vague familiarity with the renowned Northern chieftain, he brings Mág Uidhir (the *sionnach*?) into the comic *fuarchúis*. Such jesting occurs elsewhere in bardic eulogy. In one copy of Tadhg Dall's poem to Aodh Mág Uidhir, for example, Aodh is compared humorously to a pig.⁷² The tale of the 'fox' in *Teallach* seems to have a satiric function, but amidst the jesting, the image of

⁶⁸*Content.*, ii, 27.4.

⁶⁹See discussion of dating above, pp. 000.

⁷⁰See Paul Walsh, 'The chieftains of Fermanagh', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* 19 (1922), 598–613, at 606.

⁷¹For a discussion of Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa's period of study in Munster, for example, see James Carney, *The Irish Bardic Poet: a Study in the Relationship of Poet and Patron as Exemplified in the Persons of the Poet, Eochaidh Ó hEoghusa and his Various Patrons, Mainly Members of the Maguire Family of Fermanagh* (Dublin, 1985; originally published by the Dolmen Press, 1967). Compare also the sojourns of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn; see Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'The poetry of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn: themes and sources' in P. Riggs (ed.), *Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn: His Historical and Literary Context*, ITS Subsidiary Series 21 (London, 2010), 55–87, at 73–4.

⁷²Ó Macháin, 'The poetry of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn', 82 n. 83. As Ó Macháin has noted, the comparison is unique to the Book of O'Connor Don, where it is added marginally. Cf. *TD* i, 12.13.

nut-laden branches (q. 15) attests to a reign of prosperity, a theme to which the poet continually returns, no matter how far astray his musings carry him.

SOURCES AND LITERARY THEMES

Teallach was described by Standish Hayes O'Grady somewhat dismissively as 'exceedingly flowery',⁷³ but the heavily layered imagery depicting natural abundance can be understood as an elaborate portrayal of *fir flaithemon*, which testifies to the fecundity of the land and the proper relationship between ruler and subject, patron and patrimony. The notion is often treated with creativity and wit in bardic verse, as Damian McManus has demonstrated,⁷⁴ and it is developed here within the more liberal parameters of *croisantacht*, where the links between verse and prose provide further opportunities for verbal echoes and word play. The structure of the poem has been outlined above, but it will be useful to examine the relationship of various parts of the poem.

The opening section presents the fertile state of Barrymore, Co. Cork, resulting from St Patrick's blessing upon Munster at the baptism of Aonghus mac Nad Fraoich, king of Munster (c. 453–489). The earliest account of the baptism of Aonghus occurs in *Bethu Phátraic*,⁷⁵ though a more likely influence is a version of the saint's *vita* in the fifteenth century *Leabhar Breac*,⁷⁶ where key elements of the story, including a verse blessing upon the people and land of Munster,⁷⁷ are condensed into a single narrative. The poet of *Teallach* names Aonghus mac Nad Fraoich, who figures in the *vitae*, but also names Corc son of Luigdeach, king of Cashel, and it is possible that he was familiar with a story about the founding of Cashel. An early version contains a prophetic blessing chanted by an angel upon Corc, the chosen ruler, and upon all of the future kings of Cashel: *Bendacht nime néll-bendacht, bendacht tire torad-bendacht, bennacht mara íasc-bendacht, bendacht gréine grád-bendacht, bennacht ésga ordan-bendacht, bendacht latha lón-bendacht, beandacht drúcht, bendacht daithin, bendacht gaile, bendacht gáisi, beandacht air* 'Blessing of heaven cloud-blessing, blessing of earth fruit-blessing, blessing of sea fish-blessing, blessing of sun rank-blessing, blessing of moon honour-blessing, blessing of ale food-blessing, blessing of dew, blessing of light, blessing of valour, blessing of wisdom, blessing of ploughing'.⁷⁸ The alliterative poetic language and emphasis on abundance and a just rule is in keeping with the

⁷³*BLCat.*, 558.

⁷⁴See n. 4 above.

⁷⁵Kathleen Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic* (Dublin, 1939), 118–19 (ll. 2297–307). For some discussion see Breatnach, *Téamaí Taighde Nua-Ghaeilge*, 35–6.

⁷⁶Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Three Middle-Irish Homilies on the Lives of the Saints Patrick, Brigit and Columba* (Calcutta, 1877), 32–5; cf. *Leabhar Breac* (fol. 28a25–28a55).

⁷⁷Mulchrone, *Bethu Phátraic*, 128–9 (ll. 2545–73). See further Prose A, Sources.

⁷⁸See Myles Dillon, 'The Story of the Finding of Cashel', *Ériu* 16 (1952), 61–73, at 65 (§2, ll. 16–20). I thank Tomás Ó Cathasaigh for this reference during a presentation on the poem in the Harvard Celtic Department (September, 2017). The blessing, with some variation, is also appended to *Lebor na Cert*, where it is attributed to St Patrick and addressed to the people of Ireland, but with no mention of Corc son of Luigdeach or the kinship of Cashel. See Myles Dillon (ed.), *Lebor na Cert. The Book of Rights*, ITS 46 (1962), 120 (ll. 1769–79); cf. David Sproule, 'Politics and Pure Narrative in the Stories about Corc of Cashel', *Ériu* 36 (1985), 11–28, at 22–6.

central theme of the prose passage in *Teallach*. Identifying a source precisely is difficult, as the bardic poet was not required to reiterate the language of an earlier tale; rather, he selects details to suit his purpose.⁷⁹ The idea of linking the blessing of St Patrick to the praise of the patron's lands has very likely been drawn from the earlier bardic poem *Teallach coisreagtha clann Bhriain*, composed for Tadhg 'Caoluisce' Ó Briain († 1259), as Pádraig Breatnach has observed,⁸⁰ and the title echo would link Barrymore and its chieftain to that past homestead famed for its generosity. The notion is developed in a distinctive manner in the later *Teallach*, where abundance is attributed both to St Patrick's blessing (q. 3) and to the union between the rightful lord joined in a sacral marriage with the land of the Barrys (q. 9). These two quatrains are the core around which the opening section (qq. 1–10, Prose A) is constructed.

The landscape depicted has the typical manifestations of *fir flaitheamon*. The rhyming words *teachta* : *feachta* (q. 4cd) emphasise the paradoxical upward 'growth' (*teachta*) upon the land which causes a downward bending of trees burdened by fruit.⁸¹ Trees are 'bent' (*feachta*) by the weight of abundant fruit.⁸² The chieftain's union with the land is fundamental to *fir flaitheamon*, and the quatrain conveys structurally and semantically, a relationship of reciprocity and excellence between the chosen ruler and *Críoch Bharrach*:

A-tá a díol do rígh san rígh-se;
is rádh toilltear;
's a-tá a dhíol-sin d'oireacht innte;
roibheacht roinntear. (q. 9)

'In this king there is her match of a king; it is a claim which is deserved; and he [likewise] has his match of supporting nobles in her [*Críoch Bharrach*]; it is precisely apportioned.'

The union is reflected in the parallel phrases *a-tá a díol* (line a) and *a-tá a dhíol* (9c), with the feminine and then the masculine possessive adjective. The juxtaposition of *do rígh* 'of a king' (9a), indicating the indefinite king sought by the mateless sovereign, and *san rígh-se* 'in this king', identifying the physically present Barry chieftain, represents the sacral marriage of king and sovereignty goddess. The marriage also establishes his match of a noble assembly (*oireacht*) in her (*innte*),⁸³ emphasising the interdependency of the chieftain and his people. The union brings about a metamorphosis, from misfortune to bounty, and prosperity is also assured by *brígh na mbeannocht*

⁷⁹L. P. Ó Caithnia, *Apalóga na bhFíli 1200–1650* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1984), 16–17.

⁸⁰Breatnach, *Téamaí Taighde Nua-Ghaeilge*, 30–6.

⁸¹See note at 4cd for comments on an emendation.

⁸²The alliterating phrase *feachta* [a] *fíodhbhaidh* (4a) can 'be compared to a similar image of prosperity: *Cleath Chró fa bfeacadh gach fíodh* (McManus, "The smallest man in Ireland", 104 (§133)).

⁸³The notion has been discussed by many scholars. See R. A. Breatnach, 'The lady and the king: a theme of Irish literature', *Studies* 42 (1953), 321–36; Máire Herbert, 'The sacred marriage in early Ireland', in Louise Olga Fradenburg (ed.), *Women and Sovereignty* (Edinburgh, 1992), 264–75.

‘the power of the blessings’ (q. 10). An emendation of MS *brugh* to *brigh* is supported by rhyme, and the verbal link of *brigh* and *beannocht bhríoghmar* (Prose A) further emphasises the theme.

In the description of St Patrick’s blessing and resulting bounty (Prose A), the poet draws on a store of images signifying *fír flaithemon* employed by the bardic poets. In Tadhg (mac Dáire) Mac Bruaídeadha’s poem *Mór a-tá ar theagasg flatha*, composed in the seventeenth century but incorporating the notion of *fír flaithemon* present in earlier Irish texts,⁸⁴ a just rule ensures the ‘bursting forth of every full fruit’ (*sgeith gach lántoraidh*).⁸⁵ Sea-waif (*torchairthe / turchairthe* and *torchar*) is likewise a witness to righteous kingship, as McManus has noted: *An talamh gana thairthibh / ‘sa[n] tonn gana torchoirthe / ag tairngire ríogh o Róigh / as síon ainglidhe ina onóir* ‘The land with its produce and the waves with their sea-waif bear witness to the king of the line of Roach, as does the angelic weather [guaranteed] in his honour’.⁸⁶ In *Teallach* comparable images occur in the syllabic verse, but are more elaborately developed in the alliterative prose: *γ tug beannocht d’úir γ d’uisge γ d’fhéar na n-uasalMhuimhneach fá sgeith a dtorchair γ a dtromthortha dá gcabhair γ dá gcomhfhortacht ann gach n-imneadh, γ ann gach n-aimsir budh dú γ budh dual dóibh* ‘And he [St Patrick] gave a blessing to the earth and water and grassland of the noble Munstermen on account of which their sea-wrack and their heavy fruits burst forth to help them and to relieve them in every sorrow and season that was belonging to them and natural to them.’ The prose echoes the verse blessing pronounced by the saint in versions of the *vita*, but it is the poet’s own retelling, and the *croisantacht* style grants considerable latitude as he forms the analogy. The narrative recalls the saint’s blessing and renews its promise of regeneration. The poet’s notable emphasis on the ‘Catholic’ faith also affirms, and perhaps appeals to, the patron’s zealous Catholicism, to which he adhered even while he remained loyal to the Queen.

The patron’s prowess in warfare is extolled in the syllabic verse and culminates in a eulogistic metaphor depicting him as *caor chruaidh chomhraig* ‘a hard missile [of battle]’ (q. 23d), a weapon which in Old and Middle Irish texts is prized for its craftsmanship: *Tréde neimthigedar cerdai: fige ronn, caer comraic, plett for faebur* ‘Three things that constitute an artificer: weaving chains, a mosaic ball, an edge upon a blade’.⁸⁷ Medieval glossators describe its intersecting lines and diverse colours,⁸⁸ as does a reference in the *Leabhar Breac*: *in choer comraic i fhuiilet .uiii. ndatha* ‘the missile in which there are

⁸⁴See Fergus Kelly’s comments on the poem in *Audacht Morainn* (Dublin, 1976), xiv.

⁸⁵McManus, “‘The smallest man in Ireland’”, 69. For a recent edition of the poem see Emma Nic Cárthaigh (ed. and trans.), ‘Mór a-tá ar theagasc flátha: *Speculum Principis* le Tadhg mac Dáire Mheic Bhruaídeadha’, in Seán Ó Coileáin, Liam Ó Murchú and Pádraigín Riggs (eds), *Séimhfhear Suairc: Aistí in Ómós don Ollamh Breandán Ó Conchúir* (An Daingean, 2013), 139–80, at 148, q. 5.

⁸⁶McManus, “‘The smallest man in Ireland’”, 103 (§129) (cf. Franciscan MS A 25, fol. 185, ll. 19–20, at line 20). A critical edition of the poem is provided in Gordon Ó Riain, ‘Ceithre dhán le Maol Eachlainn na nUirgéal Ó hUiginn: eagrán criticiúil’, unpublished PhD thesis, National University of Ireland, Dublin (2008), 87–129, with the relevant quatrain (q. 36) on p. 115.

⁸⁷Meyer, *Triads*, §121.

⁸⁸For the gloss on the phrase see *Triads*, §121 (p. 39). See further note below on q. 23d.

eight colours'.⁸⁹ The poet of *Teallach* appears to introduce the metaphor to praise not only his patron's battle-strength but also his diverse attributes, for he is king-like when among kings (*rí idir ríoghuibh*), child-like when among children (*leanb ar leanbhuibh*), a poet (*file*), a sage (*saoi*) and a master of all crafts (24–5). Its use as a eulogistic metaphor in a bardic eulogy addressed to one of the Butlers can be compared: *Ar leag lōghmhar, ar gcaor comhraig / is mō buadha* 'Our precious stone, our battle-missile of most virtues'.⁹⁰

The patron's rule, informed by learned seers who interpret the motions of heavenly bodies, mirrors the order of the cosmos. The poem shifts to a prose description of the territory of *crioch Bharrach* nourished by the sun, that rises within its celestial spheres and indiscriminately heats both 'green hills' and 'dark mires', warming the earth's inhabitants regardless of their rank (Prose C). In a similar fashion, Dáibhídh de Barra is the sun-like centre of Barrymore, who imitates the sun's benevolent generosity by satisfying the will of high-born and low-born, *ollamh* and *bard* and a host of entertainers. The prose passage highlights the learning and wisdom of the Barry lords. The poet extols the patron as 'the [epitome] of generosity' (<Is é> *an t-oineach*), and extends homage 'to the fair [lord] rich in horses' (*don gheal ghroidheach*),⁹¹ the rhyming words *oineach* : *groidheach* (q. 27) highlighting the patron's lavishness.⁹²

Subsequent verses set out, in formal legalistic language, the chieftain's obligation to bestow hospitality ceaselessly and without respite (*ní dáil fhaoisimh* (29b)). He must satisfy the 'will' (*toil*) of high-king, *ollamh* and *bard*, and the repetition of *toil* (qq. 28–30) emphasises the duty of the ruler. The queen (unnamed) must similarly maintain royal women and assume the burdensome demands of female fools and strollers. The excessive demands of unruly entertainers upon the patron's residence are diminished by his generous yielding of wealth, and his excellence is mirrored in the deeds of his nobles (qq. 30–36).

The poet returns to the theme of a fertile patrimony, concluding with a rare bardic apologue about the Classical figure Antaeus son of Terra, or *Anteus mac Tíre*, who was born from the earth, his mother, and renews his strength by touching his body to the earth (Prose D). Apologues from foreign sources become more frequent in bardic poetry during the late sixteenth century, as Katharine Simms has observed,⁹³ and the poet clearly draws on an episode from the medieval Irish tale *In Cath Catharda*, an adaptation of Lucan's *Pharsalia*.⁹⁴ *Teallach* contains a notable allusion to the story of

⁸⁹*Leabhar Breac*, 108b20.

⁹⁰*Poems Butlers*, 6.39ab (ll. 599–600) (translation mine).

⁹¹This quatrain might be defective in the manuscripts. See note below at Prose C and q. 27.

⁹²Compare a *chráobh chúlchas ghroidheach* (: *oineach*) *Ghrég* (IGT ii ex. 1059).

⁹³Katharine Simms, 'Transition from medieval to modern in the poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn', in P. Riggs (ed.) *Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn: His Historical and Literary Context*, ITS Subsidiary Series 21 (London, 2010), 129.

⁹⁴*CCath.*, 220–29 (ll. 2874–2989). For another instance of the Antaeus (Ainntius) story see Gordon Quin (ed. and trans.), *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás: The Life and Death of Hercules*, ITS 38 (London, 1939), 122–3. The latter episode is very likely drawn from *In Cath Catharda*, as Quin notes (*ibid.*, xxvi–xxvii); cf. Eric Poppe, 'Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás – Rewriting Hercules in Ireland', in Kevin Murray (ed.), *Translations from Classical Literature: Imtheachta Aeniasa and Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás*, ITS Subsidiary Series 17 (London, 2006), 61–3.

Antaeus from poems of the Classical Irish period.⁹⁵ To my knowledge, the only other occurrence of the Antaeus legend as an apologue is found in *Faolaidh Fir Mhanach a-nocht* 'Fermanagh is joyous tonight', a eulogy composed for another Maguire chieftain, Brian son of Cú Chonnacht son of Aodh.⁹⁶ He has been identified as Brian Mág Uidhir († 1700) son of Cú Chonnacht Mór († 1691),⁹⁷ which is plausible, but the text has not been fully edited and the date requires further investigation, particularly in light of Katharine Simms's investigation of the complexities of dating bardic eulogies,⁹⁸ the repetition of names in the Maguire genealogy and even, perhaps, the uncertainties surrounding Aodh Mág Uidhir's descendants.⁹⁹ In the poem, which is composed in *deibhidhe* with regular rhyme, alliteration and a *dúnadh*, the extolled Maguire patron is more conventionally likened to the illustrious hero Hercules, who crushes the brutish Antaeus (or *Anteón*, as he is called in this poem).¹⁰⁰ Details of the story are more judiciously selected by the poet of *Teallach*, who twists the tale of Antaeus into praise of the Barry chieftain. The poet describes the unusual birth of Antaeus and the wondrous manner in which he regains battle-strength: when Antaeus is about to be vanquished by his opponent, he falls to the ground, only to rise up stronger when his body touches the earth, his mother. In the legend Antaeus succumbs to Hercules' strength, but in *Teallach* it is the earth, the contact with the soil, the falling to the earth and rising with renewed fury which are the primary themes for the poet's praise. There is no mention of the single combat between Antaeus and Hercules who, upon perceiving that Antaeus draws his strength from the earth, raises him aloft and crushes him to death between his forearms; rather, the tale is reshaped to praise Barrymore and its ruling lord.

The poet may incorporate elements of parody and caricature which, as Pádraig Ó Mácháin has demonstrated, are allowable within the liberal parameters of *croisantacht* and do not necessarily diminish the praise of the patron.¹⁰¹ In likening his patron to Antaeus, who craftily yields to his opponent and falls to

⁹⁵See <http://bardic.celt.dias.ie/>. No examples have been noted by Ó Caithnia, *Apalóga na bhFili*.

⁹⁶Ludwig Stern (ed.), 'Über eine Sammlung irischer Gedichte in Kopenhagen', *ZCP* 2 (1899), 323–72, at 362, ll. 17–18: *Maguidhir medhrach ar triath . mhac Conchonnacht na ngrodgliaith/ mhic Aodh an fial ba badhach, ní baoth Brian ciodh ioldhanach*.

⁹⁷Ludwig Stern (ed.), 'Über eine Sammlung irischer Gedichte in Kopenhagen', 323–72; esp. 361–5 (§36). A passage from Advocates 72.1.46 is also cited by Stern (*ibid.*, 364 n. 1). Cf. also Stern, 'Corrigenda', *ZCP* 3 (1901), 625.

⁹⁸Katharine Simms, 'The dating of two poems on Ulster chieftains', in Alfred P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: Studies in Early and Medieval Irish Archaeology, History and Literature in Honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin, 2000), 381–6.

⁹⁹Walsh ('The Chieftains of Fermanagh', 607–8) notes a few surviving details regarding Maguire's wife (a daughter of Tyrone) and children. The eldest son was slain in the skirmish on the same day as his father. An Irish treatise gives the names of three sons (Sean Ruadh, Aodh, Eamonn). Sir John Chichester mentions (c. 1610) 'Tyrone's grandchild, son to Hugh Maguyre, slain in Munster', though Walsh notes that there is no trace of him.

¹⁰⁰The form of the name is supported by rhyme, i.e. *Anteón* (: *león*); cf. Stern, 'Über eine Sammlung irischer Gedichte in Kopenhagen', 362 (ll. 25–6). See also Stern 'Corrigenda, addenda', *ZCP* 3 (1901), 625 (correction to *ZCP* 2, p. 363). Another Brian Maguire is likened to *an tEarcoilse Mac Míleadh* 'this Hercules of the Sons of Mil' (*TD* 13.45d), in an apologue drawn from *Stair Ercuil*.

¹⁰¹Ó Mácháin, 'The poetry of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn', 81.

the ground to renew his strength, one senses that the ‘yielding’ described may contain an oblique hint at the patron’s submission (or repeated submissions) to English Crown. The patron is likewise described as guarding his form and yielding often (qq. 37–8), like the *mac tíre*, and here a pun on the Irish meaning ‘wolf’, who yields before a strong opponent, is likely.¹⁰² The poet defends his patron’s ‘yielding’ of his physical form and also his wealth: *nach bí guth ag cléir ‘na choinne, / réidh do-ríne* ‘so that the poets do not have cause to fault him; what he did was sensible’ (38). If it is ironic praise, it is praise of Barrymore nonetheless. Whether Dáibhídh mac Séamais bows in submission or in battle, he rises renewed by contact with the land of his birth, and in a poem which praises the land of Barrymore, blessed by St Patrick and offering enduring gifts of prosperity, such ‘yielding’ increases the patron’s valour and his generous bestowal of wealth upon poets and entertainers. While there is no link between the Classical story of the Antaeus’s birth and the blessing by St Patrick, the poet makes a connection. The two tales frame the poem and, in complementary ways, affirm the regenerative power of the earth – the *teallach coisreagtha* which the poem celebrates.

Teallach borrows from its literary source a key phrase which identifies the source of Antaeus’s strength: *ó thadhall a mhátharbhunaidh .i. an talamh* ‘from touching his own mother, that is, the earth’ (Prose D). The prose directly echoes the phrasing of *In Cath Catharda* (though the poet cleverly forms a compound *mátharbhunaidh*), and one senses that the phrase was selected directly from a written text of the tale: *Ticced calmatus mór dosom desin co mba nert nua ar gach lo leis tre tadall a mat[h]ar bunaidh .i. in talam* ‘Thence great courage came to him, so that on every day he had fresh vigour through touching his original mother, the earth’.¹⁰³ Interestingly, the same phrasing is found in the fifteenth century manuscript *Advocates* 72.1.46 (fol.1r–1v),¹⁰⁴ an early fragment of *In Cath Catharda* which includes the Antaeus episode, now missing from the two oldest manuscripts due to a loss of a leaf.¹⁰⁵ The *Advocates* manuscript was written by the scribe Tadhg Ó Cianáin († 1469), during the reign of Tomás Óg Mág Uidhir, king of Fermanagh, the latter referring either to Tomás Óg who ruled 1430–71, or his son (1484–6).¹⁰⁶

¹⁰²See note below at 38b. For remarks on *mac tíre* as a later ‘kenning’ for older *cú*, and the lupine element in tales of the hero-king Cormac mac Airt, see Tomás Ó Cathasaigh, *The Heroic Biography of Cormac mac Airt* (Dublin, 1977), 33–7, 54–5.

¹⁰³*CCath*, 222 (ll. 2911–12). Compare the phrasing earlier in the narrative: *Innuair ticced dith neirt do nos-leicced ‘na ligi fria lar. O no thaidhledh a thaeb an talmain ticced a nert fein do, co llinnta do calmatus dermair é o mhathair bhunaidh .i. on talmain* ‘When his strength was exhausted he used to lie down on the ground. When his side touched the earth his own strength used to return, so that he was filled with great courage by his original mother, to wit, the earth’ (*CCath*, ll. 2898–99).

¹⁰⁴*comba nert nua ar cach lo leis tre thadhull a mathar bunaidh .i. in talam* (*Advocates* 72.1.46, fol. 1v).

¹⁰⁵The episode is missing from both TCD H.2.17 (1298) and RIA MS. D.iv.2.

¹⁰⁶See Pádraig Ó Macháin, ‘Observations on the manuscript of Tadhg Ó Cianáin’, in F. Ó Fearghail (ed.), *Tadhg Ó Cianáin: an Irish Scholar in Rome* (Dublin, 2011), 171–205, at 173–4. Ó Macháin also notes a separated bifolium of *In Cath Catharda* in RIA D i 1 (1237), Part I. The Antaeus episode does not appear in this fragment, however, as the narrative breaks off several lines earlier (= ed. Stokes, l. 2877); cf. *RIACat.*, 3427. I thank the Royal Irish Academy for permission to consult the manuscript and the accompanying loose papers associated with the

While it may or may not have been our poet's source, the manuscript is of value to our study as it is now, to my knowledge, the earliest surviving Irish text of the Antaeus episode.¹⁰⁷

The end of *Teallach* echoes and extends the theme set out at the beginning. Just as Antaeus was born from the womb (*clí*) of the earth – recalling the 'dark mires' described in Prose C – Dáibhídh mac Séamais got his 'burnishing' (*foighreadh*) in the land of Barrymore (q. 39). Just as Antaeus 'touches' (*tadhall*) the earth and rises with renewed strength, all who traverse (*tadhall*) the land of Barrymore partake of its bounty (q. 43), and here a pun on *tadhall* 'touch' links the verse to the prose and emphasises the benefits of contact with the land. The poem begins, and ends, with an image of *Críoch Bharrach* as an idealized Otherworld kingdom 'of the delightful mounds' (*na mbrugh síthe*), which mirrors the blessed, fruitful land depicted in the opening prose apologue (Prose A). The likely pun on *sídh* 'fairy mounds' and 'peace', both potent images of *fir flaithemon*,¹⁰⁸ would further praise the patron's patrimony and its promise of enduring prosperity. The poet weaves together stories of a native saint and foreign champion, of the celestial spheres and the earthly spheres, to celebrate the resilience of the patron and the regenerative power of the Barry lands.

TEXTUAL TRADITION

To my knowledge, the poem survives in eleven manuscripts. There are two distinct families: ABCELMT form one family, and NOYP (written by the Ó Longáin scribes), the other. In both families, quatrain 27 (following Prose C) has only two lines. These two lines are missing in LM. The second family has other notable omissions. Two additional lines of verse (7cd) are missing in NOYP. All of Prose D is missing in NOY; P breaks off at quatrain 15. Manuscripts from two families are outlined here:

Family I:

(A) London, BL Add. 29614, fol. 57v–59v, written by Seán Ó Murchadha na Ráithíneach in 1725, is the earliest manuscript and the basis of the present edition.¹⁰⁹ Some letters in the prose passages have been lost due to wearing at the margins. One letter has been lost from the marginal colophon.¹¹⁰

Maguires of Fermanagh. I have elsewhere suggested a possible Maguire connection in *Teallach* (Griffin-Wilson, 'St Patrick and Antaeus: two bardic apologues', 171–4), though the suggestion was speculative and no evidence has since emerged.

¹⁰⁷Advocates 72.1.46 is not included in Stokes's edition of *In Cath Catharda*, as he had access only to unclear photographs of the manuscript, and consequently drew the Antaeus section of the text from two late manuscripts: Franciscan MS A 17, probably written in Fermanagh in 1618, and RIA C vi 2, dated 1633; see *IT* 4/2, vi–vii. The Advocates manuscript is now available on the Irish Script on Screen website (www.isos.dias.ie), with a description by Ronald Black.

¹⁰⁸See T. Ó Cathasaigh, 'The semantics of *sídh*', *Éigse* 17 (1977–9), 137–55. Cf. n. 43b below.

¹⁰⁹*BLCat.*, 1, p. 557 (§45). I thank the British Library for permission to consult this manuscript. A scribal colophon in the earlier part of the manuscript gives the date 1725 (fol. 24v); another in the later section gives the date 22 May 1726 (fol. 60v). For an account of the scribe see Breandán Ó Conchúir, *Scriobhaithe Chorcaí 1700–1850* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1982), 167–72; Máire Ní Mhurchú agus Diarmuid Breatnach, *1560–1781 Beathaisnéis* (Baile Átha Cliath, 2003), 159–61.

¹¹⁰See n. 7 and discussion of authorship above.

(T) Dublin, TCD H. 6. 7 (1411), fol. 48–55,¹¹¹ was written in Goirtín in 1737 by Donnchadh Ó Conuill, a lesser known scribe who may have been connected to the Roches of Fermoy,¹¹² a connection of some interest given the patron's marriage to the daughter of David Roche, Viscount Roche of Fermoy.¹¹³ The text is clearly written and closely aligned to A. The two manuscripts undoubtedly derive from a common source. There is no trace of the marginal colophon (A) questioning Ó Bruadair's authorship. Readings in A are preferred in a few instances, e.g. *fosuig* (A) rather than *sosuig* (T) (18c), *seabhadh* 'hawk' (A) rather than *seabheac* (T) (21a), though significant variants are few.

(E) RIA MS 23 E 14 (125), fol. 56–61, written by Seán Ó Dála in 1846, was copied from A.¹¹⁴ Seán Ó Murchadha na Ráithíneach's marginal colophon (A) appears only in this copy. The scribe has left spaces where the text of A is worn and illegible.

(C) Cambridge Add. 7089, fol. 218–30, written by Standish Hayes O'Grady in 1850, is a copy of A.¹¹⁵ This is clear from colophons (pp. 159, 196) and from the distinct spaces left where words are missing in A.

(B) RIA MS 24 B 8 (315), fol. 93–123, was written c. 1860 by William Smith O'Brien, who transcribed manuscripts written by Standish Hayes O'Grady.¹¹⁶ It follows A but contains several errors in transcription, e.g. *a naridire* for *a nainnire* (6d), *feochuint* for *feochuir* (Prose A).

(L) University College Cork LS 164 (L), fol. 247–54, was written in 1827 by Seán Ó Dreda.¹¹⁷ L is aligned to AT, and readings *fosaig* (18c) and *seabhadh* (21a) suggest that it is more closely aligned to A. It departs from AT in its omission of the two lines which comprise quatrain 27. It differs from AT at three other points: 1) The inclusion of the 3 sg. feminine possessive adjective in the line *ag feacadh a fíodhbhadh* (4d); 2) The addition of two words in Prose A (designated here by square brackets): *go rabhadar úmhal áisioch [géileamhuil tromdha] urramach omhannta* 'so that they were obedient, accommodating, [submissive, dignified] respectful and compliant';¹¹⁸ 3) L supplies a variant

¹¹¹T. J. Abbott and E. J. Gwynn, *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin, 1921), 270. I thank the Trinity College Dublin Library for permission to consult this manuscript and for providing digital images of the text. For a transcript of the poem (with an omission of two lines (Prose A)) see *ABM*, 646–9.

¹¹²See Tomás Ó Concheanainn, 'The scribe of the Irish astronomical tract in RIA B ii 1', *Celtica* 11 (1976), 158–67, at 166 n. 24; cf. Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí*, 46–8, 197.

¹¹³For the relevant sources see nn. 38, 39, 40 above.

¹¹⁴*RIA Cat.*, 364–73, at 367. The signature of 'Seaghan Ó Dálaigh' and address at Bedford Row, Dublin, July 1848, appear in the inside cover of Add. MS. 29614.

¹¹⁵Pádraig de Brún and Máire Herbert (eds), *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge, 1986), 102. I thank the Cambridge University Library for granting permission to consult the manuscript.

¹¹⁶*RIA Cat.*, 892–3.

¹¹⁷Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí*, 61–2. I thank University College Cork, Special Collections, for permission to consult L 164 and for providing digital images of the text.

¹¹⁸Prose A narrates an episode from a life of St Patrick. Ó Dreda made copies of *Beatha Phádraig* (RIA 24 A 27 (661), 1–111; RIA 24 A 22 (659), 100–213) and other saints' lives. The adjective

maithe where A is worn (Prose C). These *variae* are not included in the critical apparatus, and L is otherwise ignored for editorial purposes.

(M) RIA 24 M 4 (601), fol. 140–7 (M), was written by Seán Ó Dreada in 1836.¹¹⁹ M appears to be a later copy of L, but the omission of *do ghliocus* (L) (Prose A), and the reading *fhóilmhe* (M) for *fhóile* (L) (13cd) indicate that it is an inferior copy. The final line of Prose C, *et dá fhiormhaithibh mhaithe sé an toineach* (L), appears as *d'á fhiormhaithibh do mhaithidh sé an t-oineach* (M). *Variae* from M are not included in the textual apparatus.

Family 2:

(N) RIA 23 N 15 (490), fol. 191–4, was written by Mícheál mac Peattair Ó Longáin between 1740 and 1781.¹²⁰ It is missing two lines of verse (7cd) and all of Prose D (the Antaeus legend). Nevertheless, it sometimes supplies superior readings, e.g. 4c, 18a, 23ab. Ó Longáin is known to have exercised creative licence in his rendering of other prose texts,¹²¹ and there are frequent variations in wording in the prose passages. The verse is often written across the page horizontally without line breaks, making it difficult to distinguish from prose. The scribe complains of writing on inferior paper: *Mo mhallacht ar lucht déanta na ndrochpháipéar. Amen.*¹²²

(O) RIA 23 E 16 (491), fol. 364–7, written by Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin between 1804 and 1808.¹²³ It is a copy of N.

(Y) Maynooth Murphy 2 (3 c 2), fol. 184–9, written by Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin in 1818.¹²⁴ It repeats the omissions and variations found in NO.

(P) Maynooth Murphy 6 (3 c 6), fol. 435–40, written by Pól Ó Longáin in 1818 (in partnership with Peattar and Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin and Eoghan Tóibín) breaks off at quatrain 15.¹²⁵ The omission of quatrain 7cd indicates that it was aligned to N.

géileamhuil could come from such a source, but it is not well-attested. See *DIL*, s.v. *giallamail* ‘possessing or exacting hostages (?)’, which occurs in a poem concerning the kings of Leinster in the Book of Ballymote, where it is fixed by rhyme: *A cuíg dec fianamhail feigh. / in geg ba giallamail ngaigh* (‘Coigedh Laigen na lecht righ’), The Book of Ballymote, RIA MS 23 P 12, f. 36v, col. a, l. 36). Cf. Dinneen, s.v. *géilleamhail* ‘submissive, obedient’. I have not found examples in bardic verse.

¹¹⁹ *RIA Cat.*, 1904–11, at 1907.

¹²⁰ *RIA Cat.*, fasc. xi–xv, 1366; cf. Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí*, 88. It is noted on p. 117 of RIA 23 N 15 that he was copying texts in 1740 in Raheen, in West Carbery; other notes indicate that he was writing in Cúil Méine, in West Cork, in 1761; see Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí*, 90, 233, 280. See also Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail, *The Scribe in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Ireland: Motivations and Milieu* (Münster, 2000), 35–43.

¹²¹ For some discussion see Meidhbhín Ní Úrdail (ed.), *Cath Cluana Tarbh*, ITS 64 (London, 2011), 89–102.

¹²² RIA MS 23 N 15, 198.

¹²³ *RIA Cat.*, fasc. xi–xv, 1395; cf. Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí*, 92, 110–13; Ní Úrdail, *The Scribe*, 42 (§37).

¹²⁴ Paul Walsh, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in Maynooth College library* (Magh Nuadhat, 1943), i, 12. Cf. Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí*, 95, 119.

¹²⁵ Walsh, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in Maynooth College Library*, i, 60. Cf. Ó Conchúir, *Scríobhaithe Chorcaí*, 95, 141–9.

Manuscripts included in the edition:

The present edition is based on A. Variants are drawn from two other primary manuscripts, T and N. Where letters are missing in A due to wearing on the margins (in the prose passages only), they have been supplied by T and are enclosed in angular brackets.

METRE

The metre of the poem is *snéadhbhairdne* – commonly used in *crosántacht* – with alternating octosyllabic and quadrasyllabic lines ending in disyllables, linked by rime, alliteration and consonance, groups of quatrains being interspersed with passages of prose. A high percentage of quatrains are composed in *dán díreach*, but some irregularities occur and are particularly noticeable in the final quatrains (40, 41, 42). Such variations may point to the influence of *óglachas*, a looser imitation of *dán díreach*, though it is possible that the poem was composed entirely in *dán díreach* but has been corrupted in transmission. The poet seems to have admitted a degree of metrical licence in quatrains immediately following prose passages (11a, 15a, 27(?)), and may also relax the rules in the closing quatrains.

The metre, as represented in the manuscript, has missing syllables in lines 2a, 3c, 4c, 11a, 20c, 23c, 26c, 34c, 37a, 37c, 39c, 40c; the correct syllable count is supplied by another primary manuscript in one instance (4c). Extra syllables occur in the manuscript in 1a, 3b, 3d, 4d, 6d, 8a, 8b, 8d, 9c, 15a, 25c, 25d, 28b, 39a. The syllable count has been restored editorially, except in lines 2a, 3c, 8bd, 37c, where I cannot offer a solution. A notable instance of elision across the line boundary (8ab/ 8cd) suggests that the poet may have followed the older usage with regard to *snéadhbhairdne*, in which the stanza was regarded as consisting of two 12 syllable lines with a caesura after the eighth and fourth syllable.¹²⁶ Alliteration, required in each line, is wanting in the manuscript in line *a* in 11a, 15a, 40a. Lines *a* and *b* are regularly linked by alliteration, with only a few exceptions (12, 13, 14, 16); and where linking alliteration is absent, there is alliteration within line *b* to compensate and an internal rhyme with the penultimate (and alliterating) word in line *a*.¹²⁷ Alliteration is otherwise frequently absent in line *b*, as is common in some samples of *crosántacht*.¹²⁸ Quatrain 2 has both linking alliteration between lines *a* and *b* and alliteration within line *b*. The surname *de Barra*, tentatively supplied editorially in 11a, is suggested by linking alliteration, but alliteration within line *a* is nevertheless wanting. Alliteration, required in *cd* and involving the penultimate and rhyming word in *c*, is wanting in the manuscript in 17d, 31d, 34c, 39d, 41d, 43c. I cannot resolve its absence in 31d, 43c.

The manuscript tradition shows imperfect final rhymes between lines *bd* in quatrains 2, 5, 6, 9, 11, 13, 14, 18, 21, 30, 32, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 41, and imperfect internal rhymes in *cd* in quatrains 2, 4, 5, 9, 10, 13, 17, 18, 20, 24, 25, 26, 29, 35, 38, 41, 43. Variant forms permitted by the grammatical

¹²⁶See remarks by James Carney in *Poems Butlers*, pp. 112–13. Cf. note at q. 8.

¹²⁷The rhymes *feacht* : *ceart* (14ab) and *tart* : *lacht* (16ab) are imperfect by Classical standards.

¹²⁸*Ir. Syll. Poetry*, 18.

tracts and required by the metre have been supplied editorially. These are generally deducible from the critical apparatus, though significant changes are discussed in the notes. Final rhymes in 2bd, 40bd are imperfect. *Fear* (14d) is lacking a rhyming counterpart, and the absence of internal rhyme in 43cd is also unresolved. I note the more tentative emendations *daonna* (5c), *fháith* (17d), *dreach* (37b), *n-áithmhín n-amhra* (41d). Attention is also drawn to an emendation which suggests that our poet was familiar with older teachings on predicative plurals, e.g. *caomh[a]* (5d).¹²⁹ Consonance has been restored editorially in the following (line *c*): 1, 3, 6, 16, 18, 21, 32, 35, 39, 40. A few irregularities in consonance are unresolved (9, 19, 38, 42).

MANNER OF EDITING

Capitalization, punctuation and line-division are editorial. Suspensions, *n*- and *m*- and compendia have been expanded silently. Length marks and lenition are supplied with macrons and italics. Italics are used in the textual apparatus where the expansion of an abbreviation may be in doubt. Angular brackets are used to indicate letters which have been lost where A has suffered wearing on the margins, and the missing letters have been supplied from T. Other additions of words or letters suggested by the metre and context, but found in none of the primary manuscripts, are indicated by square brackets, e.g. [*de Barra*] (11a), *cai[n]gne* (6b), *ea[n]ghnamh* (39c), [*a*] *bheōil* (20c), [*a*] *bhuaidh* (23c). The manuscript form is included in the critical apparatus. Changes, where significant, are discussed in the notes. An obelisk † is used where there are unresolved cruxes in the text which affect the metre.

Throughout the verse and prose, the usual modifications to the orthography have been effected silently: *a* (preposition 'in') > *i*, *as* (non-relative copula) > *is*, prep. *air* > *ar*, *uim* > *um*; *cc* > *gc*, *tt* > *dt*, *df* > *d'fh*. Final *-icc* has been adjusted to *-igh*, e.g. *shoibhéasuicc* > *shoibhéasuigh* (Prose A). Medial and final *gh* are regularized to historical *dh*, e.g. *tághall* > *tadhall* (43c, Prose D). Tall *e*, which appears only before a broad consonant, is represented as *ea*, e.g. *doireacht* (36c), *duirtheach duireach* (Prose B). Scribal doubling of *n* has been normalized to Classical Irish usage, e.g. *aibhnne* > *aibhne* (4a), *miann* > *mian* (43c).

Syllabic verse

I have restored historical forms in the syllabic verse, e.g. MS *tortha* > *toirthe* (4a), *gártha* > *gáirthe* (12c), *do ghníd* > *do-níd* (26c), *aisge* > *aisgidh* (32b), *minic* > *meinic* (14a, 38a), *réig* > *réidh* (19d, 30d, 38d). Final non-palatal *-dh* has been restored, e.g. *gábha* > *gábhadh* (21b), *Ríogra* > *Ríogradh* (33a), *cheapa* > *cheapadh* (40a), *hiongna* > *hiongnadh* (40c). Unhistorical marks of length have been removed, e.g. *úmhla* > *umhla*, *bárd* > *bard*, *nách* > *nach*. In one instance where unhistorical lengthening is suggested by rhyme

¹²⁹Damian McManus has drawn this formation to my attention. Cf. *ABM* 461.5d, where the emendation is proposed. See further note at 5d.

(MS *túrnamh* (22d)), the manuscript form has been retained. Final unstressed vowels have been written as they appear in the manuscript.

Prose

Non-classical forms have been admitted in the prose, e.g. MS *ann gach* (for *i ngach*) (Prose A),¹³⁰ *do-ghnídh* (Prose C). Unhistorical marks of length are retained, except where it was felt that confusion might occur, e.g. MS *bhús* > *bhus*, MS *annráidhte* > *annraidhte* (Prose C), MS *sgímhealbhreágha* > *sg[e]imhealbhreágha* (Prose C), and in one instance where another primary manuscript suggests the more usual form, e.g. MS *hÁfraice* > *hAfraice* (Prose D). Editorial interference is limited to an occasional emendation, e.g. MS *fiorbhrúghadh* > *bhfiorbhrúghadh[aibh]*, MS *fóir / fôr* > *for* (Prose A), *míchéadf[adhach]* (Prose B). I have emended to the Classical Irish genitive singular forms in the following: MS *an rígh* > *an rí[o]gh*, *an fhíle* > *an fhíle[adh]*, *ollamhuin* > *ollamh[a]n* (Prose C). Where a change is made, the manuscript form is noted and the emendation, where significant, is discussed in a note. Attention is drawn here to the juncture at Prose C/q. 27, which poses editorial questions. *Et* written for *agus* is allowed to stand when used.

TEXT

Teallach coisreagtha críoch Bharrach
Dáibhidh Ó Bruadair cecinit.

1. Teallach coisreagtha críoch Bharrach;
buaile dáimhe,
clár beathaighthe na n-eang n-uaine
fán seang sáile.

TRANSLATION

1. The land of the Barrys is a blessed homestead; the nourishing plain of the verdant lands around which the sea narrows is an enclosure of poets.

VARIANTS

1. *Marginal note in right hand corner:* Ní thuigim gurb é **bb** [*margin worn*] *bruadair* do rin; fēach geinealach an Bharraigh san leabharsa. *a* chríche Barrach AT, críche Barach N. *c* na neang nuaithe AT, naíneang nuainthe N. *d* sheang N.

¹³⁰For examples in prose see Brian Ó Cuív (ed.), *Aibidil Gaoidheilge & Caiticíosma: Seán O'Cearnaigh's Irish Primer of Religion, Published in 1571* (Dublin, 1994), 40.9, 46.13, p. 30.

2. Críoch *Bharrach* na mbrugh ndaithgheal†
díochur doghra;
 oirear saor na n-iongna[dh] n-iomdha
 fionnmhagh fromhtha.†
3. A-tá bail beannochta Phádraig
an phuirt aingligh
 ar an gcrích n-éachtuim n-iubhruigh†
 ngéagthruim ngainmhigh.
4. Ciúin a haibhne, iomdha a toirthe,
tearc a biodhbhaidh;
 ní fhuil dí[o]th teachta ar a talmhuin,
 feactha [a] fiodhbhaidh.
5. Fial a brughaidh, buan a maithios,
mín a cúilte;
 a ngeall ré daonna nior dháilte,
 caomh[a] a cúirte.
6. Gaoth a filidh, fraochdha a marcraidh,
maordha a cai[n]gne;
 ní cleachtar leō caomhna a gcuirme;
 aobhdha a n-ainnre.

2. The land of the Barrys of the bright halls [brings about] a banishing of sorrow; the noble region of the many wonders is a lustrous, [battle-]tested plain.

3. The prosperity of the blessing of Patrick of the angelic abode is upon this exploit-laden, yew-abounding, thickly-wooded, sandy land.

4. Calm her rivers, plentiful her produce, scarce her enemies; there is not a lack of growth upon her land; her trees are bent [with the weight of fruit].

5. Honourable her farmers, enduring her prosperity, smooth her coverlets; their prize in kindness should not be bestowed [upon any other]; her castles are fair.

6. Wise her poets, furious her horsemen, lofty her disputes (?); they are not wont to be stingy with their ale; gracious their maidens.

2. *a* Barrach TN; ndaithngeal AT, ndaithngheal N; *b* díothchur ATN; doghra] dóghradh N; *c* oiréar ATN; nionga A, niomdha *excised* nionga T, niongna N.

3. *a* beanachta N; *b* ainglidhe AT, ainglidhe N; *c* ccríoch N; néachttruim AN, néachttruim T, ndiubhraig A, niubhraig T, aindiubhraig N; *d* ngéagthruim T, ngéagthruim N; ngainmhíde AT, ngainbhíge N.

4. *a* tortha ATN; *b* biodhbhaidh ATN; *c* ní bhfuil ATN, díth teachta ar talmhuin AT, dítheachta air a talmhuin N; *d* ag feacadh fiodhbhaidh AT, ag fiachadh fiodhbha N.

5. *a* a mbrúghaidh A, abrúghaidh T, abrúghaidh N; maithchios T, mathas N; *b* coillte ATN; *c* ré daonnacht A, re daonnacht T, ré daonacht N, í nior dháilte ATN; *d* caomh AT, caoimh N.

6. *a* filidhe ATN; *g* (*excised*) fraochdha A; marcraidhe (*length mark over c*) A, marcruidh T, macra N; *b* maorga T; caigne ATN; *c* ccuirmhe AT; *d* a nainnre A.

7. Do réir a gcinn cuid dá bhfoghnámh
– gá fearr umhla? –
bíod na boill go teacht don tiomna;
eacht is umhla.
8. Mar tá an Barrach, beithir Teamhra,
a-táid na daoine,†
ar mhaordhacht, ar fheidhm, ar fhéile,
ar sheilbh, ar shaoire.†
9. A-tá a díol do rígh san rígh-se;
is rádh toilltear;
’s a-tá a dhíol sin d’oireacht innte,†
roibheacht roinntear.
10. Fir Bharrach na mbleidhe[adh] gcorcra
cuire neamhocht;
do shaor a thír ar gach tromolc
brígh na mbeannocht.

7. Let the members be supplying the needs of their leader until the coming of the bequest (?) – what better humility? – a portion of their service is a most humble obligation.

8. Like the [Great] Barry, a hero of Tara, are the people [of Barrymore], for stateliness, for warlike effort, for generosity, for possessions, for nobility.

9. In this king there is her match of a king; it is a claim which is deserved; and he [likewise] has his match of supporting nobles in her [*Críoch Bharrach*]; it is precisely apportioned.

10. The men of the Barrys of the crimson goblets [are] a numerous troop; the power of the blessings delivered his land from every grievous misfortune.

7. *a* bhfóghnamh A (*stroke over n?*); T; *b* úmhla ATN; *d* úmhla T; *lines cd omitted in N*.

8. *a* Mar atá ATN, Barách N; Teámhra N; *c* fhéidhm T, fheithimh N.

9. *a* rígh so AT, ríghseo N; *b* tuillthear A, túillthear T, tuillthear N; *c* is atá ATN, a dhíol san T, a díol N; doighreacht A, doighreacht T, don oighreacht N; innt T; *d* roibheacht AT; roinntear T.

10. *a* Bharadh N; mbleidhe A, mbléidhe T, bfléidhe (*length mark over f*) N; *b* neamhbhocht N; *c* gach teangamháil (*excised*) tromolc N; *d* brígh] brúgh ATN; mbeanocht N.

Prose A. Et beannocht bhríoghmar bhuadha bhíothmharthanach bheannaighthe tug an t-eapstol onóireach árdchómhachtach, 7 an t-éarlaimh féigh feochuir fíorchráibhteach, 7 gein shochoir 7 shaoirsine saorGhaoidheal [n] Éiríonn .i. Pádraig príomhfháidheamhuil parrathasda mac uasal Ailpruinn do dhá chóige mórgharga Múmhan, iar dteacht i gcoinne 7 i gcómhdháil Aonghusa meic Nad Fraoich meic Cuirc meic Lúigheach dá bhaisde 7 dá bhuainbheannúghadh, dá theagasc 7 dá thréanchómhairliúghadh, do chabhair 7 do choisreagadh, do sheoladh, do shárgaoile 7 do shaoirsheanmóir na canóinne caoimhe 7 creidimh chogúsaigh Chatoilce an Choimhdhe dhó, gur thionóladur 7 gur thiomsuighadar saorchlanna saidhbhre soichinéoil na sárMhúmhan idir ísiol 7 uasal, idir urra agus easurra, do shuíge 7 do sháronnsuíge an tsaoireapstuil shuaire shoibhéasúigh, go dtugsad <a> gcíos 7 a gcánachus 7 a gcómhachta ar a chumas ó bheag go mór, go rabhadur úmhal áisíoch <ur>ramach ómhannta i n-uair 7 i n-aonfhábhall dó, gur thóguibhsiumh an lámh chaomh chearrdamhuil choisreagtha ós a gcionn uile, gur

Prose A. And it is a powerful, pre-eminent, enduring [and] fortunate blessing which the honourable, mighty apostle and keen, indomitable, pious patron saint and favoured and ancient offspring(?) of the noble Gaels of Ireland, that is, eminently wise, paradisa! Pádraig, the noble son of Alpuir, bestowed upon the two great valorous provinces of Munster, after coming to meet and to convene with Aonghus son of Nad Fraoich son of Corc son of Luigheach to baptise and perpetually bless him, to teach and firmly counsel him, to help and to consecrate, to instruct and vigorously spread and eloquently preach the precious sacred text and conscientious Catholic faith to him; so that the wealthy, well-born, noble offspring of fair Munster, both low-born and noble, both the freeman and the landless man, gathered and assembled to sit and intently seek the gentle, gracious apostle; so that they, from the lowly to the great, brought their tax and their tribute and their dominions for his use, so that they were obedient, accommodating, respectful, and compliant toward him at once and at the same time, so that he raised his fair, skillful, blessed hand above them all, and he blessed them, both man and woman, sons and daughters; so that he left a special virtue of life, honour and wisdom

Prose A. Et] Agus N; bhiogh(?)mharthannac A, bhíothmharrthannach T, bhíothmharthanach N; tug an taspal N; an teárlaimh féigh N; fíorchráibhteach T, fíorchráibhteachd N; gein tsochair 7 saoirsinne N; shaorGaidheal Éiríonn T; saorGhaoidheal Eiríonn N (e written above o); Alfróin T, Alphuinn N; mhórgarga Múmhan T, mórghardha Múmhan N; iar tteacht N; Aonghus mac A, Aonghusa mac T; Aongusa (?) (margin faded) meic N; Natfraoicc N; mac Cuirc meic Luigheach T, meic Cuirc meic Lúigheach N; dá chabhair N; dá choisreagadh T, dá naoimhchoisearaca N; do sheola na saorsgaoile N; do sheanmóir N; canóine N; chreidimh T, chreidimh N; Catailice N; Chóimhdhe dhó T, Chóimhdhe dho N; thionoladar N; thiomsuighadar T, thiomsuigh[.]adar (letter missing(?); worn margin) A, thiomsuighdior N; saidhbhire T, saibhre N; sármhúmhan TN; uradh 7 easurradh N; an tsaoireasbadh N; ttugsad A, ttugsiad N; a gcómhachta] om. N; chumus A; áisíoch [u]rramach] áisíoch géileamhuil tromdha urramach L; ómhanta N; an uair AT, aonúair N; an aon fhábhall dó A, an aonfhábhall do T, an aon fhabhall do N; thógabh sium T, thógaibh sgrinn N; an láimh caom céardúmhuil N; mhaca] is maca N; [...] fh[.]gaibh (top of lenited f with a mark of length visible) A, gur fhágabh T, gur fhágaibh N; neinig 7 maithghniomha N; fóir anuaislibh AT, fóir anuaaisle N; buadh féile fairsinge 7 foighde N; for abhfíorbhrúghadh A, fóir abhfíorbhrúghadh T,

bheannaigh iad idir fhear 7 mhnaoi, mhaca 7 inghiona, <gur fhá>gaibh buadh n-anma, n-einigh, 7 n-eagnameha for a n-uaislibh 7 a n-árdríoghaibh; buadh bhféile bhfairsionga agus bhfoighdhe for a bhfíorbhrúghadh[aibh], buadh láimhe lainne 7 laochdhachta for <a> laochaibh, buadha crotha caoimhe cinéol 7 áille for a n-ainnribh, buadh bhfeasa bhfoghlamtha 7 bhfáisdne for a bhfileadhaibh, 7 tug beannocht d'úir 7 d'uisge 7 d'fhéar na n-uasalMhuimhneach fá sgeith a dtorchair 7 a dtromthortha dá gcabhair 7 dá gcomhfhortacht ann gach n-imneadh, 7 ann gach n-aimsir budh dú 7 budh dual dóibh; agus dar linne do réir ár bhfeasa 7 ár bhfíorbharamhla féin do thuit breath 7 buantoradh na beannochta 7 na buanguídhe sin ar chrích mbug mbraonaigh mbuantíodhlaicigh mBarrach Mór le linn 7 le lánréimhios Dháibhí mheic Séamuis meic Risteard do Bárr, go bhfuil ina clár thorcharthach théachtuighthe thromchonaigh lán d'íoth 7 d'íoltorthach 7 d'íolmhaoinibh, lán d'fhéile 7 d'onóir, do ghliocus 7 do gheanmnuigheacht, lán d'uaisle, d'oineach 7 d'fhoirmhidin ré gach aonfhear, mar atáid uaisle 7 árdmhaithe chríche 7 chaomhthalmhan an Bharraigh Mhóir, 7 go speisialta an Barrach Mór féin .i.

upon their nobles and their high-kings, a gift of abundant generosity and hospitality upon their excellent farmers, a special virtue of wielding a sword and of valour upon [their] warriors, gifts of fair shapeliness of kindreds and beauty upon their maidens, and a gift of knowledge, learning and prophesying upon their poets; and he gave a blessing to the earth and water and grassland of the noble Munstermen on account of which their sea-wrack and their heavy fruits burst forth to help them and to relieve them in every sorrow and season that was proper to them and natural to them; and I think, according to our [shared] wisdom and assured opinion, that the judgement and enduring fruitfulness of that blessing and lasting prayer fell upon the gentle, dewy, perpetually abundant land of Barrymore during the reign and the complete rule of Dáibhídh son of Séamas son of Risteard de Barra; so that it is a plain rich in sea-wrack, firm, laden with prosperity, full of grain and many fruits and many treasures, full of generosity and honour, astute wisdom and generative power, full of nobility, honour and respect toward every single man, namely, [the] nobles and leading men of the territory and fair land of Barrymore, and especially the great Barry himself, that is:

fór a bhfíorbhrúigheadh N; fôr (*following letter excised?*) alaocaibh T, fôr alaocaibh N; buadh crotha N; cineoil 7 aile N; fôr anainnribh T, fôr aningean N; buadh feasa foghlamtha faisidine N; fôr a bhfileadhaibh AT, fôr a bhfillidhibh N; tug fós beanacht N; dfeur N; na nuasal Mhúimhneach N; do ccómhfhortacht T; ann gach n-imneadh] ann gach ionnad N; ann gach aimsir N; budh dú 7 budh dual AT, badh dú 7 badh dual N; bhfíorbhárúmadh (*lenited stroke over m*) N; breath] breith N; chrích mbug mbraonaigh] chríoch barach mbraonaic N; mbuantíodhlaiceach N; le linn] ré linn N; le lánréimheas T, ré lanréimheas N; Dáibhí mheic Séamuis TN; meic Risteard A, mheic Ruisteard T; meic Risdird N; do Barr T, do Barradh N; ina chlár thorchurthach T, na clár thorcharthach N; thromchonaigh] drómchónaig N; d'íoth] díoth T; d'íoltorthach] dioltorthaibh T, dioltortha N; do gheanmnuigheacht N; doirbhidin N; ré gach fear N; mar atáid T, mar táid N; árdmhatha N; chríche 7 chaomhthalmhan] críche caomhaile N; .i.] om. N.

11. Dáibhídh mac Séamuis [de Barra] (?),†
béas do bhuidhnibh,
ní fhacuidh i n-am an fhoghmhuir
call nár chuibhrigh.
12. Cóir do-bearthar úidh ar ainribh
le a shúil shuirghidh;
bíd na gáirthe gan fhios d'ainribh
fá lios Luimnigh.
13. Ní fáth gotha d'fhior an einigh
cion ar chuirmdhigh;
do-bheir dáil a fhuile i n-iorghuil
duine duilbhir.
14. Meinic do bhí t' [fh]eacht ar fhoghail;
ceart do chuimhnigh
iomdha bradán – léir i Laighnibh–
fear séimh suilbhir.†

11. Dáibhídh son of Séamus, gracious towards companies, did not see in the season of autumn a hazel-tree that he did not fetter [with heavy fruit].

12. It is fitting that attention is given to maidens by his wooing eye; maidens [entranced by him] are oblivious to the shouts around the fortress of Limerick.

13. A love of ale-drinking is not a cause of censure for the honourable man who pours out his blood in conflict (?), a sombre man.

14. Frequent was your expedition for [launching] a raid—it is clear in Leinster—it is right that many a warrior remember the slender, cheerful man:

11. *a* Dáibhí mac Séamuis AT, *bb* mac Séamuis N; de Barra] *om.* ATN; *b* bhúidhnibh ATN; *c* ní fhacadh N; an ám TN; fhomhur N; *d* chúibhrig ATN; *Lines a-d of qq. 11-14 written as single line in N.*

12. *a* uigh AT, uigh N; ainiribh N; *b* le a súil shuirghidh AT, le a shúil suirge N; *c* garrtha A, gártha T, gártha N; gan fios N; dainirib N; *d* luimne (*lenition above e* ?) N.

13. *a* fáith N; einig (*initial e written above excised o*) A, einig T, *einigh* N. *b* cuirmdhigh N; *c* do bheár N; *a* fhoile AT, *a* fhailidh N; air iarghul N; *d* duilbhear AT.

14. teacht ATN; fhógail A, fhóghuil TN; *b* chuimhnig AT, chúimhnicc N; *c* leir T; *d* suilbhear AT, soilbir N.

Prose B. Et is suilbhear sólásach adubhairt an sionnach, 7 é aon do ló ar mbualadh tré naoimhchill uaignigh i ndiamhair fhionnfhásaigh, 7 do bhí duirtheach duireach diamhair doeóluis i n-imeal na huasalchille a mbíodh díthreabhach diadha deisgréideach ag fóghnamh don fhíorDhia fhíorórdha, 7 do bhí clog fíorbhinn fogharmhongrach ar bhinn an chlogáis an áirdtíge-sin do beantaoi i n-am Aifrinn 7 iarmhéirge don uasalAthair, 7 do bhí téad táthleabhair tómhushfada i gcoimhcheangal don chlog, léna mbeantaoi é ann gach amm budh áil a bhuain, 7 do bhí iall fhada fhíorchruaidh chadad chóimhríghin ag leanmhuin do cheann na cruaidhthéide, 7 mur ráinig an sionnach í, do rug uirthé go hocarach airciosach ainbhuaineach d'éis a aisdir 7 ainshiobhail, 7 tug téib[e] 7 tréantarrang uirthé, gur bhain an clog go cáinteach congháireach, 7 tug an sionnach ar[na] chlos sin dō, silleadh 7 síorfhéachuin go hathúmhalta fair, 7 adubhairt go mailíseach míchéadf[adhach]:

Prose B. And cheerfully and affably did the fox say one day when he had just entered the deserted, holy church in a remote, barren wasteland, and there was a secluded and obscure oratory at the edge of the noble church where a holy, solitary hermit used to render service to the resplendent (?) true God; and there was a particularly sweet, clamorous bell upon the spire of the belfry of that main church which used to be struck at the time of Mass and matins in honour of the noble Father, and a woven, supple rope of considerable length fastened to the bell, by which it was rung every time that there was a wish to ring it; and there was a long, very hard, entwined [and] very tough strap adhering to the top of the strong rope, and when the fox reached it, he took hold of it hungrily, greedily and raucously after his journey and long walk, and gave it a yank and a strong pull, so that the bell rang clamorously and clatteringly; and the fox, when he heard that, gazed and stared long [and] attentively upon it, and he said maliciously [and] grudgingly:

Prose B. Et] Agus N; suilbhear AT; soilibhir N; adubhart T, adubhairt N; an sionnach é N; ár mbualadh A, air mbualadh T, iar mbuala N; uaignice ndiamhair dfionnfháisig N; dúirtheach N; dóeólais A, doeóluis TN; a niomall N; huasailchille T, huasail choille N; ró bhí clog T; fíorbhinn formhongrach N; árdthighe T; do bantaoi N; an ám Aifrinn T, anam Aifrinn N; táithleabhar T, taithleabhair N; a coimhcheangall N; ann (am *excised*) gach amm A, ann gach ám TN; budh háil a bhuint N; fhíorchruaidh T, fíorchruaig N; chadadh A, om N; ag leanamhuin ceann na téide N; ráinig ATN, do rug N; go hocrach T; ainsíobhail T, a shíorshúbhail N; téibe T, teibe N; iarna clos sin do silleadh ag sírfhéachaint N; go hathúmhalta air N; míchéadf[...] *margin torn*; f (*with lenition?*) *partially visible* A; míchéadfach T, míchéadfadh N.

15. 'S iomdha glór dīomhaoín sa chlog-soin†
is cúis aonaigh;
 beanaidh fear a-nuas um nónaidh
 cnuas do chraobhaibh.
16. Rug a mbí do thart ar thánuibh
lacht ó laoghuibh;
 Aodh Mhág Uidhir don taobh thuaidh/in,
 Aodh ós Aodhuibh.
17. Ní beag linn ar leansum d'fhuarchúis;
ní háil liomsa
 gan tabhairt gheill chá[i]ch im chionn-sa
 don fháith(?) fhionn-sa.
18. Mac Séamuis na sirtheadh neimhneach,
niata i ndeabhaidh,
 borb ré rígh, fosadh ré filidh,
 do-san dleaghair.
19. Fraochdha ré tréan, tláth ré héadtréan,
ucht ar dhíormaibh,
 cuid do thréidhibh an fhéil armthuigh†
 réidh ré ríoghnaibh.

15. There is a lot of nonsense in that bell which summons an assembly (?); some fellow strikes down clusters of nuts from branches at [the ringing of] nones.

16. Aodh Mág Uidhir from the north has caused the thirst that is on herds of cattle, depriving calves of milk; Aodh above [all other] Aodhs.

17. [But] I have been pursuing a pointless matter long enough; it is not my wish to withhold the pledge of everyone [coming] towards me to this fair sage (?).

18. [The pledge] is owed to the son of James of the deadly raids, combative in strife, insolent toward a king, steadfast toward a poet.

19. [When] confronting troops he is furious towards the strong, gentle towards the weak; [these are] some of the traits of the war-like (?), generous one [who is] gentle toward queens.

15. *a* 's] as AT, Is N; *sa chlog sin* A, *sa clog sin* T, *sa chlogsoin* N; *b aonaigh* (lenited stroke over *n*) AT, *aonaice* N; *c beanaidh* (lenited stroke over *n*, AT), *beanaidh* N, *nóna* ATN; *Lines a-d* written as though a continuation of prose, N.

16. *b laedhibh* N; *c Mhag Uidir* AT, *mháguibhir* N; *taobh thuaign* AT, *taoibh thuidhin* N. *d* Aodh is Aoduibh A, *le excised* (?) Aodh is Aodhuibh T, Aodh is Aodub N.

17. *b liomsa* A; *liómsa* TN; *c ghéill* A, *geill* N; *chách* ATN, *am chionnsa* T; *d fháith* rígh ATN; *fionnso* N.

18. *a sirtheadh* T, *sireach* N; *nimhneach* A, *nimhneach* T, *neimhneach* N. *b niadhtha* ATN; *andeabhtha* N; *c fosuig* A, *sosui* T, *fosaigh* N; *re rígh* TN; *ré file* A, *re file* T, *le filidh* N; *d dleagthar* A, *dleaghthair* T, *dleagthair* N.

19. *a re* (throughout quatrain) T; *tláith* TN; *le héadrean* N; *c threighthibh* A, *thréighthibh* TN; *an fheil* T; *armthuig* AT, *armthaigh* N; *d réig re ríognuibh* T, *ré re ríog* [...] N (letters on margin not visible).

20. Dáibhídh Barra beithir dhéadla
dhiongbhus cogtha;
aoibheall [a] bheoil fichidh falta,
crithir chorera.
21. Grianlá solus, seabhac aille
fhuilngeas gábhadh;
lasair ghrod is teó do thaobhadh,
beó nár bádhadh.
22. Arracht sgátha do sgoil Aoife
nár fhéach diúltadh;
gríobh éachtach i bhfeidhm nár fuilngeadh –
teidhm nár túrnadh.†
23. Bradán beathadh ban na hEórpa
urradh formuid;
breith [a] bhuaidh i n-aon ní fhaghmuid;
caor chruaidh chomhraig.
24. Saoi i ngach foghlaim, file ar eagamh
é idir leabhruibh;
ní haithnidh damh ceard nár chuimhnigh;
leanb ar leanbhuibh.

20. Dáibhídh de Barra is a brave warrior who is a match for battles: the fiery spark of his lips seethes resentments, a crimson flame.

21. [He is] a bright sun-lit day, a cliff-hawk who endures danger; a quick flame which is the hottest to approach; vigour which was not quenched.

22. He is a terrifying spectre from the school of Aoife who heeded not a refusal [of admittance]; he is a death-dealing griffin in unendurable warlike-effort: a frenzy which was unabated.

23. The spirited hero of the women of Europe is an envied leader; we do not find anyone [capable of] defeating him; he is a hard, missile [of battle].

24. He is a master in all learning, a poet on account of [his] skill among books; [any] craft that he has not mastered is not know to me; he is a child [when] among children.

20. *a* Dáibhí ATN, Baradh N; *déadhla* N; *b* dhiongmhus AT; *coga* N; *c* aoibheall bheoil A, aoibheall bheoil T, aoibheall beoil N; *fiucha falta* AN, *fiucha faltha* T, *crithir* AT, *crithir* N.

21. *a* solais N; *seabhac* T; *áille* A; *b* fuilngeas A, fhuilngeas T, fhuilngeas N; *gábha* ATN; *c* do thaobhaibh ATN; *d* bádhadh ATN.

22. *a* do sgoilaoise N; *b* diúltadh T, dhiulta N. *c* grib N; *a* bféidhm T, *a* bhfeadm N; *fuilngeadh* AT, *fuillingeadh* N; *d* téidhm T, *teadm* N; *túrnadh*] *tóir* (*margin worn*) N.

23. *a* bheatha bhán AT, beatha ban N; *b* urra AT; *c* breith bhuaidh AT, breith buadh N; *ni fhághmuid* AT; *nídh fhághmaid* N; *d* craobh cruagh N; *chómhraig* A, *comhraig* T.

24. *a* Saoir ann gach fóghlaim N; *filidh* AT; *file* N; *b* leabharaibh N; *c* damhsa A, *dámhsa* T, *damsa* N; *cearrd* A, *ceárrd* T, *cérd* N; *chuimhnig* T, *cuimnig* N; *d* leanbh AT, *leanbh* N; *ar lea*[...] *letters on margin illegible* N.

25. Milidh é le haghaidh gcatha
cuid dá ghníomhaibh,
beag do luighe do-ní ar naomhaibh,
rí idir ríoghuibh.
26. Lucht coimhéada chríche Barrach,
beag dá bhféile,
do-níd [i]s a bhfátha fire
gnátha gréine.

25. He is a warrior in face of battle—it is among his [many] deeds; rarely does he [need to] swear upon saints; he is a king among kings.

26. [As] a sample of their generosity, the guardians of the land of the Barrys and their seers of truth observe the laws of the sun.

25. *a* lé haghaidh ccatha A, re haghaidh catha N; *b* cuid] arid (?) N; *c* do luighe AT, an luighe N; do ghnídh AN, do (*lenited stroke above d*) ghnídh T; *d* rí] rígh ATN.

26. *a* coiméada AT, coiméadhta N; barach N; *c* do ghníd ATN; sa bhfátha AT, go hárd san bfógha N; fíora ATN.

Prose C. Et is gnáth ag an ngréin an uair mhús-glann sí as soithidh síorchómh-nuighthe ⁊ as a fosgabhluibh fíorfhuiling ⁊ éirghios róthínntidheacht ina rógahnúis ⁊ saoirse ⁊ saoirdehallradh ina saoraghaidh, go mbí do shochroidheacht ⁊ do shofhairsionga innte, nách mó luígheas sí ar na tulchaibh sgoithsheamracha sgáthshoillse sgiamhuaine sg[e]imhealbhreágha ná ar na lathachaibh fuara fíordhorcha, ⁊ nách fearr lé solus ná síortheasuígheacht do

Prose C. And it is the custom of the sun, when she awakens from the vessel of continual resting and from her ever-abiding [celestial] supports, that there arises an intense heat in her broad countenance and nobility and unrestrained brilliance in her expansive face, so that there is [such] beauty and openness in it that she shines upon the shamrock-flowering, light-shaded, beautifully covered, graceful [and] fair hillocks no more intensely than upon the cold, impenetrably dark mires; and in her

Prose C. Et] Agus N; gnáith N; an soithidh N; a fosg (*a following g is excised*) abhluibh A, a bhfosgabhluibh N; fíorfhuiling N; ⁊ róthínntidheacht T; ró theinntidheacht N; ionna ríoghánúis N; sírdhealbhradh ionna saoraighaigh N; shochroidheacht T; sgáthshoillse T; sgiamhuaithe N; sgimhealbhreágha AT, sgimhealbhreágha N; fíordhorcha N; féarr T; sírteasuígheacht T; róithighéarnuibh T, roithiagurnaoibh N; móghaibh TN; ghiubhluidhe T, ghiobluighe N; dómhan N; go bhfághan T, go bhfághain N; a sásaimh uaithe ⁊ a sárghoradh N; asárgharadh (*excised*)

dhéanamh do ríoghuibh 7 do róthighearnaibh, ná do na moghaibh 7 do na míoladranaibh, 7 dho gach aon dá ghiobluidhe 7 dá dhearóile ar domhan, go bhfaghann gach aon aco a sásadh 7 a sárghoradh uaithe; 7 is ar an órdúghadh sin atá Dáibhidh mac Séamuis mheic Ristird do Barr le huaislibh 7 le hanuaislibh Éireann. Óir mar do-<gh>nīd/h sé toil an rí[o]gh 7 an ródhuine, an fhile[adh] 7 an ollamh[an], an amhuis 7 an óigthighearna, <an> bhrúghaidh 7 an bhuanbhiadhtaigh, do-ghníd sé réir 7 róthoil an chearrbhaigh mheisgeamhuil mhaill<bhe>artaigh mhíothapuigh, 7 na hóinsídhe úd maille anraidht/ie iomarcuighe éigcialluighe, 7 an <bháird> bhéilbhrisg bhuantuitmhig, 7 gach nduine bhús uaisle 7 is anuaisle ná iad; go bhfaghann <ga>c<h> nduine aco a n-onóir iomchubhaidh féin uaidh, gur combuídheach bhíos an maith 7 an saith, <a>n <s>aidhbhir 7 an daidhbhir, an saor 7 an daor dé féin 7 dá oighreacht 7 dá fhíormhaithibh <mha>t<a>;

view it is no better to produce light or continual warmth for kings and noble lords than for the slaves and rough churls and every one upon the earth however ragged and wretched, so that every one of them receives their satiation and their intense warming from her; and that is the way in which Dáibhidh son of Séamas son of Ristard de Barra is wont to be with the noble and the ignoble people of Ireland. For as he satisfies the will of the king and the noble, the poet and the *ollamh*, the attendant and the sub-chieftain, the hospitaller and the farmer, he [likewise] fulfills the maintenance and the excessive appetite of the tippling, slow-moving, listless gambler and those jongleurs along with headstrong, arrogant rhymers (?) and the saucy-mouthed, stammering bards, and every person who shall be more noble and less noble than they; so that every one of them gets their own due honour from him; so that the noble and the lowly, the rich and the poor, the freeman and the serf are equally satisfied by him and his patrimony and his true, excellent (?) nobles:

asárghoradh T; mhac Séamuis mheic Ristead A, mhic Séamuis mhic Ruistead T, mac Seamuis meic Risdird N; da barradh N; le] re N; mur do ghníd sé T, ní mar do ghníd sé N; ollamhain AT, ollamhuinn N; an amhus N; óigthighearna T; an bhrúghaidh 7 an bhreathúmhain 7 an bhuanbhiataigh N; chearrbhaigh AT, chearumhuic N; hóinnsuidhe A, hionnsuidhe T, hoinnsidhe N; annráidhte A, annráidhte T, annráitidhe N; bháird T, báird (bárd *on following page*) N; gach nduine bhús uaisle 7 anuaisle ná iad; go bhfaghann A, om. N; iomchuibhe N; cómbuídheach T, comhbhuídheach N; an math agus an sáth T; an mhaith 7 an saith N; 7 an daibhir T, om. N; de féin TN; oighreacht T; [.] t [...] an toineach (*length mark and top of letter (possibly s) visible following* t A; mhathasé an toineach T, om. N.

27. ... (?)
 <Is é> an t-oineach;
 Ní hionghna[dh] liom dá mbear buidheach
 don gheal ghroidheach.
28. Do-níd Barraigh na mbreath n-innill,
 's é a-dearar,
 toil an duine mhaith 's a mhoghadh,
 maith an mheadhar,
29. toil an airdrí[o]gh 's an fhir dhána,
 ní dáil fhaoisimh;
 deacair a gcor tar an gcúis-sin;
 tol an taoisigh.
30. Réir an fhir théid toil an chearrbhaigh
 céim do fíoradh;
 toil na n-óinseach nach réidh riaghal
 réir na riobhan.
31. Do-gheibh an tí thóghbhus ifreann
 fá aon díse,
 mar do-beirthear d'fhior dá uaisle,
 cion sa tír-se.†

27. [...] He exemplifies generosity; it is no wonder to me if I should be grateful to the fair [lord] rich in horses.

28. The Barrys of the capable judgements—it is spoken of [by all]—carry out the will of the nobleman and his servants—excellent the discourse,

29. [and] the will of the high king and the poet; it is a demanding task; it is difficult to exempt them [the Barrys] from that charge (?); it is the chieftain's will.

30. Hospitality [bestowed] by the man who responds to (?) the will of the gambler is a task which was fulfilled; [satisfying] the appetite of the female fools, which is not an easy mandate, [is] the obligation of the royal women.

31. The person who removes hell [and places it] beneath a single ownership, as is granted to a man of his [the Barry's] nobility, gains respect in this land.

27. *c* lióm TN; *búidheach* ATN; *d* ghróidheach ATN.

28. *a* Do ghníd ATN; *breith* ATN; *b* asé adéarar ATN; *lines ab* written as continuation of *q. 27* in N; *c* mhoghaidh A, mhóghaidh T, mógha N; *d* mhéadhar A, méadhair N; *lines 28a-d* written as two lines, both indented, beneath *Ní hionghna ... don ghealghróidheach* (27cd) AT.

29. *a* ádrígh A, áirdrígh TN; *san nfir* N; *c* accur ATN; *thar* T; *a ccúis sin* N *d* toil ATN. *Arrangement of lines* in N written as single lines across page without a clear division into quatrains (qq. 29-31).

30. *a* chearabaigh N; *c* noinnseach AT; *riaghuil* AT, *riaguil* N; *d* ríogbhan AT, ríghbhean N.

31. *b* fá aon díse] fá aoin díse AT, *om.* N; *c* da A; *huaisle* N; *d* tírso AT, tír seo N.

32. Gémadh é an bard nó an bhean shiubhail
shireas aisgidh,
nocha n-iarruid aithne an iosda[i]dh
d'aithle an aisdir.
33. Ríogh^hradh Bharrach is an Barrach
buidhean aonda;
ní fheadar cia dhíobh is díogha
fá dhíol [n]daonda.
34. Ní thuigim féin go bhfuil díobh-san
– dia do chridhe –
acht dream is fhearr [io]ná ar-oile;
dream is dile.
35. Geall ar bhronntaibh nó ar bharr láimhe
nó lot síodha
ní fhagha a dhá n-uimhir uadha,
ruirigh ríodha.
36. Mar fuair codhnach críche Barrach
barr ó ríoghaibh
fuair an t-oireacht dob fhearr áriomh
geall ar ghníomhuibh.
37. Mac meic Rísdeard na ruag ndoil[i]gh,
dreach mur ógbhláth,
ag cosnamh a ghné ngéagmhaoth,†
is é an t-óglách.

32. Whether it be the bard or the strolling woman who seeks a gift, they do not demand to know the lodging at the end of the journey.

33. The princes of the Barrys and the [Great] Barry are a single band; in the matter of kindly treatment [of entertainers] I don't know who among them is the worst!

34. I myself do not think that that there is among them [i.e. the Barrys]—oh what affection!—even one band that is better than the other; they are a most beloved troop,

35. Not [even] two of their number – [these] royal rulers – may be surpassed for gifts or for supremacy [in battle] or a violation of peace (?).

36. [Just] as the lord of the land of the Barrys achieved pre-eminence among kings, the assembly of supporting nobles that were best in repute won supremacy in feats.

37. The son of the son of Richard of the grievous raids, a face like a youthful flower, is the young warrior defending his tender-limbed forms.

32. *a* Gé má ATN; bárd ATN, an bheantsiúbhail A, bhean tsiobhail T, an bhean tsiubhail N; *b* shireas N; aisge ATN; *c* noch an iarradh N; iosdagh AT, iosdagh N.

33. *a* Ríogra AT, *Riogura* N; Bharrach] Barach N; *b* buidhean ATN; *c* díobh N; *d* fágghdíol N; daonna AT, dána N.

34. *a* díobh soin N; *b* do chroidhe ATN; *c* dram N; is fearr ATN; ná ar oile AT, nár air aile N; *d* dile] díle ATN.

35a bhárr T; *c* ní bhággha A, ní bhággha TN, uatha ATN; *d* rúighrí AT, rughrí N; ríogdha AT, ríodha N.

36. *a* codhnách T, cóghnach N; Baradh N; *b* bárr T; *c* an doireacht AT, doirseacht (*length mark over r*) N; áriomh] aitiomh N.

37. *a* mic Ruisdeard AT, *meic* Risdird N; ndoil ATN; *b* dfeach AT, dféach N; ogbhláth T; ogbhláith N; *c* a gné N; ngéagmhaoth ATN. *d* tóglach AT.

Prose D. Et óglách iongantach adhuathmhar iollrachtach do bhí i gcíochaibh áille oirearmhíne na hAfraice dár badh comhainm Anteus mhic Tíre, 7 ní ó dhúil dhaonna dhuineata mhná do geineadh an t-ársuigh ainmhín aindreanta-sin, acht a gheineamhuin go modartha míonádúrtha a tonngnúis na talmhan tromfhóduíge; 7 is amhlaidh do-níodh an tan do théigheadh do chathúghadh nó do chruadhchomhrac ré curadhaibh cródha coimseacha cleaslúithreacha colgladarthacha 7 ré feinneadhaibh fiorniadhta fearamhla fraocháidhmhéile fíorárrachtacha, 7 ré hársuidhibh údmhalla éachtmhóra áithíosacha armnímhneacha na n-innsi 7 na n-eachtarchríoch, in uair do bhíodh sé i n-áirc nó i n-éigíon dá chlódh nó dá chómhfhorrach, ní dhéineadh acht é féin do léigean ina easglann mhór anbháil d'ionnsuíge láir 7 lántailimh, go dtigeadh a neart 7 a bhrígh, a chalmacht 7 a churantacht féin ann ré halt na huaire sin, ó thadhall a mhátharbhunaidh .i. an talamh, go n-éirgheadh ina cholmhuin chóimhdhíreach ina chuilgsheasamh, go slatbhuaileadh go gceirpleadh 7 go gceirlecheangladh, go milleadh 7 go míochóirígheadh a lucht iomtha 7 easaonta ar an órdúghadh sin; 7 is iongna an réim 7 an obair bhí for an óglaoch sin .i. gurb é a neartúghadh a bhuanleagadh, 7 is ionshamhlughthe sin ris an mBarrach Mór, óir fuair a choimpreadh 7 a cho<mh>fhoghluim i gcogthaibh 7 i gconghalaibh, i n-éachtaibh 7 i n-áthasaibh, i n-oineach 7 i n-e<agnomh> agus i n-árdghníomhaibh, 7 ní bhfuil dá mhéid d'imreasa[i]n ná d'easaonta do-ghníd a fhoghluidh 7 a eascaruid dō, nách ar barr cumais 7 calmacht théid sin dō-san, 7 ní bhfuil dá mhéid a chlú 7 a chomhsgaoileadh, a bhronnta 7 a bhuantíodhlaice do lucht iarrata athchuinge 7 éadála, nách ar barr saidhbhris 7 sochonáigh, ionnmhuais 7 iolmhaithis théid sin do, do réir mar atá an cleachta 7 an cómhthathíge aige *et* –

Prose D. And a wondrous, terrifying, shape-shifting warrior who was called Antaeus mac Tíre was in the beautiful, smooth-region of Africa, and it is not from a kindly, human woman that that rough, fierce champion was begotten, but rather, his murky, unnatural birth [was] from the surface of the heavy-sodded earth. And this is what he used to do when he went to battle or hard combat against fierce, strong, feat-pivoting(?), sword-grasping champions and against valorous, manly, furious, monstrous warriors dangerous in wrath, and against quick, heavy-slaughtering, exuberant (?), weapon-venomous champions of the islands and of the foreign territories, when he was in difficulty or distress of being destroyed or subdued: all that he used to do was to let himself fall into a large, lifeless, massive (?) heap to the ground and earth, so that his strength and his power, his courage and his own warlike-action used to come in him at that moment, from touching his own mother, that is, the earth, so that he rose upward, as straight as a blade, so that he struck and beat, bound, tied fast, destroyed and threw his rivals and rebels into confusion in that manner; and wondrous is the manner and labour of that warrior; that is, that it is his continual falling [upon the earth] which makes him stronger; and that can be compared to the Great Barry, for he was begotten and received equal training in wars and conflicts, in exploits and in victorious feats, in honour and in wisdom and in noble deeds. And there is not [anything], however much strife or chaos which his plunderer and his enemies inflict upon him, which does not benefit (?) the ability and strength which that [strife] gives to him (?), and there is not [anything], however great his fame and his yielding, his bestowing and constant surrendering to those seeking a favour and wealth, which does not benefit (?) the profit and prosperity, wealth and benefits which that [yielding] gives to him, according as he practices it and performs it frequently, and

Prose D. ionghantach A; accríochaibh T; hAifrice T; dár badh A, dár ba T; cómhainm T; dhaonna T; a ghineamhuin T; modortha T; do chathúgha T; chruadhchomhrac T; colgladarthacha T; fiorníata T; fraocháidhmhéile T; aithíosacha AT; armnīmhnēacha T; d'ionnsuíge] díonec (*stroke over c*) A, díonnsuíge T; go ndéirgeadh AT; cceiruidhcheangladh T; míochóirígheadh T; órdúghadh T; oglaoch T; gurab é T; bhuanleaga T; ionnshamhlughthe T; aithíosaihb T; aneagnomh T; árdghníomhaibh T; dímrēasan AT, chómhsgaoileadh T; abhuaintíodhlaice T; cómhthathuige T.

38. A thabhairt uaidh go mór meinic
mar mhac Tíre,
nach bí guth ag cléir 'na choinne,†
réidh do-ríne.
39. Mar do coimpreadh i gclí an talmhan
an tréan boinngeal,
Dáibhí[dh] iar n-uair as an ea[n]ghnamh
uair a fhoighreadh.
40. Ar dháil ionnmhuis fhuair a cheapadh
's ar chur troda;
ní hiongnadh a cheacht aga†
ag teacht troda.†
41. Oirbheart Bharrach, bronnta ó gCarthaigh,
ag cur anma
a-nois ar an dtláithrigh dtromdha
n-áithmhín n-amhra.
42. Foghlaim Ghall 'na ngníomhaibh cródha
ceard 'na bhfuiltear;
réidhe Ghaoidheal 'na ghnúis gheilte;†
cúis do-cluintear.
43. Críoch oirbheartach airdrí[o]gh Barrach
na mbrugh síthe;
mian gach fhir dá dtriallann uaithe†
tadhall tríthe.

38. Yielding often, like the son of the Land [Antaeus], so that the poets do not have cause to fault him; what he did was sensible.

39. Just as the strong, white-soled warrior [Antaeus] was born in the womb of the land, Dáibhídh in turn got his burnishing from prowess.

40. He got his training for distributing wealth and for waging war; it is no wonder that he knew what to do (?) at the onset of battle.

41. The prowess of the Barrys, the gifts of the descendants of Carthach, [is] now conferring renown upon the keen [and] courteous, wondrous, serious and gentle king.

42. The reason he is renowned is the skill in which there is the learning of the foreigners, in their fierce deeds; the gentleness of the Gaels is in his bright countenance.

43. The renowned territory of the high king of the Barrys of the delightful dwellings; every person of all those who journey [away] from it longs to travel through it.

38. *b* mhaic AT, *mac* N; *c* guith N; cléir na chuinne AT, cléir cuinne N; *d* do rinne N.

39. *a* Mar] *mac* N; *na talmhan* AT, *na talman* N; *b* bonngeal AT, bongheal N; *c* Dáibhí ATN, eagnamh ATN; *d* fuair ATN; *a* fhoighreadh T, *a* föighreadh N.

40. *a* a cheapa ATN; *written as continuation of previous quatrain; lines in qq. 40-43 lack clear arrangement into quatrains* N; *c* ní hiongna acheacht aige ATN.

41. *a* barach N; *ó gcarrthaigh* A, *ó gcárrthaigh* T, *ó ccarthaigh* N; *c* air tlláithrigh N; *dtromdha*] *om.* N; *ndaithmhín niamhdha* ATN.

42. *a* Fógluim gall N; *b* céarrd T; *bhfuiltear* N; *c* réidh N; *d* do cluinntear AT, *do cluintir* N.

43. *a* áirdrígh AT, airdrígh N; *barach* N; *b* mbrug AT, *mbrugh* (*lenited stroke over r*) N; *sithe* N; *c* miann TN, *fir* ATN; *ttriallainn* N; *d* tághall A, taghall TN; *Finis* (*written beneath the final quatrain*) A.

NOTES

1a Line *a* has a syllable too many. MS *chríche* (gen. sg.) has been emended to nom. sg. fem. *críoch*.

1b Where alliteration is wanting in line *b*, lines *ab* are joined by linking alliteration. Eleanor Knott (*Ir. Syll. Poetry*, 18) has noted the frequent absence of alliteration in the first short line in some poems composed in *snéadhbhairdne*.

1c *uaine* The emendation of MS *uaithne* restores consonance and is suggested by the context.

1d *fán seang sáile* Lit. ‘around which the sea is narrow’, an apt description of the patron’s land. Florence McCarthy writes (August 1602) of ‘Lord Barry, who dwells near it (i.e. Cork?) upon a creek of that haven and his country alongest the haven up to the gates thereof ...’ (*Cal. SP Ire. 1601–1603*, 481–2). Dáibhídh de Barra also held lands in the barony of Ibane, formerly in the possession of his father, Séamas mac Risteard, ‘Lord of Ibane’ and Viscount Buttevant. An inquisition at Timolaga, 11 April 1594, found that ‘David Viscount Barry’ was in possession of three manors of Ibane, namely, ‘Tymolagge, Rathbarry and Lisleigh’ (Barry, ‘Barrymore, *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 129–30, 135). For Dáibhídh de Barra’s petition (May 1594) ‘that he may be restored to the possession of Tymolagg’, see *Cal. SP Ire. 1592–6*, 249. In a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, Dáibhídh de Barra complains against Florence McCarthy and James FitzThomas for forcibly taking meat, drink and money from his tenants in ‘a small cantred or barony of mine, called Ibane Linge [i.e. lying?], in a remote corner toward the sea near Carberry’, adding that ‘That small barony was one of the best stays of living that I had’ (*Cal. SP Ire. 1599–1600*, 470–1). ‘Linge’ has been interpreted by the editor as Eng. ‘lying’, but as Seán Ó Coileáin has proposed to me, it is more likely an anglicization of Ir. *Loinge*, gen. sg. of *Long*, common in placenames, e.g. Inis Loinge (Inishleena, Cork), Cluain Loinge (Shiplough, Co. Cork). The ‘Linge’ element may be preserved in the townland of Ballylangy, parish of Lisle, in the barony of Ibane and Barryroe just south of Carbery along the coast, possibly ‘Baile an Longaigh’ (www.logainm.ie), but the paucity of earlier forms makes this uncertain. I thank Kevin Murray for this reference and helpful notes on the placename, which include the form ‘Ballinlangie’ from the Inquisitions. This may be ‘Ibane Linge’ (cited above). Lord Barry’s lands are listed as follows: ‘Barryscourt, 18 plowlands. Inchinibakye, 4 pl. Castlelyons, 30 pl., Buttevant and Liscarroll in Orrery, 40 pl., Timologe, Rathehaary and Lislíe in Ybane, 300 pl.’ (*Cal. Carew Manuscripts 1589–1600*, 513 (§520)).

2a Line *a* is wanting a syllable in the manuscripts. Perhaps read *Críoch[a]*?

2b Alliteration occurs within line *b*, in addition to linking alliteration between lines *ab*. For further remarks see Introduction (rhyme).

díochur MS *díothchur* for *díochur* (*DIL* s.v. *dichor*) is probably a hypercorrection based on the fact that *-thch-* was pronounced the same

way as *-ch-* (*SnaG*, Chapter IV, §2.11 (1)). Elsewhere it is regarded as an artificial spelling used occasionally for rhyming purposes, e.g. *ndíothchur* : *síothbhruigh* (*LBrannach* no. 49, ll. 4556–7 (p. 386n.)). For the idea that the land has the power to banish affliction compare the praise of Fermanagh: *Lór do bhuain fhiabhrusa dh'fhior / duinne a géag, guirme a huisgíodh* 'Enough to take sickness from a man were the brownness of her branches, the blue of her waters' (*TD* 13.4ab).

doghra MS *doghra* has been taken to be gen. sg. of fem. *iā*-stem *doghra* (*DIL* s.v. *dogra(e)*). Rhyme with *fromhtha* (2d) is imperfect, though comparable lapses occur occasionally in *dán díreach* (Ó Cuív, 'The phonetic basis of Classical Modern Irish rhyme', *Ériu* 20 (1966), 94–103, at 100–1). A perfect rhyme could be achieved by emending to genitive singular *dochra* (: *fromhtha*). While *dochar* is a masculine *o*-stem (*DIL* s.v. *dochor*), a late example of gen. sg. *dochra* is supported by rhyme (though imperfect): *Le a bheith faoi ag fulang dochra / dearbhthar airdhe a umhlochta* 'Subject to affliction's test: its humility is proved'; see J. MacErlean (ed. and trans.), 'Eoin Ó Cuileannáin: Bishop of Raphoe, 1625–1661', *Archivium Hibernicum* 1 (1912), 104 (§5).

2c *na n-iongnadh* I have emended to the gen. pl. of the masculine *o*-stem noun *iongnadh* (*IGT* ii, §49).

3a *bail beannochta Phádraig* Reference here is to St Patrick's blessing of the land of Munster, the topic of Prose A. For plausible sources see note at Prose A below. The phrasing recalls the descent of good fortune upon a chieftain: *Ar mhac Céin cheannchas molta / do thuit bail na beannochta* 'On Cian's son who buys encomiums the fortune of the blessing has settled' (*O'Hara*, 4.45ab).

3b *aingligh* Line *b* has an extra syllable. MS *ainglidhe* is trisyllabic in Classical Irish, e.g. *ngainmhíde* : *ainglidhe* (*TD* i, 13.5cd); *sreibe* : *ainglidhe* (*O'Reilly Poems* 25.35ab (ll. 2953–6)). I have emended to *aingligh*, masc. gen. sg. of the adjective *aingeach* 'angelic' (*DIL* s.v. *aingeach*), which restores the Classical Irish disyllabic final without interfering with the sense. A speech-rhyme *ainglidhe* : *gainmhíde*, with loss of lenited *-dh-* and compensatory lengthening, is nevertheless possible. Compare possible spoken form *túrnámh* (22d).

3c *ar an gcrích n-éachtruim* The line is wanting a syllable. Eclipsis following *crích* indicates an accusative rather than dative singular of *críoch*, but an accusative would not be expected following *a-tá ar* (3a), as there is no expression of motion. For some discussion of the use of the accusative following *ar* to express motion see *IGT* i, §§74–5; Eoin Mac Cárthaigh (ed.), *The Art of Bardic Poetry: A New Edition of Irish Grammatical Tracts I* (Dublin, 2014), 102 (ll. 725–7), 238 (n. on ll. 693–5). I cannot resolve the problem.

n-iubhruigh The required alliteration supports the variant *iubhruig* (T), acc. sg. of the *o-ā* adjective *iobhrach* 'abounding in yew-trees', modifying fem. acc. sg. *crích*.

3d *ngainmhigh* Line *d* has an extra syllable. MS *gainmhidhe* is trisyllabic in Classical Irish, e.g. *ngainmhidhe* : *ainglidhe* (TD i, 13.5cd); see n. 3b above. The proposed emendation to acc. / dat. singular of the *o-ā* stem adjective *gainmheach*, supplies a disyllabic final and restores the syllable count. Compare *san tseanAfraig gainmhigh* (: *aibhnigh*) *gil* ‘in ancient Africa, sandy, bright’ (TD 1.19c). Nasalization indicates an accusative form, which is problematic; cf. n. 3c above.

4a *toirthe* MS *tortha* has been emended to Classical Irish *toirthe*, nom. pl. of *toradh* (IGT ii, §53). Alternatively, the broad medial consonants might support a nom. sg. *toradh* following *iomdha*, as the latter can refer to a substantive in either the singular or plural; see DIL s.v. 1. *imdae* (b). While nom. pl. *tortha* occurs in verse, it is not metrically confirmed, e.g. *tortha uaisle i ngach am air/ crann as uaisle don fhiodhbhaidh* (DDána 23.15cd).

4c The line is short a syllable. The addition of poss. adj. 3 sg. fem. *a* ‘her’ has the support of a primary manuscript (N).

4d *feactha* The line has an extra syllable. The emendation of MS *ag feacadh* to past participle *feactha* (: *teachta*), proposed to me by Damian McManus, restores both the syllable count and rhyme. Trees bowed down under the weight of heavy fruit is a common motif signifying a prosperous reign, e.g. *abhla feactha* (: *teachta*) *is fiarcholla* (Ir. Syll. Poetry, no. 70.1ab) ‘apple-trees bent and heavily-laden’; *tír nach cleachtan cruas um chrodh, / le cnuas feactar a fiodhbhodh* ‘land unused to hardship in the matter of cattle, her wood is bent by nut crop’; see Ronald Black (ed. and trans.), ‘Poems by Maol Domhnaigh Ó Muirgheasáin’, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 13 (1978), 297, q. 28cd.

[a] *fiodhbhaidh* The addition of the 3 sg. fem. possessive adjective is supported by the sequence of feminine possessive adjectives in the quatrain.

5a *fial* The manuscript form has been retained. Emendation to the older predicative plural *fiala* would not interfere with the metre, though it is not supported by rhyme. For evidence that the poet was familiar with such forms see note at *caomh[a]* (5d). For some remarks see *mín* (5b), *gaoth* (6a).

a brughaidh Emendation of MS *a mbrúghaidh* to the 3 sg. fem. sg. possessive adjective is supported by the context and by the reading in two primary manuscripts (TN).

5b *cúilte* The proposed emendation of *coillte* ‘woodland’ to *cúilte* ‘quilts, coverlets’ (*cuilt*, *cúilt*, IGT ii, §14, 69.7), against the manuscript evidence, restores rhyme with *cúirte*. The adjective *mín* ‘smooth’ more appropriately describes ‘coverlets’, and hospitality is traditionally bestowed within the chieftain’s court. Compare the praise of the homestead Inis Ceithleann: *roighne an tslóigh mhóirfeithmigh mhúinte* – / *cóirighthir dhóibh cúilte clúimh* ‘beds of down were prepared for the noblest of the alert, instructed host’ (TD 11.27cd).

mín The singular form of the adjective has been retained, though the older plural predicative adjective *mine* would not interfere with the metre, e.g. *Mine* (: *fire*) *a slata saoruaisle* (*IBP*, 5.21d). For a possible indication of the poet's familiarity with older teachings on predicative plurals see *caomh[a]*, n. 5d below.

5c *a ngeall ré* MS *an geall* is taken to be *a ngeall*, with figurative sense *geall* 'prize, palm'; cf. *DIL* s.v. *gell* (b).

daonna MS *daonnacht* 'kindliness' (*DIL* s.v. *doéndacht* (b)) aptly describes a patron's munificence, e.g. *an dáonnacht 's an deaghaithe* (*O'Reilly Poems* 1.18c (l. 71); cf. also p. 248 s.v. *aithne*), but internal rhyme is absent. I have tentatively emended to the adjective *daonna* 'humane, kind' (*DIL* s.v. *doénda* (c)), possibly used substantively as an abstract noun corresponding to *daonnacht*, rather than as substantive *doénda* 'human being' (*DIL* s.v. *doénda* (a)). I have not found examples in bardic verse, though similar pairs of abstract nouns occur, e.g. *ullmha/ ullmhacht* (*IGT* iv, §10; *BST*, p. 283.8, 9). For further remarks on the adjective *daonna*, see note at q. 33d below.

5d *caomh[a]* Internal rhyme requires a disyllabic word. MS *caomh* has been emended to the predicative plural of the *o-a* adjective. Cf. *ABM* 461.5d, where the emendation has been proposed. The relatively rare use of the predicative plural of *o-a* adjectives in bardic poetry suggests the poet's familiarity with older bardic teachings. Compare *caomha* (: *Aodha*) *na cláir ad-chife* (*DDána* 66.4d). For some discussion see *SnaG*, Chapter IV, §5.6(b). The poet may have used the older predicative plural forms throughout this quatrain. See notes at *fial* (5a), *mín* (5b). Cf. *gaoth* (6b) below. A mix of singular and plural predicative adjectives is also possible.

6a The line has a syllable too many. Emendation to nom. pl. *flidh* (*IGT* ii, §21) restores the syllable count.

gaoth There is not clear metrical support for emending MS *gaoth* to *gaoth[a]*, nom. pl. of the adj. *gaeth* 'wise', though the poet was apparently familiar with the use of the predicative plural. See note at *caomh[a]*, q. 5d above. Cf. *ABM* 461.6a (p. 646).

6b *cai[n]gne* MS *caigne* has been emended to *caingne*, nom. pl. of *caingean* (*IGT* ii, §54) 'suit; dispute', restoring rhyme with *ainnre*. Cf. *ABM* 461.6b. I am aware of one other example of *caigne* (: *airge*), in a poem by Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa: *a ngráin chatha a ccaigne síodh / a n-airge flatha a bfairbríogh* (*O'Conor Don*, fol. 250v, l. 6) 'their hatred of battle, their suits (?) of peace/ their gentility of rule, their excessive power' (translation mine); cf. *ABM* 229.54c. Two examples cited in *DIL* are doubtful. See *DIL* s.v. *cuitchernas*, where *caigne* (*O'Don.* 1010 (H.2.15, p. 16a–b)) has been read as *cainge* (*CIH* ii, 435.28; cf. Breatnach, *A Companion*, 376). The phrase *ar caigne* (*DIL* s.v. *axal*), has been read as *arcaingel* (*CIH* ii, 621.8; cf. Breatnach, *A Companion*, 375).

6c Lit. 'a withholding of their ale is not practised by them'.

7c *go teacht don tiomna* Translation tentative. I have taken the idiom as *teacht do* 'come to', with the sense here 'receiving'. The sense seems to be that the patron's adherents serve loyally until he prepares his final 'will' or

‘bequest’ (*DIL* s.v. *timne* III), by which they are allocated their due gifts. Such reciprocity is reminiscent of a depiction of a guest house elsewhere: *in cenn do bithré[i]r na mball, na baill do bithréir in cinnt* (K. Meyer, ‘Mitteilungen aus irischen Handschriften’, *ZCP* 7 (1910), 297–312, at 298); cf. *DIL* s.v. *riar*.

7bd *umhla* The rule that a word may not rhyme with a repetition of itself (*BST* §217.1) is observed here, with rhyme between the feminine singular abstract noun *umhla* (*DIL* s.v. *umla(e)*) in line *b* and the superlative of the *o-ā* adjective *umhal* (*DIL* s.v. *umal*) in *d*. See, however, *troda* : *troda* (40bd).

8a The line has a syllable too many. MS *atá* has been emended to *tá*, as permitted following *mar* (*SnaG*, Chapter IV, §7.26).

8ab Line *b* has a syllable too many. James Carney has noted instances in poems composed in *snéadhbhairdne* where elision is allowed when the first line of the couplet ends in an unstressed vowel and the subsequent line begins with an unstressed vowel (*Poems Butlers*, pp. 112–13). Lines *ab* have a similar pattern, i.e. *Teamhra* / *a-táid*. Compare *nī fhoil a mhac samhla sunna* / *ar mhēd a bhronnoidh* (*Poems Butlers* 6.26cd (ll. 549–50)). Such elision across the line boundary seems to reflect the influence of the older usage with regard to this metre, in which the stanza consisted of two lines of twelve syllables (*Poems Butlers*, p. 113). For some possible examples in *croisantacht* see Griffin-Wilson, *The Wedding Poems of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair*, 162.

8cd Line *d* has a syllable too many. The poet may allow elision across the line boundary (*fhéile* / *ar sheilbh*). See n. 8ab above.

9a *a díol* The repetition *a-tá a díol* / *a-tá a dhiol* (lines *ac*), with the parallel fem., and then masc., singular possessive adjective, emphasizes the union between the chieftain and the land, *críoch Bharrach*. For some discussion, see my introductory remarks.

9b *toilltear* Emendation of MS *tuillthear* to *toilltear*, restores rhyme with *roinntear*. See *tuilleam, toilleam* (IGT iii, §72). Cf. *DIL* s.v. *do-slí*, col. 374.43–5. The present autonomous ending *-t(e)ar* (after *l, n, s*) is distinguished from the ending *-th(e)ar*. See *SnaG*, Chapter IV, §7.3 (p. 398).

9c There is a syllable too many in the line. I have emended to the shortened form of *agus*.

innte Consonance is imperfect. Compare 42c.

oireacht MS *oighrecht* ‘inheritance, patrimony’ (*DIL* s.v. *eigrecht, oigrecht*) has been emended to *oireacht* ‘assembly’ (of supporting nobles) (*DIL* s.v. *airecht*), rhyming with *roibheacht*. See also 36c. Emphasis on the *oireacht* recalls Tadhg Mac Dáire Mheic Bhruaideadha’s *Mór atá ar theagasc flatha*, where the chieftain is advised to govern his assembly: *Ná fill faobhar do reachta / ó neach d’uaislibh th’oireachta* ‘Do not turn the sharp edge of your authority away from anyone of the nobles of your assembly’ (E. Nic Cárthaigh, ‘*Mór a-tá ar theagasc flatha*’, 158 (§35)).

10a *bleidhe[adh]* The following eclipsis indicates gen. pl. *bleidheadh*, common in epithets praising a chieftain’s generosity, e.g. *Briain na mbleidheadh ndonn* ‘Brian of the bright cups’ (*AithD.* 17.23a).

10b *neambocht* The riming words *neambocht* : *beannocht* occur elsewhere in verse, e.g. *neambocht* : *bheannacht* (IBP 5.8cd); *neambocht* : *beannocht* (T. Ó Donnchadha, *Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe* (Dublin, 1931), 13.2cd). The compound is an example of *greim comhfhocail* (IGT i, §100), with the ‘quasi compounding prefix’ *neamh-*, and having two consonants in writing and one consonant for rhyming purposes (pronounced *neamocht*). For some discussion see Mac Cárthaigh, *The Art of Bardic Poetry*, 118 (ll. 960–81), 183–5 (nn. 77, 81–2).

10d *brígh* Emendation of MS *brúgh* to *brígh* restores internal rhyme with *thír* and provides a verbal link to *bríoghmhar* ‘powerful’ in the opening line of the subsequent prose, i.e. *brígh na mbeannocht* (10d) / *beannocht bhríoghmhar* (Prose A). Such links are a stylistic feature of *crosántacht*. A fruitful patrimony is similarly praised in a poem by Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa: *naomhthoradh bríoghmhar beannocht* (O’Reilly *Poems* 25.35d (l. 2956)).

Prose A

Source: an early account of St Patrick’s baptism of Aonghus mac Nad Fraoich and the people of Munster occurs in *Bethu Phátraic*; see Kathleen Mulchrone (Dublin, 1939), 118–19 (ll. 2286–309); cf. Stokes, *Lismore Lives*, ll. 447–60. Key elements of the story are condensed into a single episode in a version of the *vita* in *Leabhar Breac* (fol. 28a25–55); cf. Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Three Middle-Irish Homilies on the Lives of the Saints Patrick, Brigit and Columba* (Calcutta, 1877), 32–5. The prose narrative in *Teallach* corresponds more closely to the latter version, in which St Patrick baptizes Óengus (Aonghus), preaches to him, instructs and blesses the people and blesses the land of Munster: *Bennacht Dé for Mumain / feraib macaib mnaib, / bennacht forin talmain / do-beir tarad daib*, etc. ‘God’s blessing on Munster, men, children, women / Blessing on the land that gives them fruit ...’ (ibid., 32). The blessing is found in the earlier *Bethu Phátraic* (Mulchrone, *Bethu Phátraic*, 128–9 (ll. 2545–73)), but occurs several episodes after the baptism of Óengus. It also occurs in a later stratum of ‘The Story of the Finding of Cashel’ (ed. Dillon, *Ériu* 16 (1952), 67–8 (§§7–8)). The baptism of Aonghus is also recounted in the late version of *Agallamh na Seanórach* (ed. Ní Shéaghda, 3 vols (Dublin, 1942–5), i, 58–9), another plausible source, as noted by Pádraig Breatnach, *Téamaí Taighde Nua-Ghaeilge*, 35.

gein shochuir A common attributive genitive (TD i, p. lxix), often applied to a chieftain, e.g. *fan ngein sochair Sior Risdeard* ‘Under the favoured offspring Sir Richard’ (TD 17.32b). See DIL s.v. *gein* (c) ‘that which is born, a person’. Here referring to St. Patrick, and translated ‘offspring’.

Aonghusa meic I have emended MS *Aonghus mac* to the gen. sg. form, drawing on both T and N.

do dhá chóige mórgharga The dual form, which is the same as acc. sg. *cóigeadh* (IGT ii, §11 (p. 55, l. 3)), is used regularly in place of the older dative plural. It is followed by the dual (also plural) form of the adjective *mórgharga*, as is usual in both verse and prose. See *SnaG*, Chapter IV, §§4.11, 8.3, 5.1.

creidimh chogúsaig Chatoilce The poet's emphasis on the Catholic faith reflects the religious conflicts and mixed loyalties of the period, and the Catholic patron's entanglement in the disputes. Dáibhídh de Barra adhered to Catholicism, but remained loyal to Queen Elizabeth I and refused to join the rebellion. In 1600 Aodh Ó Néill, Earl of Tyrone, and James Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond, castigated Dáibhídh de Barra for having been 'seduced to hold with the Queen of England, and to serve against us and the Church'. The Bishop of Cork similarly urged him to join in the 'Catholic action', upon penalty of excommunication; cf. *Cal. Carew Manuscripts, 1589–1600*, 362 (§354) (13 February 1600).

an Choimhdhe: The spelling of the manuscript has been retained, but the usual spelling is *Coimdhe* (*DIL* s.v. *coimdiu*); cf. *IGT* ii, §21. A form *coimhghe* (with lenited *m*) is noted in *IGT*, where it occurs in only one manuscript (C); see *IGT* ii, §21 (p. 74 n. 19). A later example occurs in Ó Bruadair's verse: *cóimhdhe uim cheathraibh* 'lord most rich in cattle' (*DOB* i, 146.11). The spelling *Coimhdhe* may have arisen through confusion with *coimhghe* 'act of protecting' (*DIL* s.v. *coimge*). The two words occur as rhyming pairs in verse, e.g. *Ar gcoimhghe is daoibh-se budh dluigh / a Choimdhe is a Shaoir-se shein* 'Thou art bound to save me, O Lord, O ancient Creator' (*Dán Dé* 9.28ab). Cf. *maith an choimhdhe* (: *Coimdhe*) *dár gcabhair* (*IBP* 23.3cd).

tugsad ... ar a chumas The 3 sg. masc. possessive adjective (*a chumas*) presumably refers to St Patrick, i.e. 'they gave ... for his [St Patrick's] use'. Compare *bud for bar comus a cathcharpait* 'at your disposal'; *do-ratsat in tir fora comos* (*Grail*, 1033) 'they gave the land for his use' (*DIL* s.v. *commus*, col. 399.32–3).

a gcómhachta The acc. pl. of *cumhacht* (*IGT* ii, §25) 'power' is taken in the transferred sense 'dominions'. Cf. *DIL* s.v. *cumachtae*, col. 615.62–3.

áisioch <ur>ramach The collocation occurs elsewhere in verse, e.g. *Mei-se go crithreach corrach / tu-sa áiseach urramach* (*DDána* 80.13ab).

ómhannta I have taken this to be a by-form of *ómánta* 'humble, obedient; bashful, unassuming' (*DIL* s.v.), though I am not aware of other examples with a lenited *-m-*. While not widely attested, two examples occur in the religious prose works of John Carswell, e.g. *go h-umhal ómánta* (l. 2977), *umhal orramach ómánta* (l. 3172); see R. L. Thomson (ed.), *Foirn na n-Urrnuidheadh* (Edinburgh, 1979). Examples are also found in the religious prose of Seaán Ó Cearnaigh, a native of Leyney, Co. Sligo, e.g. *ómánta*, *fómánta* (Brian Ó Cuív (ed.), *Aibidil Gaoidheilge & Caiticiosma: Seaán Ó Cearnaigh's Irish Primer of Religion, Published in 1571* (Dublin, 1994), 27.18, 53.16). See also Tomás de Bhaldraithe, 'Leabhar Charswell in Éirinn', *Éigse* 9 (1958–61), 61–7, at 66. As de Bhaldraithe notes ('Ómánta, fómánta', *Éigse* 9 (1958–61), 171), the words *umhal ómánta* occur together in Carswell. They likewise occur in close proximity in *Teallach*, suggesting that the poet may have been familiar with these religious works or may have had

connections with the region where the word was in use. See de Bhaldraithe's comment (*ibid.*) on *go hóghmáinta* and a conversation with Seán Ó Ruadháin, author of *Pádhraic Mháire Bhán* (Dublin, 1932).

gur thóguibh-siumh an lámh ... ós a cionn uile The use of nom. sg. *lámh* where one would expect acc. sg. *láimh* may be an instance of the prevention of the use of the accusative following the verb due to the sense of an unexpressed verbal noun (*IGT* i, §76). A verbal noun *do chur* might be understood: 'he lifted the hand [to put/ stretch] over them'. Otherwise, emend to fem. acc. sg. *láimh* (*IGT* ii, §192), a reading supported by N.

gur bheannaigh iad idir fhear 7 mhnaoi, mhaca 7 inghiona The phrasing recalls the verse blessing which directly follows the description of the baptism of Aonghus in the *Leabhar Breac* (source cited above, Prose A). Cf. also Stokes, *Lismore Lives*, ll. 521–33. Comparable blessings occur in other contexts in bardic verse, e.g. *Beannacht chuca, ní cúis nár, / idir fhear is mhnaoi is mhacámh* 'A blessing to them – 'tis no mean cause! – both man and woman and youth' (*IBP* 5.9ab).

7 n-eagnameha for (MS fóir) *a n-uaislibh 7 a n-árdríoghaibh; buadh bhféile bhfairsionga* These phrases (following *n-einig*) are missing from a transcription of the text from TCD H. 6. 18 (1411) in *ABM* poem 461 (p. 647). I have confirmed that the phrases do appear in this manuscript (T) and all other primary manuscripts.

for a n-uaislibh The dat. pl. *uaislibh* and sequence of phrases with the prep. *for* (also written *fór*) supports the emendation of MS *fóir* to the prep. *for*.

for a bhfiorbhrúghadh[aibh] The second element of the compound (MS *bhfiorbhrughadh*) has been emended to dat. pl. of *brughaidh* (*IGT* ii, §21), which is in keeping with the sequence of datives following the preposition *for*. See also *ABM* 647 (col. a.2), where the emendation has been proposed.

fá sgeith Taken to be the 3 sg. pres. indic. of *sceithid* 'spews; bursts forth', preceded by the prep. *fá* (*fo*, *fa*) combined with the relative particle *a*, as Pádraig Ó Macháin has proposed to me. Compare similar images of a 'bursting forth' (*sgeith*) of 'sea-wrack' (*torchar*), signifying the fertile reign of the ruler: *Ag lenmhuin riogh don recht choir / tig a-ris rioghdha an édail / sgeith gach lantora[i]dh re a linn / 's gach leith d'fantolaigh Fheilim* 'But when a king follows a righteous path his reign will ensure the bursting forth of every full fruit – regal the bounty – in every corner of the sloping land of Feidhlim' (McManus, "The smallest man in Ireland can reach the tops of her trees", 69).

ann gach MS *ann* for the prep. *i* 'in' often occurs in prose before *gach*; see Ó Cuív, *Aibidil Gaoidheilge & Caiticiosma*, 40.9, 46.13, p. 30. For an instance in verse see variant reading *ann gach*, 24a (N).

breath Reference seems to be to the saint's judgement upon Munster. It has been noted that *DIL* s.v. *breth* gives the impression that Classical Modern Irish knows only dat. sg. *breith* as nominative, though *breath* in the sense 'judgement' is standard as nominative in the poetry; see D. McManus, 'Niall Frosach's "Act of Truth": a bardic apologue in a poem for Sir Nicholas Walsh, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas († 1615)', *Ériu* 58 (2008), 133–68, at 154 (§17).

ina clár thorcharthach The idealized landscape of Fermanagh can be compared: *Pardhas Fódla Fir Mhanach*, / *clár téigidhe torcharach* ‘Fermanagh is the Paradise of Fódla, a tranquil, fruitful plain’ (TD 13.1ab).

d’fhoirmhidin I have taken this as *oirmhidin* ‘honour’ (DIL s.v. *airmitiu*). Cf. *más barr é ar a n-oirmhidin* (Content. x, q. 15); *airmhidin* (TSh, 2742). Presumably here with prosthetic *f*-, or perhaps influenced by *fóiridhin* ‘helping’ (IGT ii, §184).

an Barrach Mór Dáibhídh de Barra is referred to only by the Irish title and not the English dignitary, as noted by S. H. O’Grady (BLCat., 1. 557). For some discussion see Introduction (‘The Patron’).

11a-b *mac Séamuís* Séamas son of Risteard de Barra (i.e. Richard ‘of the Rath’ in Ibawne), the father of the patron. For some comment on his career see Introduction.

[*de Barra*] Line *a* has five syllables, and alliteration within the line is wanting. The editorial addition of the surname *de Barra*, against the evidence of the manuscripts, is tentative. Cf. ABM 461.11a (p. 647), where the emendation has been proposed. The emendation supplies three syllables wanting in *a* (if this is an 8-syllable line) and linking alliteration between *ab*. Nevertheless, the absence of alliteration within line *a*, required in *snéadhbhairdne* and consistent within the poem (with the exception of 15a), is not resolved. It is also possible that this short line functioned as a kind of exclamatory phrase linking prose to verse, as Mícheál Hoyne suggested to me, noting that the rhyme-like echo *Séamuís* / *béas* (*ab*) is also of interest here and would no doubt resonate in an oral performance.

11d *call nár chuibhrigh* The subject of the 3 sg. preterite *nár chuibhrigh* is tentatively taken to be Dáibhídh de Barra, whose just reign brings about an abundance of fruit. Compare a similar theme: *barr claon far cuibhrigheadh coill* ‘hero who has all hazels beneath his power’; see Lambert Mac Kenna (ed. and trans.), ‘Some Irish Bardic poems’, *Studies* 41 (1952), 100, q. 10c.

12ab Linking alliteration is lacking here, though alliteration within line *b* occurs as a compensation, and there is an internal rhyme between *a* and *b*. The same pattern occurs in qq. 13ab, 14ab and 16ab. For some remarks see Introduction.

12b *a shúil* The 3 sg. masc. possessive adjective is suggested by the context. Lenition has been supplied, with the support of a primary manuscript (N).

12c *gáirthe* MS *gártha* has been emended to the historical form. According to DIL, *gártha* is a late analogical plural of *gáir* ‘shout, call’ for nom. pl. *gáirthe* (IGT ii, §14.18); cf. DIL s.v. *gáir*, col. 27.38–40. This instance of pl. *gártha* and other examples which I have found in verse are not metrically confirmed, e.g. *Gártha caismear ag crot* (DDána 68.33a) ‘calls of battle-cries and harps’; *beidh gártha troma lá an Luain* ‘there will be mournful shouts on the day of Doom’ (Énri Ó Muirgheasa (ed.), *Dánta Diadha Uladh* (Dublin, 1936), 18.7a (p. 150) (translation mine)).

13a–d Translation tentative. The poet portrays the patron as an honorable man (*fear an einigh*) who can indulge in feasting, yet is ready to shed his blood in battle; that is, he can be extroverted or sombre (*duilbhir*), as required by the occasion. It seems that a contrast is intended: the honorable man pours

out drink at a feast; the *duine duilbhir* ‘a sombre, tongue-tied man’ sheds his blood in battle. The poet seems to be saying that the patron is capable of fulfilling both roles. His prowess is not in doubt (q. 14), but his generous, gregarious manner is extolled and defended.

13c *do-bheir dáil a fhuile* I have taken *fuile* (*fola*) to be gen. sg. of *fuil* (IGT ii, §§42, 181), following the verbal noun *dá(i)l*, often meaning ‘bestowing’ (of drink) or ‘shedding’ (of blood); cf. *DIL* s.v. *dáilid* (b). I have taken *dáil* in the latter sense, though the poet seems to play on both senses.

13d *duilbhir* The reading in N has been adopted to restore rhyme with *chuirmdhigh*. Lit. ‘slow-of speech’, but here taken to mean ‘reticent’ or ‘unsociable’. The words *duilbhir* / *suilbhir* are often paired, e.g. *dregan is duilbhir i ttreas / suilbher ag eagar éicces* (TCD H.5.9 (1381), 32.1cd), ‘a warrior who is sombre in conflict [and] affable in the midst of an array of poets’ (translation mine). Tadhg mac Dáire advises his lord in similar language: *Bíodh gnúis dhorrdha ag dul i ngliaidh / leat, ... is gnúis neamhdhorcha ar fheadh n-óil* ‘Wear a grim face going into battle, ... and a bright face during drinking time’, see Nic Cárthaigh, ‘*Mór a-tá ar theagasg flatha*’, 159, q. 37. Elsewhere a poet playfully advises his patroness to sulk inappropriately at a feast: *bí duilbhir ar feadh bhfleidhe* ‘remain melancholy at the feast’ (*TD* 15.44c).

14a *t’[fh]eacht ar fhoghail* The required alliteration in *a* suggests taking MS *teacht* as *t’[fh]eacht*. Here *feacht* has been taken to mean ‘journey’ or ‘expedition’ (*DIL* s.v. *fecht* (a)). Alternatively, it may be used in the transferred sense ‘marauding band’ (*DIL* s.v. *fecht* (d)), referring to adherents who accompany the patron *ar fhoghail* ‘on a raid’.

14c *léir* In later texts *léir* is commonly used predicatively in the sense ‘visible, noticeable’ (*DIL* s.v. *léir*). The phrase *léir i Laighnibh* has been taken as a cheville.

i Laighnibh The allusion to Leinster(men) may not have a particular significance, but the Irish of Leinster joined with the rebels and harried the troops of the Earl of Essex (*AFM*, s.a.1599.31). The subsequent anecdote about the *sionnach* ‘fox’ might recall the plundering *Sionnaigh* ‘Foxes’ of Co. Offaly, in Leinster, but clear evidence is wanting. See note at *sionnach*, Prose B, below.

14d *fear* The stressed noun *fear* ‘man’ or ‘fellow’ is lacking a rhyming counterpart in line *c*. I cannot propose a solution. To whom *fear* refers is uncertain. Perhaps the patron, but it may be an oblique link to the *sionnach* ‘fox’, described in the subsequent prose (B). Cf. also *fear* (15c).

Prose B

For some discussion of satirical associations in the passage see Introduction. There is a curious reference to a game of ‘fox to the hole’ being played in a churchyard in Limerick, during which soldiers on guard were attacked by townsmen; see *Cal. SP Ire. 1600*, 12–4 (§7) (March 1599[–1600]). The association is tenuous, but might bear on the image of the plundering ‘fox’ (*sionnach*) and the overall comic tone.

sionnach The ‘fox’ seems to be a satirical allusion to Aodh Mág Uidhir (named in 16cd), as *sionnach* is used disparagingly of another Maguire: *Sionnach ar bhréine an Barúin!* ‘A fox for his stench is the Baron’ (reference to Conor Maguire of Enniskillen); see O’Donovan, *The Tribes of Ireland*, 52–3, l. 12 and n. 3. The few references in bardic verse are likewise pejorative, e.g. *A bhrionnaigh ón a bhrionnaigh / do-ní cumann an tsionnaigh / uait-se gach olc do mhéaduigh, / a shaoghail bhréagaigh bhrionnaigh* (DDána 4.6) ‘Oh deceiver, yes, deceiver, who befriends the fox; on account of you every evil increased, o false, deceitful world’ (translation mine). Cf. also satirical portrait of the *sionnach* ‘fox’ (TD 34. 28–9), with a pun on *Sionnaigh* ‘Foxes’, or Muintir Thadhgáin, who are the target of Tadhg Dall’s satire. Early Irish sources portray the fox as a cunning predator (Fergus Kelly, *Early Irish Farming* (Dublin, 1998), 188), and *sinnach* is a term of opprobrium in satiric epigrams; see Roisin McLaughlin (ed.), *Early Irish Satire* (Dublin, 2008), 156 (§55). Pejorative connotations are found in the Middle Irish poem *Can as ticc macc léinn*, e.g. *sinnaig imma huaga / ethait bruna bolg* (ed. Thurneysen, *MV* iii, §142). For some discussion see Introduction.

i n-am Aifrin The allusion recalls celebrations of the Mass among the Irish troops during the Nine Years War: ‘Thus O’Donnell remained until the 15th day of August, ... and he observed the fast, in honour of the Blessed Virgin, as was his wont; and mass was celebrated for him and the army in general’ (AFM s.a. 1599.33).

fhíorórdha I take the second element of the compound to be the adjective *órdha* ‘golden, resembling gold’ (DIL s.v. *órda(e)* (b)), perhaps used figuratively in the complimentary sense ‘excellent, splendid’ (Dinneen, s.v. *órdha*). The context does not support emending to *ortha* ‘prayer’, though some confusion between *ordha* and *ortha* occurs in the phrase *isin oini órdai* ‘golden Friday’(?); see DIL s.v. *orda(e)* (b); (DIL s.v. 1. *ortha*).

cáinteach Lit. ‘satirical’ (DIL s.v. *cáinteach*), but *cainnteach* ‘clattering’ (DIL s.v. *cainnteach*; IGT ii, §22), used for the sound of a bell, is the sense here. Compare its use in a wedding *croántacht* by Ó Bruadair; cf. Griffin-Wilson, *The Wedding Poems of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair*, 320, q. 30ab (p. 368n.).

míchéadf[adhach] The final letters are not visible in the manuscript due to smudging and a patched margin, but the variants *míchéadfach* (T), *míchéadfadh* (N) indicate *míchéadfadh* ‘ill will, grudge’; cf. DIL s.v. *mícol*. 121.28. I have emended to *míchéadfadhach*, as an adjective paralleling *mailíseach* is suggested by the context. Cf. DIL s.v. *cétfadach*.

15a There is a syllable too many in the manuscript. Emendation to the shortened form of the copula restores the syllable count. Alliteration within line *a* is also wanting, though there is linking alliteration between lines *a* and *b*. For some discussion of the comic tone of the phrasing, see Introduction.

15b *is cúis aonaigh* Translation tentative. The lenited stroke above the *n* indicates the gen. sg. of *aonach* ‘assembly’ or ‘fair’. O’Grady (BLCat., 558) translates ‘it is a cause of convention’, and proposes a gathering of poets, chieftains, etc. at an *oenach*. The sounding of the bell seems to be a call to

Mass, however, and I follow Seán Ó Coileáin's suggestion and take *is* as the relative of the copula (lenition of *cúis* being optional). Lit. 'which is the cause of an assembly'. The sense 'commotion' might also come into play. Cf. *déanfaidh sé aonach* 'he will create a scene' (Dinneen, s.v. *aonach*). See *fuarchúis* below.

15c *beanaidh* The verb *beanaidh* 'strikes' suggests the harvesting of nuts by striking them down from branches with sticks, a custom practised in West Cork, as Seán Ó Coileáin informs me. There is a likely echo of the striking of the church bell as a summons to Mass: *do bhí clog fíorbhinn fogharmhongrach ar bhinn an chlogáis i n-áirdtíge sin do beantaoui i n-am Aifrin* (Prose B).

15c *fear* Unidentified, but perhaps suggesting *fear an chloigín* 'the bellman' (Dinneen, s.v. *fear*), in this instance the 'fox', who rings the bell. The context suggests an oblique, satirical allusion to Aodh Mág Uidhir, named in the subsequent quatrain (16cd). For a satirical use of *fear* compare *Do bhí ar an fearsoin túth trom* 'There was a stench from that fellow' (TD 37.6a), referring humorously to rancid butter. Cf. *giolla* 'lad', referring to the 'fox' (*sionnach*) (TD 34. 28–9). See also Introduction (*Aodh Mhág Uidhir*) and n. 14d above.

15c *nónaidh* Emendation to Classical Modern Irish *nónaidh* (IGT ii, §201) restores consonance.

15d *cnuas do chraobhaibh* Abundant nut-crops signify the chieftain's righteous rule, or *fír flaithemon*, a prominent theme in the poem; cf. McManus, "'The smallest man can reach the top of her trees'", 106 (§145).

16a–c *Rug a mbí do thart ar thánuibh ... Aodh* I have taken *Aodh* (line c) as the subject of *Rug*, here used in the sense 'caused, brought about'; see *DIL* s.v. *do-beir* I (o). Lit. 'Aodh caused all that there was of thirst upon cattle'. The allusion to 'thirst upon cattle', recalls a class of images associated with *fír flaithemon*, which depict drought-like conditions resulting from extreme summer heat, compelling cattle to wander away from their young in search of water. Compare *táinte ag loighe a leapthaibh tonn* 'herds of cattle take refuge in the sea'; *táin a n-áth sreabha 'na súan* 'cattle [are] slumbering in the river-ford'; see McManus, "'The smallest man in Ireland can reach the tops of her trees'", 97 (§§104, 105). Here, however, the motif seems to be an ironic reference to the burning of lands by Aodh Mág Uidhir, which leaves lands parched and cattle plagued with thirst. Vernam Hull ('Notes in Irish Texts', ZCP 29 (1962), 181–91, at 190–1) has noted intriguing references to calves (*laoigh*) being kept from cows as part of a ritual lamentation for the slain hero in the early Irish tale 'The Death of Connla' and in the later *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*. The 'thirst' (*tart*) which plagues cattle (wandering away from their young) might suggest a comparable separation, but I have not found other references to the custom. I thank Ruairi Ó hUiginn for this reference.

16c *Aodh Mhág Uidhir* Most likely a reference to the chieftain of Fermanagh (1589–1600), who joined Aodh Ó Néill on a hosting in Munster in 1599. Ó Néill burned and plundered the lands of the patron, Dáibhídh mac Séamais de Barra, in reprisal for his refusal to join the rebellion; see *AFM* s.a. 1600.10; *Beatha Aodha*, i, 238–41 (§126–7). In a letter from Dáibhídh de

Barra, ‘Maguire’ is named among those who raided his lands Barrymore (*Cal. SP Ire. 1599–1600*, 492–3 (15 February 1599[–1600])). Maguire was wounded in a skirmish with Sir Warham St Leger and died of wounds in March, 1600, near Cork; see *AFM* s.a. 1600.11; *Brit. Lib. Cat.*, i, 459–60; *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh*, i, 238–41 (§127). Aodh Mág Uidhir was a special patron of the poet Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa, who expressed fears for Aodh’s life during the Munster hosting (*IBP* poem 29). For some discussion see Introduction.

16d *Aodh ós Aodhuibh* The emendation of MS *is* to the preposition *ós* ‘above’ is suggested by dat. pl. *Aodhuibh*, i.e. ‘Aodh above [all other] Aodhs’ and has been proposed by McManus and Ó Raghallaigh (*ABM* poem 461, p. 710 n. 16d). Praise of *Aodh* (16c) is reminiscent of the dedicatory quatrains which Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa promised to Aodh Mág Uidhir, for which see P. A. Breatnach, ‘A covenant between Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa and Aodh Mág Uidhir’, *Éigse* 27 (1993), 59–66. The presence of such a quatrain in *Teallach* is not an argument for Ó hEódhusa’s authorship, however, as other poets sought Aodh’s patronage. Dat. pl. *Aodhuibh* might refer to the northern chieftains Aodh Ó Domhnaill and Aodh Ó Néill, but a similar phrase is applied to others of that name, e.g. *Tú an t-Aodh ós gach Aodh eile* ‘thou art the Aodh excelling every other Aodh’; see Peter O’Dwyer (ed.), ‘A vision concerning Hugh O’Connor († 1309)’, *Éigse* 5 (1946), 79–91, at 86, q. 37a. Allusions to *An dá Aodh* ‘the two Aodhs’ occur in poems by Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa, e.g. *In dá Aodh dá ttugas tol* (*LBrnach* poem 47, l. 4438); *An dá Aodh dob annsa liom* (*LBrnach*, poem 60, l. 6082); *In dá Aodh do imthigh uaim* (*LBrnach* poem 59, l. 5894). The difficulty in identifying which Aodh is referred to has been noted (*LBrnach*, p. 404, s.v. *Aodh*).

17a *fuarchúis* Interestingly, the only other example of the compound which I have found in verse is from Dáibhídh Ó Bruadair’s poems: *ag iarraidh taise ‘s budh fuarchúis dáibh*, where it has been translated ‘scant cause’ (*DÓB* iii, 224.14); cf. *DIL* s.v. *úar*, compds (a). The echo of *cúis* (19b) seems intentional, suggesting (with satirical intent?) that the ringing of the bell (Prose B), the assembly, the striking down of nuts and the poet’s own ramblings all comprise the nonsense.

17c *chá[i]ch* I emend MS *chách* to gen. sg. *cháich*, as suggested by the context.

17d *fáith* I tentatively emend MS *rígh* to *fáith* (: *cháich*) ‘seer’, used elsewhere in a general sense to praise a chieftain, e.g. *a fhádh eoil gach ealadhna* ‘o instructor in every art’ (*DMhéigUidhir* 19.14d). Cf. *fáidh*, *fáith* (*IGT* ii, §112, §38). The emendation is somewhat intrusive, but the scribe may have erroneously written *rígh*, influenced by *rígh* in 18c.

18c *fosadh* The required alliteration supports MS *fosaig*, which has been emended to *fosadh* (: *do-san*). See *IGT* ii, §142.

18d *dleaghair* Emendation of MS *dleaghtar* to *dleaghair* is supported by rhyme with *deabhaidh*. For interchangeable passive forms in some verbs, including *dlighir* (-*thear*) / *dleagha(i)r*, see *TD* i, p. lxxix (*dlighim*); *SnaG*, Chapter IV, §7.3 (p. 398).

19c *armthuigh* Consonance is lacking. The context suggests a form of *armaigh*, gen. sg. of the *o-ā* adj. *armach* ‘armed’ (*DIL* s.v.), used in a complimentary sense for a warrior, e.g. *do threibh Bhriain mheic Eochaidh armuigh* (*O’Reilly Poems* poem 28, l. 3227). Medial *-th-* may arise though the influence of *armthae*, participle of *armaidh* (*DIL* s.v. 1. *armaid*). The long vowels in the rhyming words *díormaibh* : *ríoghnaibh* suggest dialectal lengthening of the vowel in the stressed syllable. For possible traces of the spoken language compare *túrnadh* (22d).

20c The line is wanting a syllable. I have supplied the 3 sg. masc. possessive adjective, which is suggested by lenition of *beōil* in two primary manuscripts.

fichidh falta I emend MS *fiucha* to 3sg. pres. indic. *fichidh* ‘seethes’ (*IGT* iii, §71), rhyming with *crithir* (*IGT* ii, §163), and followed by *falta*, acc. pl. of *fala* (*IGT* ii, §4). Compare the similar praise of a chieftain: *gus beithríoch fichidh fala, / crithir fheithmhíoch iomghona* ‘Resentment seethes the fierceness of a bear, a wary flame of slaughter’ (*LBránach* poem 50, ll. 4793–4) (translation mine).

21a *seabhac aille* The reading *aille* (TN) is adopted here. Compare *Seabhac aille Esa Ruaidh* ‘the hawk of the cliff of Eas Ruaidh’ (*DMhéigUídhir* 22.37a, reference from P. A. Breatnach).

gábhadh Rhyme with *bádhadh* supports the emendation to acc. sg. masc. *gábhadh* ‘danger’ (*IGT* ii, §11 (p. 55)). Cf. *DIL* s.v. *gábud*.

21c *do thaobhadh* MS *do thaobhaibh* ‘at the sides/edges’ is awkward in the context, and I have not found comparable descriptions in verse. The proposed emendation to the verbal noun *taobhadh* ‘drawing near to, approaching’ (*DIL* s.v. *taebad*) restores consonance and suits the sense. Lit. ‘a quick flame that is hottest for approaching/ drawing near’, referring to the heat of the patron’s battle-fury, which wards off enemies. Compare the sense ‘approaching (in battle)’ in the following: *Go mac Seaáin na slegh gcorcra / i gerúas teannta ní thiad slóigh, / dá bhfaghtur leo é ‘na aonur, / ‘sé san ghleo ná taobhadh tóir* (Ó Donnchadha, *Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe*, 29.2) ‘Hosts do not go to the son of Seán of the crimson spears in a hard contest; if he is found by them on his own, let not a pursuing party approach [him] in the conflict’ (translation mine). I thank Damian McManus for this example.

21d *bádhadh* MS *báthadh* has been emended to a permissible variant of the preterite passive (*IGT* iii, §71).

22a *Aoife* One of the woman warriors who trained Cú Chulainn in the arts of warfare, e.g. ‘*Indat mebair-siu itir, bar Fer Diad, ‘isna airigthib gascid danímmis ac Scáthaig & ac Úathaig & ac Aife?*’ “Do you remember at all” said Fer Diad, “the choice feats of arms which we practised with Scáthach and Úathach and Aife?”; see Cecile O’Rahilly (ed. and trans.), *Táin Bó Cualnge from the Book of Leinster* (Dublin, 1967), 222.3089–90; cf. also in *gae Aife* (ibid., 196.2068–70). I have not found other references to the warrior Aoife in bardic verse, but Cú Chonnacht Mág Uídhir is likened to Cú Chulainn in similar praise: *buaidh na con ‘gun choin oile / ‘s gan dol ar sgoil Sgáthoighe*

‘one hound has the other’s virtues, without having gone to Scáthach’s school’ (*DMhéigUidhir* 17.35cd (ll. 1991–2)).

22b *diúltadh* Rhyme with *túrnadh* (see n. 22d below) is imperfect and medial consonants are not of the same class. Consonance with *fuilngeadh* and a possible rhyme *diultadh* : *turnadh* suggest a short vowel in the stressed syllable, but examples in bardic verse do not confirm vowel quantity, e.g. *do dhiult dá dúil n-ochónaidh* (*O’Hara* 25.2b); *in ghéic nár dhiult re ndámhaibh* (*DMhéigUidhir* 1.43b (l. 174)). Rhymes with a long vowel are inconclusive, e.g. *diúltar* : *diúltadh* (*DDána* 24.13ab).

22c *fuilngeadh* There is an extra syllable in the line. MS *fuilngeadh* has been emended to preterite passive *fuilngeadh* (*IGT* iii, ex. 441), which restores the required disyllabic final. Lit. ‘(that) was not endured’, i.e. ‘unendurable’.

22d *túrnadh* The vowel in the stressed syllable was historically short (*IGT* iii, §55).

23a *Bradán beathadh ban* MS *bheatha* has been emended to gen. sg. *beathadh* (*IGT* ii, §7). I cannot explain the lenition following masc. *o*-stem *bradán* (MS *bradán bheatha bhán*), and have adopted the reading in N.

23b The reading of N, masculine *urradh* (*IGT* ii, §11), has been adopted.

23c *ní fhaghmuíd* Emendation to *-fhaghmuíd*, 1 pl. dependent form of *do-gheibh* (*IGT* iii, §22) is supported by the context and restores consonance. Cf. *SnaG*, Chapter IV, §7.20.

breith [a] bhuaidh The line is short a syllable. Addition of the poss. adj. 3 sg. masculine is supported by the lenition of *buaidh* and comparable examples from verse, e.g. *Ní fhéd énlaoch a n-am gleóidh / breith a bhuaidh d’áis ná d’aimhdheóin* (*LBránach* poem 48, ll. 4462–3); *Ní bu móide a mhídheithfir, / breith [a] bhuadha a mbeirn gaisgidh* (*LBránach* poem 67, ll. 6766–7) (reference from Pádraig Ó Mácháin).

23d *caor chruaidh chomhraig* A eulogistic metaphor referring to a weapon of battle, but also a crafted object apparently consisting of variegated colours, e.g. *tréde neimthigedar cerdai: fige ronn, caer comraic, plett for faebur* ‘Three things that constitute an artificer: weaving chains, a mosaic ball, an edge upon a blade’ (Meyer, *Triads*, §121), which is glossed: *Raed cruinn go ccomhtharrachtain d’iomat dath ann*’ (ibid., p. 39) ‘a globular object with converging lines of many colours in it’ (translation mine); cf. *DIL* s.v. *cáer*. Compare *in choer comraic i fhuilet .uiii. ndatha* (*Leabhar Breac*, 108b, l. 20) ‘the missile in which there are eight colours’. Used figuratively to extol Colum Cille: *in choer comraic rohecradh o thaillnibh ⁊ o danuibh ecsamla in Spirta Nóim* ‘the brand of battle set forth with the divers gifts of the Holy Ghost’ (*Lismore Lives*, ll. 737–8). The image may be introduced to praise the multifaceted personality and attributes of the patron (qq. 22–23). For some discussion see Introduction.

24c The line has a syllable too many. I have removed the emphasizing suffix *-sa* (MS *damhsa*).

24d *leanb* Emendation to *leanb* (*IGT* ii, §15) restores internal rhyme. Emphasis seems to be, as Damian McManus suggested to me, on the patron’s

adaptability, i.e. he can be childlike when among children (24d), regal when among kings (25d).

25c *beag do luighe do-ní ar naomhaibh* Lit. ‘small is the amount of swearing on [the] saints that he does’. The context indicates the verbal noun *luighe* ‘act of swearing’ rather than ‘lying’ (IGT iii, §74). The poet seems to be saying that, as the patron’s reign is prosperous, he rarely needs to seek the intercession of the saints for delivery from misfortune. I acknowledge Máire Ní Mhaonaigh’s suggestions on the sense of the quatrain.

rí Emendation of MS *rígh* to nom. sg. *rí* restores the syllable count and rhyme (internal).

26c *do-níd* The verb *do-ní* is taken in the sense ‘observes, performs’ (DIL s.v. *do-gní*, col. 289 (xi)). By observing the heavenly bodies, the learned seers of Barrymore discern the customary behaviour of the sun; that is, to shine indiscriminately upon high born and low born. The subsequent prose develops the theme.

[*is*] *a* The line is wanting a syllable. The conjunction *is* (for *agus*) has been supplied; cf. ABM 461. 26c (p. 648).

fátha The emendation of MS *fádh* to *fátha*, acc. pl. of *fáith* ‘seer, prophet’, restores internal rhyme with *gnátha*.

fire MS *fíora* has been emended to the gen. sg. of the noun *fire* (DIL s.v.), restoring consonance. The gen. sg. occurs commonly as an adjective (DIL s.v. *fire*, col. 149.76–8), and could be translated ‘true [seers]’.

Prose C

The laws of the sun, which shines on all without regard to status, serve as a model for the patron’s equitable, prosperous rule. I cannot identify a particular source of the passage, though references to the omens of heavenly bodies occur frequently in the tale *In Cath Catharda*, where soothsayers (*faithi*) are summoned to discern their meaning (CCath., ll. 848–52; 921–7, 1004–7). The tale was known to the poet (see Prose D, note). Prose C shows a particular concern with the rank of poets and entertainers (see notes below).

innte The 3 sg. fem. prep. pron. is taken to refer to *gnúis* ‘face’, though could refer to fem. sg. *grian* ‘sun’, personified in the passage.

is cearcall sgeimhealbhreágha MS *sgímheal-* has been taken to be *sgeimheal*. Compare *cearcall theineadh mun dteach / ‘n-a sgeimheal leathtrom luaimneach* (AithD. 3.18). For its use in a compound compare *co sgiathuib sgemelbrechtha* ‘edge-speckled’ (Fianaig. 72.4), cited in DIL s.v. *sceimel*.

Óir mar do-<gh>nídh The letters <gh> are not visible due to wearing on the margin of the manuscript, but non-Classical *do-ghnídh* is suggested by the subsequent parallel phrase *do-ghnídh sé réir ⁊ róthoil*.

toil an rí[o]gh ⁊ an ródhuine, an fhile[adh] ⁊ an ollamhan MS *righ* and *file* have been emended to Classical Irish gen. sg. *riogh* and *fhileadh* (IGT ii, §21). The use of nominative forms for genitive singular occurs commonly in later non-Classical prose; cf. *Parl. na mBan*, 243 s.v. *rí*; 219 s.v. *file*. Cf. also *-rí[o]gh* (29a). MS *ollamhuin* shows a similar confusion, where acc. sg. (or nom. pl.) *n*-stem *ollamhuin* is used for gen. sg. *ollamhan*.

óinsidhe I have taken MS *hóinnsuidhe* to be a later plural of *óinseach* ‘jongleur’ (IGT ii, §12), comparable to plural forms found in prose texts; cf. *SnaG* Chapter IV, 366 (§4.9). For later plural formations *-eadha*, *-aighe*, *-aí* see *Párl. na mBan*, 161. The pejorative sense of the modifying adjectives suggests a performer of low rank.

annraidhte MS *annráidhte* has been taken to be the plural of *ánradh*, *ánrath*, also *annradh*, *annrath* (IGT ii, §11 n. 1), a ‘poet of the second order’, which I translate loosely as ‘rhymers’. Compare *do scoil ollaimh nó ánrath* (: *dánboith*) (IGT ii, ex. 354), though its pairing with *ollamh* in the latter example indicates a poet of considerable status.

do-ghnídh sé réir ⁊ róthoil an chearrbhaigh mheisgeamhuil ... ⁊ na hóinsidhe úd maille ... ⁊ an <bháird> bhéilbhrisg, etc. The enumeration of poets of various ranks (*ollamh*, *anradh*, *bard*) and lower entertainers, i.e. *cearrbhach*, *óinseach* recalls a description of the different classes attracted to the house of Maol Mórdha Mac Suibhne in a *crosántacht* ascribed jointly to Tadhg mac Dáire and Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn; see Ó Macháin, ‘The poetry of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn’, 75–8. Compare a similar host of entertainers, e.g. *óinmhid*, *geócach*, *cearrbhach* (*Poems Butlers* 19.14–17). A prose passage in Ó Bruadair’s wedding *crosántacht* ‘Iomdha sgéimh ar chur na cluana’ contains a similar enumeration, though *ollamh*, *cearrbhach* and *óinseach* appear side by side in the account without any particular distinction; see M. Griffin-Wilson, *The Wedding Poems of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair*, 173–4, 218–19 (Prose E), 257 (notes on *ollamh*, *cearrbhach*, *geócach*). For a portrait of poems and lays *i mbéalaibh reacaireadh is ríogh-bhard* ‘chanted by [lit. ‘on the lips of’] reciters and royal-bards’ at a feast attended by nobles and rabble see *DDána* no. 111[Prose], pp. 383–4. Cf. Griffin-Wilson, *The Wedding Poems of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair*, 168–70. The topic of poets, bards and entertainers is being examined by Mícheál Hoynes in a forthcoming study.

saith A common later form of *saich* (*DIL* s.v.), influenced by and often in combination with *maith*, and designating one of low rank, e.g. *lán a maith* ‘s a *saith* dar seirc-ne’ (*DDána* 111.40c (*crosántacht*)). Lambert McKenna proposes a development of *saith* ‘olc’ (‘evil, bad’) > *íseall* ‘low’(?); cf. *DDána*, 599 s.v. *saith*. Cf. *Oraibh idir mhaith is saith, idir urradh is ard-fhlaith* ‘On you all noble and humble, chiefs and princes’, though *saith* is editorial in the latter example (*Content*. ii, 29.2ab, n.1).

dé féin Rhyming examples in Old, Middle and Classical Modern Irish support the long vowel of MS *dé* ‘from him’; see Liam Breatnach, ‘On words ending in a stressed vowel in Early Irish’, *Ériu* 53 (2003), 133–42, at 135. This example of *dé* in prose is of interest in light of a recent examination of the forms *dé/de* in Classical and Early Modern Irish, and the survival of *dé* (beside the more common *de*) in Late Modern Irish; see M. Hoynes, ‘On stressed monosyllables ending in a short vowel’, *Celtica* 28 (2016), 186–200, at 188–9, 196.

<*mha*><*ha*> The final phrase of the prose is only partially legible in A and missing in N. It is legible in T: *mhath=asé an toineach*. I tentatively read *mhatha* ‘noble’, taking it as dat. pl. (= acc. pl.) of the adjective *maith*

(*SnaG*, Chapter IV, §5.5). Acc. pl. *matha* is elsewhere supported by rhyme, e.g. *Ní aoraim-se acht mná matha* (: *fhilatha*); see O'Donovan, *The Tribes of Ireland*, 40, l. 9. This part of the text may be corrupt, however.

27 Quatrain 27 consists of two (rather than the usual four) lines in ATN. These two lines are missing in L, where they were probably omitted by the later scribe who regarded the quatrain as incomplete. Alliteration in the second line and the internal rhyme *mbear* : *gheal* conforms to the usual metrical pattern in lines *cd* of *Teallach*. I tentatively take them as representing lines *cd* here. This metrical pattern does occur occasionally in lines *ab*, however; see 12ab, 13ab, 14ab, 16ab. For what might be construed as line *b* (MS *asé an t-oineach*) see below.

27b <is é> *an t-oineach* This line is written in the MS as the final phrase of Prose C, but seems somewhat disconnected from what precedes. It is only partially visible in A and is omitted in N. The clearest reading is supplied by T, but the arrangement of the words at the margins of T (i.e. *math=asé* ...) adds to the uncertainty. The manuscript readings suggest that the scribes were confused by their exemplar.

I tentatively propose that line *a* (and perhaps some word(s) at the end of the prose) may have dropped out in the course of transmission, and take *is é an t-oineach* to be line *b* of quatrain 27, possibly misplaced in the manuscript: lit. 'he/it is the generosity', where *é* is taken to refer to the patron, extolled as a paradigm of munificence. I have not found other examples of *an t-oineach* used in the sense 'the generous one', though *is é an t-óglách* (37d) forms an interesting parallel. Metrically, l. 27b conforms to the usual four syllable structure of the short line. The final rhyme *oineach* : *groidheach* (lines *bd*) lends further support, and the rhyming pair occurs elsewhere (*IGT* ii, ex. 1059). The phrase could be an extension of the prose, however, with *oineach* (the final word of the prose) rhyming with *groidheach* (line *b*) of the two line quatrain as Gordon Ó Riain and Micheál Hoyne suggested to me. Such metrical links at the juncture of prose and verse in *crosántacht* have been noted by Alan Harrison, *An Chrosántacht* (Dublin, 1979), 26–7 (reference from Micheál Hoyne). The question of intermediate phrases linking prose and verse in *crosántacht*, audible in an oral performance, is being explored by Micheál Hoyne. Cf. also n. 11a above.

27d *don gheal ghroidheach* The substantive of the adjective *geal* is here applied to the patron, who is extolled as *groidheach* 'rich in horses' (*DIL* s.v. *graiagech*), an image of his wealth and generosity to poets. Compare *Leanfad feasda an geal ghroidheach / an tAodh áluinn Osraigheach* 'I will follow henceforth the fair one rich in horses: fair Aodh of Ossory' (T. Ó Donnchadha, *An Leabhar Muimhneach* (Dublin, 1942), 177, q. 198ab). Translation mine.

28b *'s é a-dearar* The line has a syllable too many. MS *asé* has been emended to the shortened form of the copula. I have taken the masculine singular pronoun as referring generally to the topic of the quatrain, i.e. the exemplary behaviour of the Barrys.

28a *breath* See note on *breath* (Prose A).

28c *moghadh* MS *moghaidh* has been emended to *moghadh* (IGT ii, §21), taken to be genitive plural, though genitive singular *moghadh* is also possible. Cf. *mac moghadh* (IGT ii, exx. 566, 790).

29a *airdrí[o]gh* The context suggests gen. sg. *-ríogh* (IGT ii, §21).

29b *ní dáil fhaoisimh* I have taken *dál* in the sense ‘dispensing, bestowing’ (DIL s.v. 4. *dál*). Lit. ‘it is not a dispensing of respite/ relief’, i.e. ‘it is a ceaseless / unrelieved bestowing [of hospitality]’, translated loosely here as ‘it is a demanding task’. The phrase *dál faoisimh* occurs elsewhere, e.g. *do lámh fan ccráoisigh na cearchuill / as dál fáoisimh d’ealchuing é* ‘relieves the *a.* of its weight’ (?) (IGT ii, ex. 876; cf. DIL s.v. *alchaing*). The message here seems to be that the chieftain has no respite from the obligation to provide hospitality to the highking and poet – an obligation set out in Prose C. The passage suggests the poet’s familiarity with earlier legal stipulations associated with the entertainment of the lord; see DIL s.v. *fáes(s)am* (c) ‘protection’, col. 15.62.

29c *a gcor tar an gcúis-sin* Translation tentative. MS *cur* has been emended to the variant *cor* (DIL s.v. *cor*), rhyming with *tol* (see n. 29d below). The verb *cuirid* is used with the prep. *tar* in the abstract sense ‘put past’ (DIL s.v. *tar* III. (e), col. 74.60–8), suggesting ‘to put them past that matter/obligation’, i.e. ‘to exempt them (i.e. the Barrys) from that matter’ (?). The Barrys (q. 28) follow the will of the chieftain, which is to maintain poets regardless of rank.

29d MS *toil* is emended to the masculine *u*-stem singular *tol* (IGT ii, §95), rhyming with *cor* (line c). Here *tol an taoisigh* ‘the will of the chieftain’ seems to refer to Dáibhídh de Barra’s desire that all be treated hospitably.

30a *toil* The notable repetition of *toil* / *tol* (28c, 29a, 29d, 30a, 30c) emphasises the chieftain’s obligation to provide hospitality not only to kings and poets (q. 29), but also to lower entertainers and fools (q. 30).

30ad *réir* The later meaning ‘hospitality’ and ‘maintenance of poets’ (DIL s.v. *riar* (d), col. 60) suits the context, but the earlier legal sense ‘stipulation, demand’ (DIL s.v. *riar* (b)) may also come into play.

théid toil Lit. ‘who goes the will’ (?), tentatively taken to mean ‘who heeds / responds to the will’ (?). Possibly relevant is the opposite sense of *téighim tar* ‘I neglect, I snub’ (O’Hara 7.22b; p. 383 n. 1350); cf. *Mairg théid tar toil a athar* (DDána 40.1a) ‘woe to whomever neglects the will of his father’.

30c The permitted variant *riaghal* (IGT ii, §§10, 37) restores consonance.

30d *riobhan* MS *rigbhean* has been emended to gen. pl. *riobhan*, which restores rhyme with *fíoradh*. See DIL s.v. *rig*.

31d Alliteration in *d* is wanting. I cannot propose a solution.

32a *an bhean shiubhail* MS *tsiubhail* must be read as *shiubhail* for linking alliteration between lines *ab*. Prefix *t* to *sh* is restricted in Classical Irish to *sh-sonnartha*, that is, when it follows the article directly, e.g. *an tshleagh ghorm* (nom. sg. fem.). It is clear from teachings in IGT i, §69, however, where usages such as *bean tsháor* are prohibited, that it was in use in the spoken language (Brian Ó Cuív, ‘The linguistic training of the mediaeval Irish poet’, *Celtica* 10 (1973), 114–40, at 124–5; *SnaG*, Chapter IV, §3.5). The prefix *t-* has similarly

spread to an *bhean tsiubhail*, where the prefix *t-* after *bean* mimics the prefix *t-* following the article *an*. For some discussion see Mac Cárthaigh, *The Art of Bardic Poetry*, p. 96, ll. 652–3; pp. 235–6 (n. 652–3).

32b *aisgidh* MS *aisge* has been emended to acc. sg. fem. *aisgidh* (IGT ii, §149) rhyming with *aisdir*.

32c *aithne an iosda[i]dh* MS *iosdagh* has been emended to *iosdaidh*, gen. sg. of *iosdadh* (IGT ii, §11 (p. 54.1)), which restores consonance. Lit. ‘to know the abode/ lodging’, where the sense seems to be that entertainers are well-satisfied and go on their way, without the need to linger within the host’s dwelling awaiting hospitality.

33c *ní fheadar cia dhiobh is díogha*: Lit. ‘I do not know who /which of them is worse’, very likely intended humorously, such ironic praise being common in *crosántacht*. The poet seems to be saying that the Barrys are so alike in their generosity that he cannot discern the worst among them. Compare the similar (though less witty) praise of a family: *ní haithne dhamh dhiobh díogha* (O’Reilly *Poems* 27.13a (l. 3161) ‘I know no refuse among them’.

33d *[n]daonda* MS *daonna* has been adjusted for rhyme; cf. *aonda* : *ndaonda* (DDána 61.14bd). Eoin Mac Cárthaigh points out (*The Art of Bardic Poetry*, 257 (n. 921–2)) that *dáonna* (< *dáondha*) is common and was presumably accepted as *canamhain*. The form *daonna* occurs in a *crosántacht* by Dáibhí Ó Bruadair; cf. *DIL* s.v. *doénda* (c); Griffin-Wilson, *The Wedding Poems of Dáibhí Ó Bruadair*, 316 [Prose A]. For its possible use as an abstract noun see *daonna*, n. 5d above.

34c *is fhearr* Editorial lenition following the relative of the copula (*as / is*) supplies alliteration in *c*. Such lenition is required according to bardic teaching (IGT i, §90; BST §199.11), though Ó hEódhúsa (*Rudimenta*, 2087–91) adds that it was a choice for the poet (*SnaG*, Chapter IV, §3.2 (g)).

[*io*]ná Emendation of MS *ná* to Classical Irish *ioná* supplies the missing syllable. Although *ná* in place of *ioná* is condemned in the Irish Grammatical Tracts (IGT v, §12), some examples are found in verse; see *SnaG*, Chapter IV, §5.8; cf. Gordon Ó Riain ‘Dán Réitigh le Conchobhar Ruadh Mac Con Midhe († 1481)’, in P. A. Breatnach, C. Breatnach, M. Ní Úrdail (eds), *Léann Lámhscríbhinní Lobháin* (Dublin, 2007), 54–75, at 71 n. 27c.

34bd *cridhe* MS *croidhe* has been emended to the permitted variant *cridhe* (IGT ii, §2 (39.20)).

dile I have emended MS *disle* to *dile*, comparative of the adj. *dil* ‘beloved’, against the evidence of the manuscripts. The rule that *-s-* be present in both rhyming words, is ignored here, but is observed elsewhere in the poem, e.g. *disle* : *tirse* (31bd); *aisgidh* : *aisdir* (32bd), and vowels in the stressed syllable do not agree in quantity. Rhyming examples in verse also support the emendation, e.g. *na mná is dile* (: *cridhe*) *ar domhan* (*Measgra Dánta* I, 16.10d); *ag so an Fear is dile* (: *chridhe*) *dhuibh* (*Dánta Grádha* 105.7cd).

35a *barr láimhe* Lit. ‘top of hand’, tentatively taken here to refer to ‘victory in combat’.

35c *ní fhagha* MS *bhfágha* has been emended to *fhagha*, 3 sg. dependent present subjunctive of *do-gheibhim / -faghbhaim* ‘gets, finds’. Examples of the

apparent ‘eclipsis’ following *ní* are late, and in Munster have been extended to the *fa*-forms of the verb, e.g. *ní bhfaghaim*, as noted by T. F. O’Rahilly (*Irish Dialects*, 45); cf. *ní bhfagha mé go dtí an brách* (*Dánta Grádha* 78.2d). In Classical Irish verse lenition is found, e.g. *ní fhagha tú a threabh Chaisil* (Lambert McKenna, *Dánta do chum Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh* (Dublin, 1919), 52.8c). See also *SnaG*, Chapter IV, §3.3. Terence McCaughey has revisited O’Rahilly’s study, focusing on the form *ní bhfuil* and arguing that an originally eclipsed form existed long before the fifteenth century and, together with the tendency to semi-vocalize *u*- (not only in Munster but elsewhere in Gaelic) exerted some force on the emergence of forms *ní bhfuair*, *ní bhfuighidh*, etc. See McCaughey, ‘Ní bhfuil’, in James Carney and David Greene (eds), *Celtic Studies: Essays in Memory of Angus Matheson 1912–1962* (London, 1968), 72–5 (reference from Ruairí Ó hUiginn).

a dhá n-uimhir uadha Consonance is restored by adjusting MS *uatha* to the permitted variant *uadha*, 3 pl. prep. pron. of *ó* ‘from’, referring to the Barrys (qq. 33–4). Lit. ‘their two numbers of them’. The lenition of *dá* following what I have taken to be the possessive adj. 3 pl. reflects Modern Irish usage, rather than the earlier system *a ndá uimhir*; cf. Osborn Bergin, ‘Varia II.’, *Ériu* 11 (1932), 146 (§11). One could restore nasalization following the 3 pl. poss. adjective, but both systems are found in Classical Irish verse (*SnaG*, Chapter IV, §8.3).

35d *ruirigh* MS *ruighrí* has been emended to *ruirigh*, nom. pl. of *ruireach* (*DIL* s.v. *ruirech*), rhyming with *uimhir* (line c).

riodha End-rhyme with *síodha* (35b) supports the emendation MS *riogdha* to the *io-ia* adjective *riodha* (*DIL* s.v. *rigda(e)*, *rida*). Compare *riodha* : *síodha* (*TD* i, 16.3cd).

36c *an t-oireacht*: MS *an doireacht* has been emended to masculine *an t-oireacht* (*IGT* ii, §24), referring to the assembly (of supporting nobles (*DIL* s.v. 1. *airecht*). See *oireacht*, note on q. 9c. The poet’s praise for their winning a ‘palm for deeds’ suggests a reference to persons of rank, and I fail to find examples of *doireacht* in bardic verse. See *DIL* s.v. *doirecht* = *doire* ‘bondage’ which gives only one late example from Ó Bruadair’s verse: *daoireacht meardhána na mac* (*DOB* ii, 136, q. 15c). The initial *d* might be a mistranscription of *t* following the definite article, perhaps influenced by *daor* ‘lowborn, serf’ in the final lines of Prose C.

37b *dreach* MS *dfeach* is taken to be a scribal error for *dreach* ‘face, countenance’, which supplies linking alliteration between *ab* and refers in a complimentary sense to the patron. Compare *Brian Mhac Donnchaidh dreach mar ghrís* (*Magauran* 2. 45a). The line-internal alliteration supplied by *d’fheac* would only occur in *b* in conjunction with internal rhyme between *ab*.

37c The line is short a syllable. I cannot propose a solution.

Prose D

The prose passage is not found in N, though N does include the quatrains which immediately follow the prose. The passage appears in all other manuscripts of the poem. The story of Antaeus is drawn from *In Cath Catharda* (*CCath.*, 220–9, ll. 2874–989), the Middle Irish adaptation of Lucan’s *Pharsalia*

(Book IV, ll. 586–660). This is a rare reference to Antaeus in Classical Irish verse, though other allusions to *In Cath Catharda* occur frequently in poems of the later bardic period, e.g. *dál an Chatha Chatharda* (TD i, 18.17d), *D'úabhar na n-airdríogh n-amhra / cuirthean an cath catharda* (O'Reilly *Poems* poem 25, ll. 2885–6); cf. Carney, *The Irish Bardic Poet*, 36. For a discussion of the episode and sources see Introduction.

Anteus mac Tíre Antaeus 'son of of the land', with a possible pun on Irish *mac tíre* 'wolf' (see note below). For a description of this warrior see *CCath.* ll. 2881–989. Elsewhere the name Antaeus appears as *Anteón* (Stern (ed.), 'Über eine Sammlung irischer Gedichte in Kopenhagen', *ZCP* 2 (1899), 361–5 (§36)), the form *Anteón* (*Antheon*) also occurring in French and English versions of the legend; see Quin (ed.), *Stair Ercuil*, p. xxvi (§23). 'Ainntius' is the form in the latter text (*Stair Ercuil*, 122–3), with 'Anntenon' occurring once (ibid., p. xxvi (§23), p. 50, l. 923), though not in the context of the Classical tale of Antaeus.

iolrachtach A slender medial *-r-* is elsewhere supported by rhyme, e.g. *ná i Ráith ilreachtaigh (: tirmleapthaigh) Eochuill* 'or in the many-shaped castle of Eochall' (TD 40.21). Cf. *DIL* s.v. *il* col. 61.28–34, where examples *ilreachtach* 'many-formed' (?); very-frenzied' are cited. The broad *-r-* suggests the influence of Mod. Ir. *racht*; see *DIL* s.v. *recht* 2 'a paroxysm, outburst (of anger, passion)', where examples suggest some confusion of *reacht* 'paroxysm' and *richt* m. 'form' (gs. / npl. *reachta*) (*IGT* ii, §71). Reference seems to be to the twisting paroxysm of Antaeus, comparable, perhaps, to the *riastrad* of Cú Chulainn: *Is and so cétríastartha im Choin Culaind co ndearna uathbásach n-ilrechtach n-ingantach n-anaíchnid de* 'the a great distortion came upon Cú Chulainn so that he became horrible, many-shaped, strange and unrecognizable'; see Cecile O'Rahilly (ed. and trans.), *Táin Bó Cúailnge: Recension 1* (Dublin, 1976), 68 (ll. 2245–6); cf. *DIL* s.v. 2. *rechtach*.

hAfraice The mark of length (MS *Áfraice*) has been removed, with the support of a primary manuscript (T). Cf. also *san tseanAfraig gainmhigh gil* (TD 1.19c), cited n. 3d above. Africa is the geographical setting of the legend of Antaeus (*CCath.* ll. 2872–3). The tale is narrated to the warrior Curio by a native inhabitant of Africa, who explains the origin of the name *Carrac Anteus* 'the Rock of Antaeus' (*CCath.* l. 2888).

mac Tíre Lit. 'son of the land'. Compare *Coraidh ingnad bai isin tir-si gan athair, gan mathair daenna occa ... Anteus mac Terrae a ainm* (*CCath.*, ll. 2893–95). A pun on Irish *mac tíre* 'wolf' (*DIL* s.v. *mac* III(a)) is likely, as Antaeus is depicted as a brutish, cave-dwelling strongman who feeds on wild animals (*CCath.*, ll. 2905–911). Cf. n. 38b below. For some discussion see Introduction.

dhuineata The formation *duineata* 'human' is censured as *lochtach* in the Irish Grammatical Tracts (*IGT* i, §95), though its use is acknowledged (*gē chumt[h]ur iad*); see Mac Cárthaigh, *The Art of Bardic Poetry*, p. 116 (ll. 921–2). Mac Cárthaigh (ibid., p. 257 (n. 921–2)) has noted the dearth of examples of *duineata* (and *duineadha*) in poems composed in *dán díreach*. I note an instance

of *duineata* in the opening line of one poem (*dán díreach / deibhidhe*): *Dreám dhuineata an dá Dhiarmaid / laoi che uaisle d'fuil fhírfhialbhoig*; it also recurs as a *dúradh*: *dar leamsa is dream dhuineata (: sreabha)*, with the latter rhyme suggesting *duineadha* (RIA 23 D 4 (5), fol. 348, ll. 10–11; 354, ll. 7–8). Cf. *ABM* 200.1a, 41d (pp. 262–4).

cleaslúithreacha The compound *cleas* ‘feat, trick’ + *lúithreach* ‘hinge, pivot’ is used figuratively to describe the contortions of Antaeus. See *DIL* s.v. *lúithrach*, where an example with slender medial consonants occurs in a poem by Dáibhídh Ó Bruadair: *lúithreach a lúbghort ar ndeagailt* (*DOB* i, 160.12). I have not found examples in bardic verse.

colgladarthacha ‘grasping of spear’ (?). The second element of the compound is taken to be an adjective formed from *ladar* ‘a scoop’ and also ‘the palm and fingers taken loosely’ (Dinneen s.v. *ladar*). Elsewhere with a lenited *-d-*, ‘fork or space between the fingers; grip, grasp’ (*DIL* s.v. *ladar*). Compare *Tuillidh sí ar lár a ladhra . gallgha ‘s as lán dí a derna* (*IGT* ii, ex. 967) ‘It fits into the middle of his grasp, a foreign spear which fills his palm.’

éachtmhóra There is no mark of length in the manuscripts, but *éacht* ‘slaying’ or ‘exploit, deed of valour’ (*DIL* s.v. *écht*) suits the context.

áithiosacha MS *aitiosacha* is tentatively taken to be *áitheasacha* ‘triumphant’ (*DIL* s.v. *áithesach*). Alternatively, *aithiseach* ‘abusive’ (*DIL* s.v. *aithisech*), e.g. *agus arís go bhfuilim / aithiseach tarsna im threabhadh* ‘that I am insolent, crooked in my ploughing’ (*Content* i, 16.4bc).

anbhāil MS *anbhail* is taken to be an adjective of vague meaning common in bardic verse in the sense ‘mighty’ or ‘terrible’ (*DIL* s.v. *anbáil*).

d’ionnsuighe Abbreviated in MS A as *dionc* (with a stroke over the *c*), but the reading is clear in T.

churantacht A by-form of *curatacht* ‘valour, bravery, warlike action’ (*DIL* s.v.). Cf. Dinneen, s.v. *curatacht, -ntacht*. An adjective *curanta* occurs in bardic verse: *Iarla garg curanta cródha* ‘A warlike earl, heroic and valorous’ (William J. Watson (ed.), *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*, Scottish Gaelic Texts Society 1 (Edinburgh 1937), 122 (14.34a). For exx. in prose see *curanta* ‘courageous, valiant’; Cecile O’Rahilly (ed.), *Trompa na bhFlaitheas* (Dublin, 1955), ll. 2324, 2360, *mörchuranta* 5210.

ó thadhall a mhátharbhunaidh .i. an talamh The phrase echoes the description of Antaeus in *In Cath Catharda* (*CCath*, ll. 2893–99, 2910–12), and in a fragment of *In Cath Catharda* in *Advocates* MS 72.1.46 (Gaelic MS XLVI), fol. 1r–fol. 1v. For some discussion, see Introduction. The Antaeus episode, with variations, is also found in *Stair Ercuil ocus a bás* (*Stair Ercuil*, 122), but is generally regarded as having been borrowed from *In Cath Catharda* (ibid., xxvi–xxvii (§§23–25); cf. Eric Poppe, ‘*Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás* – Rewriting Hercules in Ireland’, 61–3). The phrasing *tadhall a mat[h]ar bunaidh .i. in talmhan* (*CCath.*, l. 2912); *O no thaidhleadh a thaeb an talmhain ticcid a nert fein do... o mhathair bhunaidh .i. on talmain* (*CCath.*, ll. 2899) is not found in *Stair Ercuil*, which reads as follows: “‘Ca hainm in curaid sin?’” ar Ercuil. “‘Ainntius mac Terra .i. mac do geinedh asin talmain gan athair gan mathair collaidhi aigi acht in talam’” (“What is that

warrior's name"? said Hercules. "Antaeus son of Terra, a son born of the earth only, with no human mother or father."); see Quin, *Stair Ercuill*, 122, ll. 2380–3.

mhátharbhunaidh Lenition of *bhunaidh* indicates a compound consisting of *máthair* (in composition form *máthar*) + *bunaidh*. A rhyming example supports the reading, e.g. *Tír dúthaigh chláir chríchfhionn Mhonaídh / dháibh níor dhúthaigh mhátharbhunaidh* (DDána 89.6ab).

ina cholmhuin chóimhdhíreach The phrasing occurs elsewhere in *In Cath Catharda*, e.g. *na colamain coimhdírigh* 'upright' (CCath., l. 4201).

sloigheadh See DIL s.v. *slaidid*. Compare a similar hewing with a sword: *Tuc Trost d'Ílis co mbúaidh*. In *cloidhem día sloigte slúai* 'Tros gave to victorious Ilus the sword by which hosts were hewn down'; see Eoin MacNeill (ed. and trans.), *Duanaire Finn I: The book of the lays of Fionn*. ITS VII (London, 1908), poem xx, pp. 50, 155.

a bhuanleagadh I take this to mean 'his continual lowering down' (to touch the earth, his mother), alluding to the manner in which Antaeus yields to his adversary and falls to the earth, only to arise stronger.

a fhoghluídh MS *foghluídh* is nominative singular, though its pairing with nominative plural *escaruid* might support an emendation to nom. pl. *foghlaídhe* (IGT ii, §52).

nách ar barr Translation tentative. Lit. 'which is not upon top/ which is not profit', taken here to mean 'which does not benefit'. The general sense seems to be that whatever the enemies do to him, it works to the benefit of his repute for strength and liberality.

théid sin do-san Lit. 'which that goes to him' (?), i.e. 'which that imparts to him' (i.e. to Dáibhídh de Barra) (?). Demonstrative *sin* has been taken as the subject of the relative clause, referring back to *dá mhéid d'imreasain ná d'esaonta ...*

38a *a thabhairt uaidh* The form *uaidh*, 3sg. masc. of the prep. *ó* 'from', appears in all of the manuscripts and is supported by the syllable count. The transcription *uaidhe* (ABM 461.38a (p. 649) has been checked against the manuscript (T) and is an error. Lit. 'his giving from him', which I have taken to mean 'his yielding' or 'surrendering', alluding to Antaeus's frequent falling to the earth (and perhaps obliquely to the patron's 'surrendering' to the Crown).

38b *mhac Tíre* MS *mhaic* is a likely contamination from the following palatal *Tíre*. The patron is being compared to 'Antaeus mac Tíre', described in Prose D.

38c Consonance is lacking.

38cd The poet defends the patron's 'yielding' in battle against those who might defame him. One senses an oblique (and possibly satiric) allusion to the patron's submission to Queen Elizabeth I, to whom he remained loyal throughout the Nine Years' War. Dáibhídh de Barra's visits to Queen Elizabeth and her successor, King James, are noted in another bardic eulogy (undated) addressed to him; see DDána 87.18–21.

39a The line has a syllable too many. Emendation to the permitted masculine gen. sg. *an talmhan* (IGT ii, §19) restores the syllable count.

39c *ea[n]ghnamh* The proposed emendation of MS *eagnamh* to *ea[n]ghnamh* (IGT ii, 28) ‘valour, prowess’ is required to restore consonance with *boinnghéal* : *fhoighreadh*. T. F. O’Rahilly (‘Review of *Irisleabhar Muighe Nuadhad*, 1913’, *Gadelica* 1 (1912), 297–8, at 297 n. 1) distinguishes *eagnamh* from another word, *eagnamh* ‘wisdom’ and ‘generosity’. O’Rahilly notes that the meaning ‘skill at arms, valour’ is confined to *eagnamh*. Cf. *DIL* s.v. *engnam*. The poet elsewhere uses *eagnamh* ‘wisdom’; see *i n-e<agnomh>* (Prose D).

boinnghéal The epithet seems to refer to Antaeus, perhaps influenced by a description of slain foreign warriors: *bonnc[h]osa bana bardhae* ‘barbaric white-soles’ (*CCath.*, l. 6100), though a complimentary sense is common in bardic verse, e.g. *bhladasa bhonnabhán* ‘elegant and white-footed’ (*IBP* 17.13d); *fá a bhonn bairrghéal* ‘under his white foot’ (*IBP* 17.18c).

39d *uair a fhoighreadh* The form *uair* restores alliteration within the line Cf. *TD* i, 9.31b.

40c *hiongnadh* The line is wanting two syllables. Emending to *iongnadh* (IGT ii, §§178, 179) adds one syllable.

aga The permissible variant of the prep. pron. 3 sg. masc. *aige* (*BST* §193.35) has been supplied to give improved (but not perfect) consonance.

a cheacht: The line is wanting a syllable and alliteration is absent. I cannot improve upon the text and adhere to the manuscript reading. Classical Irish *aiceacht* (IGT ii, §24) would restore the syllable count and alliteration, but with a loss of internal rhyme.

40bd *troda* Rhyme between two identical words is not permitted in bardic verse (*BST* §217.1), and the rhyme *troda* : *troda* involves the gen. sg. of *truid* ‘fight, battle’ in both *b* and *d*. I cannot offer a solution. Elsewhere the metrical fault *caoiche* is avoided, e.g. *umhla* : *umhla* (7cd).

41a *Carthach* Carthach, an Eóganacht Chaisil king († 1045) and eponymous ancestor of the Mac Carthys. The allusion may be introduced as a compliment to the patron’s maternal kin, i.e. Ellen, daughter of Cormac ‘na haoine’ MacCarthy Reagh (Barry, ‘Barrymore’, *JCHAS* 6 (1900), 134). Following the death of Dáibhidh de Barra’s first wife, Ellen Roche, he is said to have married, Julia, second daughter of Cormac Mac Carthaigh of Muskerry (ibid., 201; Gibbs, *The Complete Peerage*, 442). Ellen Roche was still living in 1602; see *Irish Fiants*, iii, 583 (§6700).

41d *n-áithmhín* The imperfect rhyme *dtláithrigh* : *ndaithmhín* and absence of alliteration within line *d* suggests an instance of dittography. The proposed emendation to *n-áithmhín* ‘keen and courteous’ is supported by both rhyme and alliteration. For the use of the adjective *áith* ‘keen, sharp’ in compounds compare *tar tuinn anfaidh áithneartmhara* (: *tháirtheachtana*) (*DDána* 89.8bd).

41d *amhra* The emendation of MS *niamhdha* ‘brilliant, lustrous’ to *amhra* ‘wondrous’ is tentative, but the lapse in rhyme and absence of alliteration suggests that the text may be corrupt. It is possible, however, that the poet relaxes the rules for rhyme. Compare *tadhall* : *triallann* (43cd).

42c *gheilte* Consonance with *bhfuiltear* : *cluinn-tear* is imperfect, but compare *innte* (9c), consonating with *tuill-tear* : *roinnt-tear* (9bd). I have followed Gordon Ó Riain's suggestion that the manuscript reading might be a compound of *geal* 'bright' + *te* 'warm', although he notes that this does not solve the problem of consonance. A rhyming example refers similarly to the face, e.g. *cúis mo sheirce dod ghruadh ghlan / a sduadh gheilte nar gríosadh* (RIA 23 D 4 (5), 374, ll. 9–10); cf. *ABM* 377.1cd (p. 526).

43a *Críoch ... Barrach* The phrase echoes *críoch Bharrach* (1a), suggesting a *dúnadh*. See n. 43d below.

43b *síthe* The gen. sg. of fem. *ā*-stem *sídh*, *síth* 'fairy-mound' (*IGT* ii, §39), translated here in the general sense 'wondrous, delightful', could be taken to mean 'of the Otherworld (mansions)'; see *DIL* s.v. 1. *sídh*, *síth*. There is a likely pun on *sídh*, *síth* 'peace' (*IGT* ii, §38.6; *DIL* s.v. 2. *sídh*, *síth*). Both senses evoke an idealized state associated with *fírlaitheamhon*. For some discussion see Ó Cathasaigh, 'The semantics of *sídh*'.

43c Lit. 'It is the desire of every man of all those who journey [away] from it' [i.e. the land of the Barrys].

dá dtriallann uaithe Alliteration is lacking in *c*, and internal rhyme with *tadhall* is absent. I cannot offer a solution. The theme of longing for one's home is expressed elsewhere in bardic verse, e.g. *is buain áil lachan do linn / athadh ó ibh Táil téigim* (*IGT* ii, ex. 351) 'the period of time [in which] I go away from Íbh Tál is [like] depriving a brood of ducks of a pool' (translation mine).

43d *tadhall trithe* The verb *taidlid* (*IGT* iii, §52) can be used of 'visiting' or 'touching' or 'moving through' (*DIL* s.v. *do-aidlea*). Compare *Ní lamhaid tadhall trithe / tar a cladhaibh coigcríche* 'They dare not traverse her beyond her boundary dikes' (*TD* 13.11ab). A play on *tadhall* 'touch' recalls the manner in which Antaeus gains strength: *ó thadhall a mhátharbhunaidh .i. an talamh* (Prose D), phrasing drawn from *In Cath Catharda* (*CCath.*, l. 2912), as noted in the Introduction. As the anonymous peer-reviewer has pointed out to me, the *dúnadh* is supplied by *-the* of *trithe*, here with *Teallach* (1a).

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AithD</i>	Lambert McKenna (ed.), <i>Aithdioghluim Dána</i> , 2 vols, ITS 37, 40 (Dublin, 1939, 1940).
<i>Beatha Aodha Ruaidh</i>	Paul Walsh (ed.), <i>Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill as Leabhar Lughaidh Uí Chléirigh</i> , 2 vols, ITS 42, 45 (London, 1948, Dublin, 1957).
<i>BLCat.</i>	Standish Hayes O'Grady, <i>Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Library [formerly British Museum]</i> , vol. 1 (British Museum, 1926).
<i>BST</i>	Lambert McKenna (ed.), <i>Bardic Syntactical Tracts</i> (Dublin, 1944).
<i>Cal. Carew Manuscripts</i>	J. S. Brewer and William Bullen, <i>Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts Preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth</i> , 6 vols (London, 1867–73).

- Cal. SP Ire.* *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland of the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Records Office*, 7 vols (London, 1867–1912).
- CCath.* Whitley Stokes (ed.), ‘In Cath Catharda’, *Irische Texte* IV/2 (Leipzig, 1909).
- Companion* Liam Breatnach, *A Companion to the Corpus Iuris Hibernici*, Early Irish Law Series 5 (Dublin, 2005).
- Content.* Lambert McKenna (ed.), *Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh: The Contention of the Bards*, 2 vols, ITS 20, 21 (London, 1918).
- Dánta Grádha* T. F. O’Rahilly (ed.), *Dánta Grádha: An Anthology of Irish Love Poetry 1350–1750* (Dublin, 1926).
- DDána* Láimhbheartach Mac Cionnaith, *Dioghluim Dana* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1938).
- Dinneen* Rev. Patrick Dinneen, *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla. An Irish-English Dictionary* (Dublin, 1927).
- DMhéigUidhir* David Greene (ed.), *Duanaire Mhéig Uidhir: the Poem Book of Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir, Lord of Fermanagh 1566–1589* (Dublin, 1972).
- DOB* John C. Mac Erlean (ed.), *Duanaire Dháibhidh Uí Bhruadair*, 3 vols, ITS 11, 13, 18 (London, 1910, 1913, 1917).
- IBP* Osborn Bergin, *Irish Bardic Poetry* (Dublin, 1970).
- Ir. Syll. Poetry* Eleanor Knott, *An Introduction to Irish Syllabic Poetry of the Period 1200–1600*, second edition (Dublin, 1957).
- Irish Dialects* T. F. O’Rahilly, *Irish Dialects Past and Present* (Dublin, 1932).
- Lismore Lives* Whitley Stokes (ed.), *Lives of the Saints from the Book of Lismore* (Oxford, 1890).
- LBranch* Seán Mac Airt (ed.), *Leabhar Branch: The Book of the O’Byrnes* (Dublin, 1944).
- Magauran* Lambert McKenna (ed.), *The Book of Magauran* (Dublin, 1947).
- O’Hara* Lambert McKenna (ed.), *The Book of O’Hara: Leabhar Í Eadhra* (Dublin, 1951).
- O’Reilly Poems* James Carney (ed.), *Poems on the O’Reillys* (Dublin, 1950).
- Párl. na mBan* Brian Ó Cuív (ed.), *Párlíament na mBan* (Dublin, 1952).
- Poems Butlers* James Carney (ed.), *Poems on the Butlers of Ormond, Cahir, and Dunboyne A.D. 1400–1650* (Dublin, 1945).

- RIA Cat.* *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy* (Dublin, 1926–70).
- Stair Ercuil* Gordon Quin (ed.), *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás: The Life and Death of Hercules*, ITS 38 (Dublin, 1939).
- TD* Eleanor Knott, *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (1550–1591)*, 2 vols, ITS 22, 23 (London, 1922–6).
- Irish Fiants* *The Irish Fiants of the Tudor Sovereigns during the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Philip & Mary, and Elizabeth*, with a New Introduction by Kenneth Nicholls and Preface by Tomás G. Ó Canann, 4 vols (Dublin, 1994).
- Triads* Kuno Meyer, *The Triads of Ireland*, Todd Lecture Series 13 (Dublin, 1906).

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