Rug an bás báire an einigh: marbhna is caithréim a cumadh do Niall Conallach Ó Néill (†1544)

Emmet de Barra

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RUG AN BÁS BÁIRE AN EINIGH: MARBHNA IS CAITHRÉIM A CUMADH DO NIALL CONALLACH Ó NÉILL (†1544)*

Achoimre

Chum Seaán Mac Con Midhe an dán seo do Niall Conallach Ó Néill i ndiaidh bhás Néill in 1544. Tá an dán seo ina dhá chuid: marbhna agus caithréim. Baineann an marbhna le brón is cumha an fhile is muintir Néill i ndiaidh bhás Néill, agus lena bhfuil i ndán d'Éirinn anois. Déanann an file cur síos ar na daoine ar fad atá bailithe timpeall na huaighe chun Niall a chaoineadh. Rianaíonn an chaithréim cathanna is éachtaí Néill timpeall na tíre. Tá an dán seo i rannaíocht bheag, dán díreach, is tá go leor cuibhis bhreise ann (mar ornáid, de réir mar a thuigim) agus breacadh. Tá an dán in eagar anseo ón aon chóip neamhspleách amháin atá ar marthain, ARÉ LS 23 F 16 (2), lgh 73–5. Tá eagrán dioplómaitiúil den dán foilsithe cheana féin in *ABM* (403).

Niall Conallach Ó Néill

Is é Niall Conallach Ó Néill a mholtar sa dán seo. Ba dhuine de Shliocht Airt Óig ón Srath Bán é.[1] Mhair sé sa chéad leath den séú haois déag, is fuair sé bás in 1544 de réir na nAnnála. Ina nóta báis, deirtear linn gur *fear lán d'iúl agus d'aithne ar gach n-ealadhain* a bhí ann is go bhfuair sé bás de ghalar obann sa Seanchaisleán.[2] Ba mhac le hArt Óg mac Coinn Uí Néill é agus bhí sé ina thánaiste ag Conn Bacach mac Coinn, Ó Néill agus Céad-Iarla Thír Eoghain. Is beag trácht atá déanta air i staireagrafaíocht na tréimhse ach amháin go maireann a chlú mar athair Thoirdhealbhaigh Luinigh, a bhí ina cheann fine níos déanaí san aois sin. Duine de mhuintir Néill Thír Eoghain a bhí ann is bhí a athair ina cheann fine go dtí a bhás in 1519. Malartaíodh é lena athair Art Óg in 1511 ar theacht i gcumhacht d'Art Óg is tugadh Niall mar bhrá do Chlann Dálaigh is ceaptar gur ón dtréimhse a chaith sé leosan a tosaíodh ar 'Niall Conallach' a rá leis.

> Art Óg, mac Cuinn Uí Néill, do bhí i láimh ag Ó Domhnaill ag imtheacht dó, do ligean do Mhaghnus, mac Uí Dhomhnaill as

*Ba mhaith liom mo bhuíochas a ghabháil leis an Dr Mícheál Hoyne, Dr Eoghan Ó Raghallaigh, Dr Eoin Mac Cárthaigh, Dylan Byrans, eagarthóirí *Celtica* agus leis an léitheoir anaithid as a gcuid moltaí le barr feabhais a chur ar an alt seo. Mé féin faoi deara gach botún agus dearmad.

[1] Devlin (2018: 202, 213).

[2] *AFM* 1544.3. Tá an Seanchaisleán gar don Bhaile Nua i dTír Eoghain, McKay 2007: 118. Féach an méid ag Paul Walsh (1930: 70), 'Niall's stronghold was Baile an tSeanchaislein, where he died. […] The "old castle" referred to is marked "Shancasla" adjoining "Newton" on the baronial map of the year 1609, Maps of the Escheated Counties iii, I 5'.

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> a bhraighdeanas gan chead d'Ó Domhnaill agus a mac, eadhon, Niall Óg, do theacht 'na ionadh i ngill ré comhall.[3]

Is cosúil gur scaoileadh Niall saor in 1514 i ndiaidh catha idir Ó Domhnaill is Art Óg Ó Néill.[4] Leanadh den nasc idir an dá mhuintir, is bhí Niall pósta ar Rós, deirfiúr Mhaghnuis Uí Dhomhnaill, agus b'ise máthair Thoirdhealbhaigh Luinigh. Bhí ról gníomhach ag Niall i gcúrsaí míleata an chúige. Feicfear fianaise ar a chuid gníomhaíochtaí sa chaithréim thíos. Chomh maith leis sin, bhí Niall ina phátrún ar an lámhscríbhinn UCD-OFM LS A 8, ina bhfuil cóip de *Bheatha Cholaim Chille* a scríobh Eoghan Carrach Ó Siadhail dó, agus is dóigh go raibh sé ina phátrún ag na filí chomh maith.[5]

Luaitear deartháireacha éagsúla le Niall sna hannála. Mharaigh deartháir leis, Ruaidhrí, Conn mac Néill mhic Airt Uí Néill (an Fheadha) in 1528 agus, mar éiric air sin, crochadh beirt deartháireacha eile leis, Éinrí Balbh is Cormac.[6] Chroch Conn Bacach beirt deartháireacha eile leis, Domhnall agus Tuathal, in 1532.[7] Bhí ar a laghad triúr mac aige. Cailleadh mac amháin, Art, in 1513, i dTír Chonaill.[8] Fuair mac eile, Brian, bás le hadhairt in 1542 sa Seanchaisleán is luaitear an bheirt mhac sin i ndán do Thoirdhealbhach Luineach, mac eile leis.[9]

Feicfear crann ginealaigh Néill Chonallaigh Uí Néill ar lch. 362 síos.

File

Is é Seaán Mac Con Midhe a thugtar mar ainm an fhile san aon chóip amháin a mhaireann den dán. Níl aon eolas ar fáil ina thaobh seo, faraor, ach ní haon ionadh go mbeadh duine de chlann Chon Midhe ag cumadh dán díreach do dhuine de mhuintir Néill.[10]

[3] *AU* 1511.1, 'Art junior, son of Conn O'Neill, who was in custody with O'Domnaill at his departure, was let out by Maghnus, son of O'Domnaill, from his captivity, without leave from O'Domnaill and his [Art's] son, namely, Niall junior, went in his stead in pledge for fulfilment.'

[4] *AConn* 1514.13: *Cocad mor d'erghi itir O nDomnaill et O Nell & moran daoine d'fosdad doib gaca taebha, & a mbeith a fad a foslongport ar comoir a celi ac droichet Ardo Sratha, & cairdes Crist do denom re cheli doib iar sin et cartacha nuaa, maille re daingniugad na sencartac, do tabairt d'Ua Nell d'O Domnaill ar Cenel Moain & ar Inis Eogain & ar Feraib Manac, & O Domnaill do thidhnacal a meic d'O Nell do bi re fado roime sin a mbraighdenus ac O Domnaill.* 'Great war broke out between O Domnaill and O Neill. Both sides hired many men and they were a long time encamped opposite each other at the bridge of Ardstraw. In the end they established gossipry with each other and O Neill granted to O Domnaill new charters, with confirmation of the old charters, [recognising O Domnaill's lordship] over the Cenel Moain, Inishowen and Fermanagh, and O Domnaill gave up O Neill's son, whom he had held in captivity a long time previously, to O Neill.'

[5] Ó Suilleabháin (1976: 203–13); Walsh (1930: 71).

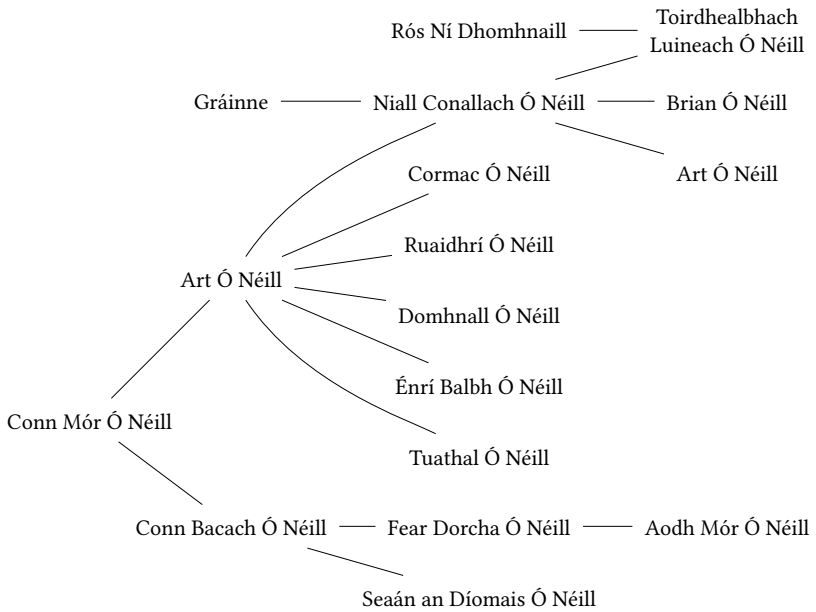
[6] *AU* 1528.5; *AConn* 1528.5.

[7] *ALC* 1532.4.

[8] *AFM* 1513.11.

[9] *Do thogh Éire fear faire*, *ABM* 194.26a.

[10] Ó Muraíle (2019: 1–23); Williams (1980: 2).



Crann ginealaigh Néill Chonallaigh Uí Néill

Ábhar an dáin

Tá an dán ina dhá chuid, marbhna (1–35) agus ansin caithréim (36–73). Sa mharbhna, baineann an file leas leanúnach as íomhánna na huaighe. Insítear dúinn nach n-oirfeadh gnáthuaigh do Niall (4) agus go bhfuil go leor daoine croíbhriste bailithe timpeall na huaighe. Tá na mná ag caoineadh timpeall na leice (16ab), is caitheann bean óg an lá cois uaighe (20c). Tá sé an-deacair faill a fháil ar an bhfeart (21). Fanann an file ina luí ar an uaigh, á téamh in éineacht le gach aonfhear (22). Tá náire ar na filí nach bhfuair siad an chéad seal ar an uaigh, ach bhí saighdiúirí ann rompu gléasta ina gcathéide (32). Tagann an dán seo go maith lena bhfuil pléite ag Katharine Simms agus Pádraig A. Breatnach i leith na bhfilí agus bhás a bpátrún.[11] Anois, agus Niall marbh, tá an nádúr imithe ar strae; tá sáile anois ar thalamh (26), is beag cnó atá anois ar fáil, is goideadh na húlla ó na crainn (28), is féidir le namhaid teacht i dtír ar Chúige Uladh go héasca (29) agus tá na gialla anois saor is ag triall abhaile (29).[12]

I ndiaidh an mharbhna, faightear an chaithréim, a rianaíonn éachtaí Néill is na creacha is na cathanna éagsúla inar ghlac sé páirt. Luaitear go leor ainmneacha is logainmneacha ann is gheofar cibé sonraí atá aimsithe agam sna nótaí. Tá na logainmneacha ar fáil mar aguisín den eagrán seo. Tagann an chaithréim seo lena bhfuil pléite ag Pádraig Ó Macháin faoi chaithréimeanna is marbhnaí a bheith cumtha mar phéire dánta, nó go mbeadh an chaithréim

[11] Simms (1989: 400–11); Breatnach (1997: 50–63).

[12] Féach an plé ag McManus (2006: 65–6) ar íomhánna an nádúir tar éis bhás an phátrúin.

mar aguisín le marbhna.[13] Tá dhá dhúnadh sa dán seo. Faightear dúnadh ar an marbhna sa dán seo i rann 35 *saoibhe* ***rug*** *bás an báire* sula leanann an file ar aghaidh ag tabhairt na caithréime. Faightear dúnadh arís le tús líne 1a ag deireadh an dáin uile i líne 73d (*urc*[*h*]***ra***), ag léiriú naisc idir an marbhna is an chaithréim.[14]

An Lámhscríbhinn

Tá an dán seo ar marthain in ARÉ LS 23 F 16 (2) (Leabhar Uí Ghadhra), a scríobhadh i lár an seachtú haois déag, ar leathanaigh 73–5. Chomh fada agus is eol dom, is sa lámhscríbhinn seo amháin a mhaireann cóip den dán seo. Tá cuntas scríofa ag Pádraig Ó Macháin ar an lámhscríbhinn seo. Scríobh an tAthair Nioclás nó Fearghal Dubh Ó Gadhra, sagart Agaistíneach, í. Theith an tAthair Nioclás ó Éirinn go dtí an Ísiltír ar theacht d'fhórsaí Chromail sna 1650idí is scríobh sé an lámhscríbhinn idir 1655 is 1659 is é ar an Mór-roinn.[15] Tá thart ar 203 'items of verse' ar fáil sa lámhscríbhinn, dánta is rannta imill san áireamh. Is dánta tuata den chuid is mó iad, le haird ar leith ar dhánta do theaghlaigh uaisle na hÉireann. Tá 22 dán do mhuintir Néill inti.[16] Is soiléir go maith atá lámh an scríobhaí, agus is sampla ar leith í an lámhscríbhinn seo den saothrú a bhí á dhéanamh ar an léann Gaelach a bhí ag dul ar aghaidh ar an mór-roinn le linn an seachtú haois déag.

Tógadh an lámhscríbhinn ar ais go hÉirinn nuair a ceapadh an tAthair Nioclás mar phrióir Bheannada i Sligeach. Choinnigh Muintir Ghadhra an lámhscríbhinn ina seilbh go dtí lár an ochtú haois déag, ag dul ó shealbhóir príobháideach go chéile go dtí gur cheannaigh Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann í sa naoú haois déag. Tá cóip den lámhscríbhinn seo, Egerton 111, i Leabharlann na Breataine.[17]

Meadaracht

Is í rannaíocht bheag, dán díreach, meadaracht an dáin seo. Tá neart cuibheas breise sa dán seo is tabharfar samplaí de thíos.

Cuibheas sa seoladh

Faightear cuibheas de shaghas éigin idir focail aiceanta *ab* (.i. an seoladh), ó amas go comhardadh slán i ngach aon rann den dán.[18] Faightear comhardadh slán (*searc* : *dteacht*, *reic* : *leic*, 16ab), comhardadh briste (*teas* : *meath*, 25ab),

[13] Ó Macháin (2010: 94).

[14] Faightear a leithéid seo de dhúnadh in *Rugadh dá chluiche ar Chloinn Suibhne* agus sa chaithréim a théann leis, *Mór re cuma caithréim deise*. Féach Ó Foghlú (1992: 52). Ar dhúnadh, féach Ní Dhomhnaill (1981).

[15] Ó Macháin (2013: 135–62).

[16] Ó Macháin (2013: 141).

[17] Ó Macháin (2013: 137–8).

[18] Féach an plé ag P. A. Breatnach (2017: 293–337) agus sampla eile de dhán le cuibheas breise in *ab* ag Ó Raghallaigh (2022).

uaithne shlán (*srotha* : *ndatha*, 27ab), uaithne bhriste (*Mhuine* : *thuireamh*, 54ab), amas (*éidir* : *bhrēig*, 56ab).

Comhardadh idir déanaigh a agus c, agus focal aiceanta in d
I rannta áirithe (~9%) faightear comhardadh slán idir déanaigh *a* agus *c* agus is ionann déanach *a* agus focal aiceanta i líne *d*. Comhlíonann na samplaí na riachtanais do bhreacadh fíre chomh maith.[19] Déantar plé níos cuimsithí ar bhreacadh thíos.

Nuair is ionann déanach *a* is aiceantach inmheánach in *d*

1 *einigh* : *deighfhir* : *einigh*
4 *dtroighibh* : *doiligh* : *dtroighibh*
43 *cumhadh* : *ndubhadh* : *cumhadh*
44 *dhoiligh* : *dhoighir* : *doiligh*
46 *doilghe* : *oirne* : *doilghe*
70 *fiadhain* : *Niallfhuil* : *fiadhain*

I rannta eile (~12%), déanann déanach *a* comhardadh slán le déanach *c* nuair nach ionann déanach *a* agus focal aiceanta in *d*. Tá a oiread de ann is gur dheacair gan glacadh leis gur d'aonghnó atá sé ag an bhfile.

Nuair nach ionann déanach *a* is aiceantach *d*

8 *a-nuraidh* : *Lughaidh* : *cumhain*
24 *Aoinfhear* : *chaoineadh* : *Gaoidheal*
33 *d*[*h*]*oiligh* : *n-oinigh* : *moidhidh*
51 *Tríocha* : *tríotha* : *críocha*
53 *faghlaibh* : *Chalbhaigh* : *damhraidh*
57 *fhalaidh* : *haghaidh* : *maraidh*
61 *ndeachadh* : *gcreachadh* : *Beathadh*
62 *adhnadh* : *adhnadh* : *fag*[*h*]*mhar*
66 *hadhnaidh* : *talm*[*h*]*ain* : *faghla*[*idh*]

Comhardadh breise eile
I rann 68, tá déanach *a* ag déanamh comhardaidh le déanaigh *b* agus *d* (*romh-aibh* : *chobhair* : *oraibh*), ach d'fhéadfaí seo a leasú go *reamhuibh* chun an comhardadh a sheachaint. In 62 tá *adhnadh* ag déanamh comhardaidh leis féin anseo. De ghnáth bheadh seo in aghaidh rialacha an dáin dhírigh ach tá seans ann gur cineál breacaidh atá sa chomhardadh *faghmhar* (: *adhnadh* : *adhnadh*). Faightear comhardadh breise idir an seoladh agus an comhad, mar shampla, i rann 26, *lán* : *sál* : *fál*. Ar an iomlán tá comhardadh breise ar fáil síos tríd an dán agus is léir go raibh an file á dhéanamh d'aon ghnó. Tá ceisteanna fós ann maidir le minicíocht na hórnáidíochta seo a réiteofar le tuilleadh taighde.

[19] Ó Máille (1973: §24).

Breacadh
Táim ag tuiscint 'breacadh' mar dhá fhocal aiceanta atá mar an gcéanna ag déanamh comhardadh slán leo féin agus le focal aiceanta eile sa rann. Tá neart samplaí de bhreacadh sa dán seo, mar shampla, *bás* : *cás* : *bás*, i rann 1. In éineacht leis an mbreacadh, faightear an locht ar a dtugtar 'caoiche' (*IGT* v §8), an dá fhocal chéanna ag déanamh comhardaidh lena chéile, mar shampla i 20cd, *lá* : *lá*. Agus an dán seo chomh hornáidithe agus maisithe ní dóigh liom gur 'botún' de chuid an fhile atá i gceist leis an gcaoiche anseo ach gur déanta d'aon ghnó í. Tá sé maíte ag Ní Dhomhnaill agus ag Ó Máille gur leigheas ar an gcaoiche é breacadh is nach gá go nglacfaidh na focail chaocha páirt sa bhreacadh.[20] Tá samplaí de chaoiche agus comhardadh breise idir an seoladh agus an comhad in aon rann ar fáil sa dán seo, mar shampla i rann 56, *gcreach* : *creach* agus *bhrēig* : *céim* : *c*[*h*]*éill*. Nílim cinnte an sásaíonn sé sin na rialacha i dtaobh caoiche mar a bhí ag na filí ach ní dhéanaim leasú ar an dtéacs chun an chaoiche a bhaint. B'fhéidir, leis, gur ag caitheamh le focail ar nós 'péirí macasamhla' a bhí an file is gur ceadaíodh é sin.[21] Mar shampla faightear *chuairt* : *c*[*u*]*airt* agus *chláir* : *chláir* i rann 39cd. Tá tuilleadh taighde le déanamh ar bhreacadh sa dán díreach is na rialacha a bhain leis agus in éagmais na taighde sin, cloím le leagan an dáin mar atá sé sa lámhscríbhinn i dtaobh cúrsaí meadarachta.

Teanga

Tagann teanga an dáin leis an gcaighdeán atá leagtha síos sna tráchtais ghramadaí ach amháin mar a phléitear thíos.

Athruithe Tosaigh
- Ní chuirim urú ar fáil ar chonsan lom ar lorg áinsíoch uatha ach, má tá sé ann sa lámhscríbhinn, fágaim ann é (m.sh. *ndoil*igh 1b.).
- Soláthraím séimhiú ar chuspóir briathair atá éagsúil leis an ainmneach agus a thagann díreach tar éis an bhriathair (.i. *focail asa dtéid a réim*), mar shampla i líne 19c (*d*[*h*]*eo*[*i*]*r*).[22]
- Séimhím focal ar lorg tabharthach uatha (mar shampla i líne 23d (*ag cuimhne c*[*h*]*óra*), ach amháin má chomhlíontar coinníollacha sléagair.[23]
- Tá urú calctha ar lorg foirmeacha de *síol* sa lámhscríbhinn. Coinním an t-urú ar lorg an ainmnigh ach bainim é ar lorg tuiseal eile, mar shampla i líne 11d, *trēidhe an tsíl Chuinn-se*.

Briathra
- **Dleasdar** – tá *dleasdar* (: *measdar*), briathar saor aimsir láithreach i rann 45. Tuigim é mar fhoirm de *dleasdain* (*IGT* iii §35). De réir na dtráchtas

[20] Ní Dhomhnaill (1975: §100); Ó Máille (1973: §9, 57).
[21] Ní Dhomhnaill (1975: §100 (v), (vi)).
[22] *SnaG* IV §4.4.
[23] Mac Cárthaigh (2015).

gramadaí ní cheadaítear foirmeacha in *dleas-* ach amháin sa mhodh coinníollach agus sa mhodh foshuiteach caite.

- **Beith/beath** – faightear *beith* agus *beath* sa lámhscríbhinn mar 3ú pearsa uatha modh foshuiteach caite den bhriathar *bí* ach is í an fhoirm *beath* an t-aon cheann le deimhniú meadarachta sa chomhad *mbeath* : *creach* (57cd). Cé go bhfuil *mbeith* ag déanamh comhardadh briste le ceilt (9ab), d'fhéadfaí é a athrú go *beath* is uaithne bhriste a sholáthar. Tá uaithne bhriste ann in 31ab *teacht* : *mbeith*, agus *amas* in 41ab eile : *mbeith*, ach d'fhéadfaí sin a leasú go *beath* gan an mheadaracht a shárú.[24]

Síneadh meánach

- In 24a tá *tarla* (: *fáidheadh*), á réalú mar *tarrla* le *á* le go mbeidh fad an ghuta níos cosúla le *fáidheadh*. Feictear seo arís in 65b le *cungnamh* (: *Rúta*) á réalú mar *cúnamh* amhail is go bhfuil sé ag déanamh comhardadh briste le *Rúta*.

Modh Eagarthóireachta

Ar ARÉ LS 23 F 16 (2) atá an t-eagrán thíos bunaithe. Os íseal, i dtéacs an eagráin, athraím an réamhfhocal *a n-* go *i n-*, an chopail ó *as* go *is*, agus an t-alt ó *in* go *an*. Athraím *cc* go *g*/*gc*, *tt* go *d*/*dt*. Athraím *nd* go *nn*. Tá *-i* neamhaiceanta ag deireadh focal athraithe agam go *-e*. Athraím *éu* go *éa*. Bainim síneadh fada de *eó*, *ía*, *úa*, *áo*. Déanaim normalú ar *gh*/*dh* agus ar *mh*/*bh*.

Scaoilim noda na lámhscríbhinne i gcló iodálach. Mé féin faoi deara poncaíocht, ceannlitreacha, suíomh na síntí fada taobh istigh de shiollaí agus scaradh na bhfocal. Úsáidim macrain chun síntí fada atá in easnamh ón lámhscríbhinn a chur ar fáil. Fágaim séimhiú ar thúslitreacha forainmneacha réamhfhoclacha má tá sé ar fáil sa lámhscríbhinn. Cuirim aon litir bhreise isteach idir lúibíní cearnacha. Bainim litreacha dúbailte neamhchlasaiceacha. Má tá aon athrú eile ann, beidh léamha lámhscríbhinne ag bun an leathanaigh. Sna léamha coinním léamh na lámhscríbhinne gan na hathruithe thuasluaite a chur i bhfeidhm.

[24]Féach an plé ag McManus (2024: 147) agus Mac Cárthaigh (2019: 92, nóta 33).

Téacs

1. Rug an bás b*áir*e an einigh;
do budh b*rái*ghe *ar* dháimh ndoil*igh*,
ní mó an cás dóigh an deighfh*ir*,
bás an einigh d'fhóir Oil*igh*.

2. Sgé[a]l is doil*igh* d'fhád Fhion*n*tain,
bás an oinigh i n-Ultaibh;
do bhuing a sé[a]n dar seabhcaibh
é[a]n d'ealtain an fhuinn Ultaigh.

3. Ē[a]nb[h]*ra*t rīogh muighe Meidhbhe
do snoigheadh dar síol Chuinn-ne,
ní hé a bhuing dhín*n* b*udh* doilghe,
roighne shíl Chuinn dā gcuimhne.

4. Dā dtí sē le sea*cht* dtroighibh
nī[o]r theach do mhéad a mhuirir;
Niall Óg – ní heacht nach doil*igh* –
ar shea*cht* dtroighibh d'fhód fhuinidh.

5. Beag más doilghe dí[o]th ēinfhir
g*an* chuimhne *ar* dhī[o]l do dheor*aibh*,
an chliar do-chluin dā sgé[a]l*aibh*
déanaimh siar t*ar* fhuil Eogh*ain*.

Aistriúchán

1. Death has defeated honour; the way the great man, who was hostage to difficult poets, is [dead] is tantamount to the death of honour among the host of Oileach.

2. The death of honour in Ulster is a difficult story for Ireland; a bird of the flock of Ulster has deprived our hawks of their prosperity.

3. Losing the one cloak of the kings of Ireland which was wrought for our seed of Conn is not what is most difficult for us but remembering the best of the seed of Conn.

4. If Niall Óg fits into a [regular] seven-foot grave, it would not be a [big enough] house for the size of his retinue; Niall being in seven feet of Ireland's land makes this a difficult time.

5. The loss of one man is hardly more difficult than going back over [all] the blood of Eoghan, not to mention all the tears shed by the poets who have heard stories of their exploits.

Léamha lámhscríbhinne

1b. do bó; 1c. dóip; 2b. ulltaibh; 2d. ullth*aigh*; 3b. ccu*inn*e; 3d. ccuin*n*; 4c. hé*acht*

6. Gan chuairt chléire um chlár nOil*igh*
– n*ár* a*n* céim-sin dá chumhaidh –
bídh a chu*air*t féin ag fil*idh*
cu*air*t chinidh Nēill a-nur*aidh.*

7. Ulaidh do chuir fā chánaidh;
a gcumha nī[o]r chuid mhaoidhimh,
súil do chaoi idir chrú Eog[h]*ain*
do bhaoi *ar* dheor*aidh* clū chaoinidh.

8. Cách ag reic Nēill a-nur*aidh*
leis eidir chléir is choraidh;
'na tost is f[h]earr leac Lug*haidh*
cumhain leam gur reac roghain.

9. Dā mbeith – ní n*ār* don Niallfhuil –
ceilt ré ndáimh *ar* a ndeor*aidh,*
go dáil ch*ru*idh fā ól d'aoidh*idh*
b*rō*n faoil*idh* ar fhuil Eogh*ain.*

10. Do shaoil Niall uadh nárbh anta
a-tuaidh 'na dhiaidh nī[o]r dhulta;
do-ch*uaidh*, is nī *ar* ceann t*eacht*a,
ceann ea*cht*ra uaibh, a Ulta.

6. Without the visitation of a poet-band about the land of Ulster; an [individual] poet will [now] have his own circuit – a sad (?) step in grieving him - circuiting the people of Niall of yester-year (i.e. visiting graves).

7. It has oppressed Ulstermen; their sadness would be no reason for boasting; [many] an eye has wept among Eoghan's descendants; a poet has gained a reputation for crying.

8. Everyone was celebrating Niall last year; both poets and fighting-men were with him; the stone of Lughaidh is best silent; I remember [when] it [Tara] proclaimed a choice [king].

9. If Eoghan's bloodline, no shame to them, could hide their tears from poets until they are bestowing cattle on guests over drinks, they would have a happier sadness.

10. Niall thought that he should not stay away from it; it was not possible to go from the north after that; he went, with no prospect of returning; you have lost an expedition leader, o Ulstermen.

6c. féain; 8d. cum*aidh*; 9b. ndháimh; 10c. ceand

11. Ceard mholta fā m[h]ac G*rā*inne:
gol *ar* nach gabhthar saoire;
clú a dtuirse ōn tír go [a] chéile
t*rē*idhe an tsíl Chuinn-se caoine.

12. Tug an uaig[h] do mhnaoi an mhallghuil;
ní uair sí a-muigh n*ār* m[h]eabhr*aigh*
cóir do bhí a huain ag i*nghin*
u*air* d*ār* imdhigh sí an seanmhuir.

13. Srian toirse leo nī[o]r leigeadh
seol a loingse gur leagadh;
dob f[h]e*arr* don chléir a chogadh
cog*ur* Néill leam nī leagar.

14. Lá don chléir – doil*igh* ndíola –
téid fol*amh* – ní fáth rúna –
rug cliar do-chóidh fā é[a]ra
sgé[a]la *ar* mb*ró*in fā fhiadh Úna.

15. Brón fós ag n*ach* fuil deir*eadh*,
brón a-muigh is mór seanadh;
do-bhé[a]ra a sheal d'f[h]óir Ul*adh*
dub*hadh* b*ró*in n*ach* geabh geal*adh.*

11. Praising Gráinne's son is [like] a trade, one of unceasing lamentation; the sound of their sorrow [is to be heard] from one country to another; lamentation is the [defining] characteristic of Conn's progeny.

12. Give the grave to the woman of the slow-lament; she did not find abroad anything that she did not recall and reflect upon; it is right that a young woman should have her opportunity in which she travelled the old sea.

13. They did not permit their sorrow to be restricted until the sail[s] of his fleet were lowered; his warring was better for the poets; I do not stray from Niall's counsel.

14. One day for the poets who are hard to pay, they go emptyhanded – it is well known – poets who had been refused brought the news of our sorrow about Ireland.

15. A sorrow still that has no end, a sorrow shared by multitudes; it will bring a time of unrelieved darkness for the host of Ulster.

11b. gola; 11d. thsíl, ccuin*n*si; 12b. fhú*air*; 12d. imghidh; 13a. tuirrsi; 13b. luingsi; 15a. bhfuil

16. A shearc dā reic ag rīog[h]*ain*
ar dt*eacht ar* an leic línigh;
a caoi féin is dā fiadhain
liam[h]*ain* Nēill *ar* mhnaoi mhíl*idh.*

17. Craoithe do chuir fām chumhaidh
cur do m[h]aoithe do mheabh*air*;
guala a rī[o]gh féin ag fil*idh,*
dlig[h]*idh* dhí[o]m d[h]éir 'na d[h]eagh*aidh.*

18. Tig sí[o]dh *ar* th'fhéin dā hathch*ar*
fa-ríor n*ach* réidh do-gheibhthear;
gidh é an síodh féin ní fuighthear
cuirthe*ar* síol Néill i neimhchean.

19. Ar dte*acht* Ul*adh* g*an* i*arr*aidh,
an f*ear*t ag dula i ndaoinibh;
fu*air ar* th'f*hear*t d[h]eo[i]r dom dhē[a]r*aibh*
d*ear*c ag déana[i]mh eoil d'aoidh*idh.*

20. Dā dtréigeadh tocht ar th'fhog[h]l*aidh*
toil ag féinidh dā fuighl*ibh;*
cait[h]tear lá *ar* [t]h'uaigh le hi*nghin*
lá ar iml*ibh* cuain do chuimhn*igh.*

16. A queen declares [her] love for him when she comes to the engraved grave slab (?), weeping for herself and for her companion – the allegation of [having loved] Niall against a soldier's wife.

17. Bringing sadness over you to mind has shod [i.e. increased] my sorrow; a poet has the shoulder of his own king; he is entitled to a tear from me in his wake.

18. Peace is being reimposed upon your warrior band; unfortunately, it is not attained smoothly; indeed, true peace is not attained; the seed of Niall are put in low esteem.

19. At the coming of the Ulstermen without being invited (?), the graveside is becoming crowded; an eye giving guidance to guests has found one of my tears on your grave.

20. A day is spent at your grave by a young woman, remembering a day about a harbour shore; were grief to abandon your soldier[s], soldier[s] would [still] have interest in her words [of lamentation].

16b. línidh; 16c. feain; 18b. do geiphtear; 20a. treigh*eadh*, t*acht*; 20b féinn*idh*

21. A mh[e]ic *Air*t n*ār* thuill toibhēim
gan roin*n* dot' fhe*ar*t nī aráil;
beag mór fān uaigh ar n-anóir
sódh anshóidh a huain d'fhag[h]āil.

22. Ō t'f[h]eart nī aghaim fu*ar*adh
anaim ar th'fhe*ar*t gá thēaghadh;
bím *ar* [t]h'uaigh leis g*ach* n-aoinfhear
ar sgaoil*eadh* uaidh [im'] ē[a]nar.

23. Beag a ndíol riamh do*n* rádha
líon gliadh ar th'fhe*ar*t go hón*n*a;
duilghe i[o]nā an síodh *ar* sé[a]na
sīol Ē[a]nna ag cuimhne c[h]óra.

24. M*ar* sin t*ar*la d'*Ar*t Aoinfhe*ar*
breath na bhfáidheadh ní[o]r fíoradh;
saobh an lá linn dod' chaoineadh
lā Gaoidheal rinn fād rīoghadh.

25. Goil gan teas ar a dteintibh
ag meath an oirir Ultaigh;
do roinn sí re fiadh Fionntain
grian n*ach* fionntair í i nUlt*aibh.*

21. O son of Art who earned no reproach, it is impossible to get near your grave; [because] the great and small are around your grave after [receiving] honour, it is a discomfiting comfort to get near it.

22. Your grave does not make me cold; I stay on your grave heating it; I am on your grave with every other man, and yet separated from him, all alone.

23. A battle complement to whom words never meant much attend your grave timidly; remembering [a time of] justice is harder for the seed of Éanna than peace being denied.

24. That is what happened to Art Aoinfhear: the prediction of the prophets did not come to pass; it is unwise for us to spend the day mourning you when the Gaels oppose us concerning your kingship.

25. Smoke without heat upon their fires is wasting the land of Ulster; a sun that is not found in Ulster has shared [her bounty] with the [rest of] land of Ireland.

21b. furail; 22a. fhaighaim; 22d. bim *roimh* ar; 23c. doilghe; 24c. dot; 25a. ttein*n*tibh; 25b. ulltaigh; 25c. fionntáin; 25d. bhfion*ntair*, ullt*aibh*

26. Gach s*ru*th lán i n-iath Oil*igh*
'na th*rā*igh fā Niall a-nur*aidh*;
tig sál dā thaoibh um theal*aigh*
geabh*air* fál b*ra*oin ag brugh*aidh*.

27. Srotha doimhne i ndeoidh c[h]eatha
ní hoircheas g*an* deoir ndatha;
cr*éad* dob áil d'ísle a ngotha
srotha an chl*āir* m[h]ín-se Mhacha?

28. Tír fhag[h]l*adh* uair a hitche
do-ch*uaidh* fār n-abhl*aibh* aibche;
doilghe fá d[h]ó na heitne
teirce cnó um oighre *ar* nAirt-ne.

29. Turb[h]*adh* cean i gcionn Ul*adh,*
gach sreabh os cionn a comhadh,
tig sreabh i dtír le t*aradh*,
cal*adh* sídh na bhfear bhfol*adh.*

30. Gēill B[h]anbha ag triall dā dtig[h]*ibh*
srian faghla re féin Oil*igh*;
sgaoiltir cóig gēill a geimhil
le deim*hin* Nēill Óig d'oighidh.

26. Every stream [now] full in the land of Oileach was low under Niall last year; [this year], because of him dying, saltwater surrounds a hilltop, [and] a farmer finds a dripping hedgerow.

27. It is not fitting that deep streams after a shower be without colourful tears; why would the streams of this smooth plain of Macha be quiet?

28. A plunderers' land has received her request – they have gone around [i.e. stolen] our ripe apple trees; twice as hard is [the loss of] the kernels, there is a scarcity of nuts over the heir of our Art.

29. A cessation of triumphs awaits Ulstermen; every stream is breaking its banks; a stream comes into the land with produce, [we have become] a safe haven for enemies.

30. The hostages of Ireland are making their way home; a check on fighting restricts the warriors of Oileach; five hostages are released from fetters upon confirmation of Niall Óg's tragic death.

28a. fuair; 28b. aipche; 29b. copadh; 30d. lé

31. Tea*cht* a-rís dóibh is deir*eadh*
dā mbeith brígh 'sa[n] bhróin chur*adh*
má tā an uaigh go fōill fal*amh*,
ní sg*aradh* Luain d'f[h]ōir Ul*adh.*

32. Náir le dáimh na gcōig gcóig*eadh*
n*ach* dáibh do-cháidh an céidsheal;
líon gleo fān uaigh 'na n-éid*eadh*
éigean uain leo do lēigea*n.*

33. Do bhean dé[a]ra a dāimh d[h]oil*igh*;
na dé[a]ra do dháil dlighidh;
do luadh t*ar*la *ar* fhear n-oinigh
moidhidh s*r*eabh abhra *ar* fhil*idh.*

34. Tug Niall – ag sin a*n* saog[h]*al*
an chlia*r* soirin ag seoladh;
ciall cháigh i Niall do nuaghul;
sluaghadh si*ar* ag dái*mh* d[h]eor*adh.*

35. Do sgaoil glas Bhragha Bóin*n*e
gan mh*ar*thain do m[h]*a*c G*r*áin*n*e;
giodh saobh tug cás *ar* gcaoine
saoibhe rug bás an b*āire.*

31. The outcome is that, if there is any life left in the company of warriors, they will come again [to the grave]; if the grave is unattended for now, it is not a separation until Doomsday for the band of Ulster.

32. The poets of the five provinces consider it shameful that they did not get the first turn [at the grave]; it is necessary to give precedence at the grave-side to the armoured battle-host.

33. [His death] has squeezed tears from sorrowful poets; the crying of tears is proper; a stream bursts from the eyes of a poet at the mention of a man of honour.

34. Niall['s death] – such is life – has sent poets wandering [both] east [and west]; this is a cause for everyone to mourn Niall anew; wandering poets make a westward hosting.

35. The death of Gráinne's son has unlocked Brugh na Bóinne [Ireland]; however underhandedly death has caused our sorrow, it winning the game is even more unjust.

31b. mb*r*óin; 33d. moighidh, fhabh*ra*; 34d. shluaghadh; 35c. gé sáoph; 35d. sáoiphe
I ndiaidh an rainn: rucc. an . bás . b*aire* an einigh

36. Ōn t*rē*id-sin is t*earc* minchéim
t[e]*acht* t*ar* chéimibh an c[h]athshlóigh
fada si*ar* ō fhrēimh raithNēill
caithréim Nēill n*ār* i*arr* athchóir.

37. Ní tosach dhūin*n* nach doil*igh*
tús do chontas dā chean*aibh*
dā dtī a ríomh riom ōn chumhaidh
cum[h]*ain* liom g*ur* díom dleagh*air.*

38. Go Ráith C*ru*achan – cúis diomdha –
do chuartaigh cú na hEamhna;
do sgaoil uaidhe a ord faghla;
t*ar*la *ar* bhord Muaidhe a m[h]eanma.

39. Do léig sirthe go Sionain*n*
n*ār* fill*eadh* go fréimh gConuill;
dob fhada ó chu*air*t chl*áir* Geanainn
c[u]airt sheanfhuin*n* chl*áir* an Choruin*n.*

40. Baile Í Cho[i]til – céim foghla[idh] –
téid an toir-sin go talm[h]*ain*;
lorg a chreach t*ar* Muaidh maighr*igh*
creach ō Laighn*ibh* uair amhl*aidh.*

36. [When] discussing the moves of the battle-host, minor deeds are few from that flock; the battle roll of Niall who sought no right additional [to his hereditary rights], has a lengthy history from the roots of prosperous Niall [Frasach].

37. It is difficult to begin to give an account of his triumphs; [even] if it pains me to reckon them because of my grief, I have not forgotten that I am the one whose duty this is.

38. The hound of Eamhain circuited as far as Rathcroghan earning [himself] hostility; he issued his plundering order[s, and] his spirits were high on the banks of the Moy.

39. He sent search-parties as far as the Shannon that were not turned back until they reached Conall's descendants; the circuiting of Dungannon was far from circuiting the old plain of Kesh Corann.

40. Cottlestown – a plunderer's step – that tower is brought down; the track of his plunders goes past the salmon-plentiful Moy, he likewise took plunder from Leinstermen.

37b. chondún *in áit* chontas; 38a. cuir; 38d. muaighe; 40c. lórg, chréach; 40d. fúair

41. Lá eile i nInis Sgreabhainn,
a bhris*eadh* dā mbeith oruin*n*,
sgaoil*eadh* t'fhian uaid dā gceilin*n*,
do-gheibhin*n* thi*ar* ruaig romhu*inn*.

42. Cluain chruidh do chlan*n*aibh Eog[h]*ain*
ar Ghall*aibh* do chuir c[h]ánaidh;
sirthe Nēill fā Bhóin*n* mbr*aon*a*igh*
glóir s[h]aog[h]*ail* í Néill nár*aigh*.

43. Losgadh Teamhra – is tuar cumh*adh* –
an gealbhrugh 'na ghual thein*eadh;*
Baile Sláine dhó *ar* ndubh*adh*
ró cumhadh dāimhe a d[h]eireadh.

44. Baile Fhir Dhiadh gér dhoil*igh*
tig 'na smál diadh 'na d[h]eagh*aidh* –
tug Niall fā dhó 'na dhoighir;
doil*igh* ri*ar* dó re ndeabh*aidh*.

45. Baile Agairt leo loisg[th]ear
a n-agairt giodh mór measdar;
fá Dhún Léire do losg*adh*,
brosdadh déire dún*n* dleasdar.

41. Another day in Inishcrone, even if the battle went against us [or] if I were to leave out the unleashing of your companies by you, I [still] used to find a rout before us in the west.

42. He put a tax of a meadow of cows for the children of Eoghan on foreigners; Niall's expeditions about the wet Boyne were the worldly glory of this descendant of noble Niall.

43. The burning of Tara – an omen of heartbreak – the bright palace blackened by fire, Slane burnt by him: it ended with an excess of sorrow for poets.

44. Though it was difficult, Niall burned Ardee twice, leaving it a burnt shell in his wake; it was hard to satisfy him when he was facing battle.

45. Haggardstown is burned by them, although their petitioning about Dunleer being burned is considered significant; a stirring up of a tear is due from us.

44a. baile átha fhir dhiadh; 45a. agaird; 45b. gé *in áit* giodh

46. Fir Mhanach dháibh ní doilghe
lá na gcartach do chuimhne;
mór le a gc*re*ich a gcóir oirne
doilghe dóibh bheith g*an* b[h]*ru*ighne.

47. Taobh si*ar* do Loch lá eile,
Niall ag cur cháich fā oire;
Sliabh Dhá Chon a cheann uidhe,
Glean*n* Buidhe g*an* c[h]*ro*dh gcoire.

48. Áth Camais *ar* Cl*oinn* nDál*aigh*
do b[h]l*ogh*ais gérb[h] fháth uamh*ain*;
ní frī[o]th libh glais dā ngiall*aibh*;
fiadhain sin *ar* ais uadh*aibh*.

49. Māg Aong[h]usa uair d'onóir
d'aontach*adh* uaidh a ghabháil;
ní[o]r chlea*cht* sé a thuar do thoibhéim
g*ur* roiréidh uadh é d'fhagháil.

50. Bris*eadh* Albanach d'*áir*imh
t*ar*gam*ur* d'fhine Eoghain;
buain B[h]riain díobh t*ar* a ndaoinibh
sgaoil*idh* c[h]iaigh díom fā dheor*aibh*.

46. It is not difficult for the Fermanagh men to remember the day of the charters; great their claim against us on account of [our] plundering of them [and] it was more difficult for them to be without buildings.

47. Another day, west of Lough [Erne], Niall burdened all; Dog Big and Dog Little, Fermanagh [were] his destination; Glenboy [was left] without meat for their pots.

48. You broke Clann Dálaigh (The Uí Dhomhnaill) at Camus, though it was a reason for terror; you did not have [enough] fetters for [all] their hostages; that is testimony coming back from them.

49. Mág Aonghusa had the honour of agreeing to his taking; he did not suffer as much misfortune as he predicted – he got very generous terms.

50. We allowed the kindred of Eoghan to count [i.e. take credit for] the breaking of the Scots; the taking of Brian from them despite their men lightens my sorrow and tears.

46c. :re: le; 46d. beaith; 47b. oirne; 47c. slíaph, cheand; 49a. fú*air*; 49d. dfhágh*áil*; 50a. d*áir*eamh

51. Tu*ar* bróin bris*eadh* an T*rí*ocha;
tóir le til*eadh* gach iatha
tiocfa diomdha ō thuaidh t*rí*otha;
iomdha c*rí*ocha ō bhfu*air* fiacha.

52. Téid sin fā fhe*ar*aibh Ultach
b*ris*eadh Bhealaigh na mBracthach;
téid fā b[h]uaibh cháigh go cogthach;
doc*ra*ch fu*air* c*áir* a chartach.

53. Lá na Finne – is dá faghlaibh –
bristear an t-áth le a ealb[h]*aibh*;
nī[o]r an ó fhéin an Chalb[h]*aigh*
damhr*aidh* Nēill g*ur* bhlagh b[h]earnaidh.

54. Creach Mhuine Mhóir do mheabh*air*
a thuireamh fá dhó is duiligh;
m*ur* sin do Ghlean*n* Con Cadhain;
Ceann Maghair a ch*r*odh cuir*idh*.

55. Ceann Tighearnáin do thuirimh
be*ar*n arbh ioniom*rá*idh t'fhead[h]ain;
t*ar*la clú ón fheidhm oraibh
blogh*aidh* tú B[h]eirn an Bheal*aigh*.

51. The breaking of Trough evokes sorrow; [he had] a host to occupy every land; hostility will come north[wards] through them; many are the lands from which he got payments.

52. The sacking of Bealach na mBracthach undermines the men of Ulster; he goes about the cattle of everyone in a warlike manner; he won the right of his charter the hard way.

53. At the battle of the river Finn – it is one of the days she was plundered – the ford is taken by his troops; Niall's retinue did not relent from the warriors of an Calbhach until they opened a gap.

54. Remembering the plunder of Moneymore twice is difficult [i.e. causes us sorrow]; likewise, Glenconkeyne; Kinnaweer is relieved of its cattle.

55. To recall Ceann Tighearnáin – a [battle] gap in which your army distinguished itself; you earned fame in that engagement, you smash[ed] Barnewall (?).

53a. fhagl*aibh*; 53b. lé; 53c. fhan; 53d. bladh; 54b. doil*igh*; 54c. an *in áit* Con, chadhain; 54d. mhagh*air*; 55a. tin*n*eagáin, thuireamh; 55b. orbh; 55d. blodh*aidh*

56. Slio*cht Air*t nī[o]rbh éidir d'áirimh
gan bhrēig *ar* bhean dā ndaoinibh;
ríomh a gcreach nī céim ēinfhir,
creach do rēidh*igh* c[h]éill gcaoinidh.

57. Síol gCatháin uaidh fā fhalaidh
Ó Catháin uair a oidhidh;
dā mbeath orra re a hagh*aidh*
m*ar*aidh creach Dhroma Droighin.

58. Cuimhne lá Léime an tSionn*aigh*
cách dā chéile do cheangail;
iomdha ō ghníomh Néill a-nallain
ar clann*aibh* ríogh céim ceannaigh.

59. Fiú [t]h'easb[h]*aidh* don fhóir Ult*aigh*
an chreach-sain leo mā leant*air*;
tú i seilbh na gcreach do-c[h]luintir;
creach do M*huintir* Bheirn beantair.

60. Maidhm Tolcha an Charbaid chaoinim
tarla 'na orch*ra* d'Éirinn;
dob é a dhóigh, Niall dā nuaroinn;
luaghoill b[h]*ró*in fā fhiadh bhFēilim.

56. Without a lie, what he took from Sliocht Airt's followers is beyond reckoning; the counting of their plunders is not a task for a single man, plunder which cleared the way for lamentation.

57. Ó Cathain was slain; because of it, Síol gCatháin were hostile; the plunder of Drumadreen survives, were there only a guarantor for it.

58. Remembering the day at Leamashinny has brought everyone together [in grief]; because of Niall's deeds of yore many are *céim ceannaigh* (?) on kings' sons.

59. Your loss matters to the Ulster host, if they track down that plunder [i.e. your loss]; Minterburn was plundered; [now] one hears you are in possession of [both] the plunders.

60. The rout of Tullycorbert, which I mourn, is a sorrow for Ireland; Niall's way was to divide it [Ireland] anew; sorrow now stalks the land of Féilim.

56a. dh*áireamh*; 57a. fál*aidh*; 57b. f*úair*, oighigh; 57c. urra; 58d. c*endaigh*

61. Maidhm Í Nēill dín*n* dā ndeach*adh*
ón chléir g*an* ríomh ní rach*adh*;
m[e]inic rug céim dā gcreach*adh*
fā Shléibh Beath*adh* tug tach*ar*.

62. Tug Muineachán uaidh d'adhn*adh*
coimhthionāl fā bhuaibh biodhb[h]*adh*;
d'ēis a chinn os *air*d d'adhn*adh*
fag[h]mhar Chinn *Air*d is iongn*adh*.

63. Clann Domhnaill Í Néill n*áirigh*
léir ōd' g[h]ormloinn ga*n* g[h]uaill*idh*;
maidhm an Tríocha is tu*ar* caoinidh;
dual maoidhimh t'fhīocha *ar* u*air*ibh.

64. Do bhris Niall – cóir n*ach* ceilim;
– re cóir a fhiach ní fhuilim –
baile Í Nēill fa rún reamhuin*n*,
Dún Geanu*inn* i gcēill cuirim.

65. Creach an Rúta is tuar tuirse;
ní uair cungnamh fān gcreic[h]-se
do no*cht* a bhrón d*ār* mbais-ne
to*cht* tairse mās lór leibhse.

61. Even if I failed to mention the route of Ó Néill, the poets would not fail to recount it; he gave battle around Slieve Beagh, he often moved to plunder them.

62. Monaghan being torched at his instigation brought about an assembly around enemies' cows; after it being burnt openly, I am surprised that Kinnard has produced a harvest.

63. The sons of noble Domhnall Ó Néill are seen to be without supporters because of your shiny sword; the defeat of the Tríocha evokes sorrow [yet] it is natural to boast of your anger sometimes.

64. I do not conceal his right [to do so though] his rights are not my main concern here; Niall storming the town of Ó Néill, by which I mean Dungannon, was our intention.

65. The plunder of the Route evokes sadness; he did not get any aid on that raid; [that raid caused] his sorrow to manifest itself in our beating hands; it is a mention of sorrow that must suffice for you.

61c. r*uc*; 62a. muineacháin; 62d. fagmhúr; 64a. cceilim; 65a. tuirrse; 65b. fhúair; 65d. libhsi

66. Tearc tu*ar*asgb[h]*āil* a hadhn*aidh*
b*ear*t fān Uamhabhāil imridh;
do leag sé an tor go talm[h]*ain*
faghla[idh] fá c[h]rodh é *ar* inghin.

67. Áth Sgilleann giodh sgē[a]l doil*igh*
eisiomlā*ir* dé[a]r 'na d[h]eagh*aidh*;
do chuir sé srian re comhaidh
blogh*aidh* Niall é re a fheadhain.

68. Cách go rodhána romhaibh
d'Ō Chondálaigh nī[o]r chobh*air*;
a gcoimhriar is díol doil*igh*
oig[h]*idh* ríogh Oirghiall oraibh.

69. Port an Fhailleagáin d'f[h]éaghain
ba raitheannáil dá-ríribh,
mac Í Fhloinn uadh san áirimh;
táiridh luagh 'sa[n] loinn línigh.

70. Bris*eadh* na Finne ar fiadhain,
dā gceileadh cineadh Dál*aigh,*
mór a chlú a-nú don Niallfhuil;
cú fiadh*ain* thú don tánaidh.

66. He carried out manoeuvres around An Uamhabháil (?) [though] there are few reports of it being torched; a plunderer who made possible many a dowry knocked the tower to the ground.

67. Though it is a sad tale which inspires tears now, Niall smashed Enniskillen with his band [and] put a limit to terms.

68. Everyone being so bold before you was no help to Ó Condálaigh; their submission was a difficult thing; you caused the killing of the king of Oriel.

69. Attacking Portnelligan, it was a huge blaze indeed; as a result, the son of Ó Floinn was added [to the body count]; the ornamental sword shows its value.

70. Even if the Uí Dhomhnaill were to conceal it, the victory [at the battle] of the Finn bears witness; great still is the fame it earns Niall's descendants; you were an untamed hound for the host.

69b. roitheandáil; 69c. fhlainn, áireamh; 69d. t*árr*idh; 70a. fhiadhain; 70b. gcéil*eadh*; 70d. tánaigh

71. Ō Thír Fhiach*ra*ch fhuin*n* Muaighe
go fialchath bhuird na Bóin*n*e
go bás Nēill, an fáidh fíre,
cáin gach tíre rēidh róin*n*e.

72. Bíodh ar fhiadh*ain* fhuin*n* Oil*igh*
gan g[h]rian cumtha dá cheanaibh;
ní bhiam réidh uaidh g*an* fhol*aidh*;
foghail Nēill uain*n* go hEamhain.

73. Ní beag le [a] f[h]e*ar*aibh iomtha
a bhfuil dá cheanaibh cumtha;
do g[h]náth*aigh* sē sé[a]n deabhtha;
sg*éal* de*ar*bhtha é *ar* an urc[h]ra.

71. Until the death of Niall, the true prophet, the tribute of every land was ours to take, from Tireragh by the Moy to the noble battalion bordering on the Boyne.

72. Let the [people] of Oileach's land witness that I have not enumerated all of his triumphs; [since] Niall's plundering stretches from here to Eamhain Mhacha, I will not get away without [incurring] hostility.

73. Rivals will not think little of what has been enumerated of his triumphs; he was successful in battle; it is an assured story about sorrow.

71c. ni (?) *in áit* an; 72b. cheanaiph; 73. ag *deireadh an rainn* rucc. an. bás. b*áir*e ⁊lā

Nótaí

3b. *Chuinn-ne* : *gcuimhne*: Ar an gcomhardadh idir *nn-n* agus dhá chonsan eile féach an plé ag Damian McManus (2014: 214–15).

6. B'fhéidir go bhfuil an file ag tagairt anseo don reilig ina gcuirtí Sliocht Airt Óig ar an Ard Stratha gar don Bhaile Nua (Ó Doibhlin 2018: 202; cf. *LCAB* x.1a, *Truagh m'aisder go hArd Sratha*).

8c. *leac Lughaidh*: Tuigim *leac Lughaidh* mar ainm eile ar an *Lia Fáil*, an chloch a labhrann amach ar theacht don rí ceart ar Éirinn. Faightear tagairtí eile dó i gCorpas Fhilíocht na Scol (Mac Cárthaigh, Uí Dhonnchadha 2020: 85–99): *LCAB* 13.29, Ó Raghallaigh (2008: 5.20), Ó Cléirigh (1939: 45.8), *DMU* 4.1. Faightear a mhalairt d'íomhá sa dán seo ina bhfuil *leac Lughaidh* ag fanacht ina tost anois agus Niall marbh.

8d. *cumhain*: Athraím *cumaidh* na lámhscríbhinne go *cumhain* ar mhaithe le ciall an rainn mar a mholtar in *ABM* 709, nóta 403. Tá seans ann, áfach, go bhfuil *cum*[h]*aidh* á úsáid anseo in áit an ainmnigh, *cumha* (*IGT* ii §4).

10c. *ar ceann teachta*: Faightear an frása seo i ndán amháin eile sa chorpas. '*Gluaisid reompa ón Róimh anoir / go hEasbáin an fhóid iobhraigh; / líon eachtra dob fhearr obar, / ní ar cheann teachta tángadar.*' 'Westwards from Rome they travelled to Spain's yew-treed soil, a goodly band of adventurers, they had not come on an embassy (?)' (*TD* 24 20). Deir Knott, ag lua ár ndáin-ne, sna nótaí:

> §20 'on an embassy;' *ar c. teachta* 'for a coming' (?) (i.e. in order to return). Cf. *Do-chuaidh is ní ar ceand techta . ceann eachtra uaibh a Ulta* (of a dead chief) 23 F 16, 73.

11d. *caoine*: Faightear an dá leagan den ainm briathartha seo, *caoine* agus *caoineadh* cf. *IGT* iii §71.

13abd. *leag-*: Feictear sa rann seo an dá chiall leis an mbriathar. Féach *IGT* iii §36 *leagadh* (duit) agus *IGT* iii §80 *leagadh* (na cró).

14a. *doiligh ndíola*: De réir na teanga clasaicí, leanann urú an aidiacht fhaisnéiseach nuair atá ginideach tagrach faoi réir aici (cf. *SnaG* IV §3.3, agus *TD* i, lxix).

15b. *seanadh*: Tuigim *seanadh* mar 'synod' (*eDIL* s.v. 1 *senad*) ach d'fhéadfadh ciall eile a bheith leis. Cf. an dán *Damhaidh dúind cóir, a chléirche*, le Maol Muire Mág Raith:

5. Riar ēigeas as sé an seanadh –
do-ghebham so a seinleabhar –
as lēigheand leabhar mbriondach
seanadh Ēireand d'aithearrach

'To maintain poets is the old tradition – we find this in any ancient book – to alter the old tradition is learning from false books.'

Ina eagrán (Ó Cuív 1971) deir Ó Cuív:

> 5 *a*, *d*. Here *seanadh* seems to have some meaning other than "synod" or "assembly". We may compare the following quatrain from a poem by Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn (*Aithdh. D.* 17 § 2):
>
> > *Breath na leabar is lé a-tám,*
> > *is é an seanadh é más fhíor ;*
> > *gan bheith 'n-a bhun ní dleach dúnn*
> > *ná dul ar gcúl ón reacht ríogh.*
> >
> > McKenna translates: "I adopt the judgment of the law books, they are supposed to be the old tradition ..." and in a note on *seanadh* he comments: "could mean 'source of authority'? but more probably is for *sean-nadh* (*nadh*<*nath*) 'old saying'." This explanation had been adopted in *RIA Contribb. S* where the example from Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn is given under *sennath* (col. 181). (Ó Cuív 1971: 103)

Is annamh a fheictear *seanadh* 'synod' sa chorpas. An sampla is soiléire ná an ceann seo ón ndán *Teasda Éire san Easpáinn* agus Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird

ag trácht ar bhás Caesar sa seanad sa Róimh, *Aimser aith*[g*he*]*rr dá éis soin* / *do mharbh in seanadh Sésair* 'A short time after that the senate put Caesar to death' (Breatnach 1973: 49ab).

16c. *a caoi féin is dā fiadhain*: Aistriúchán eile ar an líne seo ná 'her own crying bears witness to it'. Féach *eDil* s.v. 2 *fíada* (b), (c).

17a. *craoithe*: Tuigim *craoithe* mar ainmneach iolra *cró* (*IGT* ii §87; *eDil* s.v. *cruë*).

17c. *guala a ríogh*: Féach an plé ag Pádraig A. Breatnach in 'The Chief's Poet' (Breatnach 1983: 45–6).

17c. *dlig*[*h*]*idh*: Ar úsáid aistreach an bhriathair *dlighidh*, féach *eDIL* s.v. *dligid*, (b).

19b. *dula i ndaoinibh*: Tá cúpla sampla den fhrása seo sa chorpas, *dul i ndaoinighe* (*AiD* 77.11a, *AiD* 68.11d, *AiD* 65.33d) agus *dul i ndaoinibh* (*AiD* 59.11c). Aistríonn McKenna é mar 'getting crowded' (AiD 68.11d).

25. Tá síneadh meánach le sonrú i ndéirí na línte seo *Ultaigh* (: *bhfionntain*) srl.

25–7. Tagann na híomhánna anseo go maith le plé Damian McManus ar íomhánna an nádúir tar éis bhás an phátrúin:

> As well as being the guardian of the moral order, the king is also the guarantor of cosmic harmony, and his death has catastrophic consequences for the elements. The winds howl, the seas swell and torrential rains cause rivers formerly of no great consequence to burst their banks. Mountainous seas, higher than the sails of ships toss boats from their moorings in the bay and flood coastal plains and hills, forcing farmers to remove crop-stores and cattle to higher ground for protection. Freezing temperatures make frozen highways of inland lakes in mid-summer, locking birds into what little shelter their nests can provide, fish into a frozen grave, and putting an end to all farming activity. The firmament is a mass of fire, the lightning brightening up an otherwise blackened sky. The sun is a stranger in this landscape constantly eclipsed by dark rain-laden clouds. Howling winds, roaring thunder and gushing tidal and river waters are the sounds of elegy, drowning out all else but combining with the keening of men and women in a fitting lament for the dead king. (McManus 2006: 65–6)

28d. *oighre ar nAirt-ne*: Is dóigh gur tagairt é seo dá shliocht, Sliocht Airt Óig an tSratha Bháin.

30c. *sgaoiltir cóig gēill a geimhil*: Tá úsáid an tabharthaigh uatha de *geimheal* deimhnithe ag an meadaracht anseo. Tá dhá dhíochlaonadh ar *geimheal* sna tráchtais, firinscneach (*IGT* ii §53) leis an tabharthach uatha leathan *geimheal*, agus baininscneach (*IGT* ii §54) leis an tabharthach uatha caol *geimhil*. Seans

go mbeifí ag súil le hiolra an fhocail agus an file ag trácht ar chúigear giall. Níor tháinig mé ar aon samplaí eile d'úsáid an uatha sa chomhthéacs seo sa chorpas. Seans gurb ionann seo agus an úsáid 'ardaigí bhur gcroí' i dteanga an lae inniu.

31b. '*sa*[*n*]: Ar úsáid na foirme '*san*, féach an plé ag Damian McManus (2019: 167–9).

31d. *sgaradh Luain*: Tuigim é mar 'a separation until Doomsday' (cf. *eDIL* s.v. 1 *lúan* (b) agus s.v. *scarad* (d)). Tá tagairt amháin eile do *sgaradh Lúain* aimsithe agam sa chorpas:

> Cur an laoisin ar lá eile
> ní fhéadfa mé – cá mó glas?
> ní maith sgaradh Luain dá lamhthaoi
> ní lamhar buain athlaoi as.
>
> 'I can not put off the Monday – could my strait be worse? Even if one were allowed to escape that Monday 'twould avail little, for one can not escape the day (of punishment) following.' (*AiD* 77.8)

32b. *do-cháidh*: D'fhéadfaí *do-chóidh* a sholáthar anseo le go mbeadh comhardadh slán ann le *gcōig* i líne *a* (cf. *IGT* iii §8) ach tá comhardadh slán breise ann san rann le *náir* : *dáimh* : *dáibh*.

34a. *ag sin an saoghal*: Féach an t-aistriúchán ag Bergin ón dán *A dhuine chuireas an crann, mo chreach! ag sin an sáoghal*, 'alas! such is the world' (*IBP* 34.2d).

37b. *chondún* (LS): Táim den tuairim gur botún ón scríobhaí é *chondún* na lámhscríbhinne. Faightear leaganacha de *cuntas* leis an litriú *con(n)dus* (*eDIL* s.v. *cuntas*).

44a. Tá an líne seo hípearshiollach. Bainim *átha* ar mhaithe le líon na síollaí a cheartú. Tá seans ann go bhfuil an file á thuiscint mar *Bail' Áth' Fhir Dhiadh*, a bheadh neamhchlasaiceach.

45ab. *Baile Agairt*: Athraím *agaird* go *agairt*, ag seachaint síneadh meánach le go mbeidh cuibheas idir *agairt* : *agairt*.

46. Táim den tuairim gur tagairt é an *lá na gcartach* seo don eachtra seo a luaitear in *Annála Uladh* nuair a rinneadh is a athnuadh cairteacha idir Art Ó Néill agus Aodh Ó Domhnaill ar Fhir Manach agus ar thiarnais eile agus nuair a tugadh Niall Conallach (fear ár ndáin-ne) ar ais dá athair ó Ó Domhnaill.

> *AU* 1514.10 Coccadh ar n-erghi ider O n-Domnaill (.i. Aod) & O Neill (.i. Art Oc) & moran doíne d'fhostadh gacha taoba doib & a m-beth a fad a faslongport ar comair a cheile. Ocus a techt do rath an Spirita Naim & do comairle na n-deghdaine síth cairdemail do denam doib & a n-dol a cend a celi ar droicheat Arda Sratha & cairdes-Crist do denam dóib ré ceile. Ocus cartacha nuaídhe, maille ré daingniughudh na sencartach, do thabairt la h-Ua Neill d'U*a*

> Domnaill ar Ceniul Moain & ar Innis Eogain & ar Feruibh Manach. Ocus O Domnaill do thindlacudh a mic d'O Neill, .i. Niall O Neill, do bí a fad roime-sin a n-gill ré tairisecht.
>
> 'War arose between O'Domnaill (namely, Aodh) and O'Neill (namely, Art junior) and many persons were hired on each side by them and they were long in camp opposite each other. And it came of the grace of the Holy Ghost and of the counsel of worthy persons that cordial peace was made by them and they went to meet each other on the bridge of Ard-stratha and gossipred was made by them with each other. And new charters, along with confirmation of the old charters, were granted by Ua Neill to Ua Domnaill for Cenel-Moen and for Inis-Eogain and for Fir-Manach. And O'Domnaill delivered to O'Neill his son, namely, Niall O'Neill, who was for a long time before that in pledge for fidelity.'

47a. *do Loch*: In éagmais an ailt anseo, tuigim *Loch* mar thagairt do *Loch X* éigin agus *loch* a thuiscint mar *ainm coimhleanamhna* (cf. McManus 2012). Tá an dá áit, *Sliabh Dhá Chon* agus *Gleann Buí* ar an taobh thiar theas ó Loch Éirne, is mar sin déanaim amach gur tagairt do Loch Éirne atá i gceist leis. Tá sampla eile den úsáid seo aimsithe agam sa chorpas. I mo thuairim is cóir *do loch* sa dara rann anseo a thuiscint mar *do Loch* [*Éirne*]:

6. Ar Loch Eirne an inbhir ghloin
   gan fhaicsin uain bhar n-arthraigh
   deór le gruaidh Manchoigh ní mall
   le fuaim arthraigh na n-eachtronn.

   'On Loch Éirne of the pure estuary, without seeing *uain* of your vessel, a tear against the cheek of a Fermanagh man is not slow [to come] with the sound of the vessel of the foreigners.'

7. An tír ar gach taobh do loch
   mar do chíd cách gan chodhnach
   beag le gach aon cuid dá chrodh
   ná tuig nach taom dot thurnamh.

   'The land on every side of [a] lake, as everyone sees [now] without a leader, every piece of its wealth is of little value, do not think that your decline is not an attack.' (Walsh 1929: 3.6–7)

47b. *oire*: Athraím leagan na lámhscríbhinne *oirne* go *oire* ar mhaithe leis an gcomhardadh le *gcoire* mar a mholtar in *ABM* (403).

51. *An Tríocha*: Tá alt ag Nollaig Ó Muraíle ina rianaíonn sé stair an logainm seo. Déanann sé amach gurb é an Tríocha Chéad nó An Tríocha ainm na háite is gurb í an bharúntacht An Triúcha nó *Trough* i gCo. Mhuineacháin atá i gceist. Ba iad muintir Chionnaith a bhí i seilbh na háite.

> Mac Kenna is said to be lord of what is referred to quite simply as *An Tríocha Céd* or *An Triúcha.* […] In southern Oirghialla in

> later medieval times, in other words Mac Kenna's territory was *the* triocha céad. (Ó Muraíle 1984: 402)

52a. Tuigim *Ultach* anseo mar ghinideach iolra. Nílim iomlán cinnte faoin mbrí a bhaineann le 'téid X fa Y' sa chás seo (*eDIL* s.v. 1 *téit* (8)).

52b. *Briseadh Bhealaigh na mBracthach* – Níor éirigh liom teacht ar an áit seo. B'fhéidir gurb é *Baile na mBrághad* atá i gceist. Is áit i mbarúntacht an tSratha Bháin Íochtair atá ann dála *Fhoclóir Stairiúil Áitainmneacha na Gaeilge* (Ó Riain 2005: 41) nó gur tagairt é don *Bhrághaid* i gContae Aontroma (Ó Riain 2005: 168). B'fhéidir chomh maith gur logainm cosúil le *Bealach an Bhrocaigh* atá ann. Ní shásódh siad an mheadaracht anseo.

53a. *Lá na Finne*: In 1522, rinne Ó Néill creach ar Thír Chonaill ón bhFinn siar go Ceann Maghair (*AFM* 1522.6). Ar *lá* mar *chath* féach Hoyne (2018: 3.87–8, nóta).

54c. *do Ghleann*: Faightear an t-ainmneach anseo in áit an tabharthaigh, *glionn* (*IGT* ii §66). Caithim leis seo mar *ainm coimhleanamhna* (cf. McManus 2012). Soláthraím an *Con* in áit an *an* i bhfianaise na huama riachtanaí agus an chomhardaidh le *chrodh*. Ar an logainm féin, féach alt Shéamais Uí Cheallaigh ina dtugann sé cuntas béaloideasa ar bhunús an ainm (1927: 58–60).

54d. Tá an séimhiú ar *mhagh*air (LS) neamhchlasaiceach is, mar sin, bainim é.

55ab. *Tinneagáin* (LS): Níor éirigh liom teacht ar aon áit darbh ainm *Tinneagá(i)n*. Is annamh a fhaightear an focal *ioniomráidh* sa chorpas. Tá trí sampla eile aimsithe agam agus *tighearnáin* mar chéile cuibhis ag dhá cheann acu: *iniomráidh* (: *chiniodhnáir*) (*A mheic, ná meabhraigh éigse*, O'Conor Don, 403a, 12cd (téacs an dáin ar *Bhunachar Fhilíocht na Scol*)); *ioniomráidh* (: *Tighearnáin*) (Mac Mathúna 1997: 3cd.); *iniomráidh* (: *Tighiornáin*) (*LBran* 18.76cd). I bhfianaise na gcéilí cuibhis, cé nach bhfuil comhardadh slán riachtanach sa seoladh, measaim gur chóir *tinneagáin* a athrú go *Tighearnáin* ar mhaithe le ciall an rainn. Bhíodh muintir Thighearnáin i gceannas ar Theallach Dúnchadha i gContae an Chabháin, is seans gur ag trácht ar chreach a rinneadh orthu atá an file anseo (Parker 1995).

Tá seans ann chomh maith gur tagairt do Thuíneán i gContae Ard Mhacha atá ann:

> tugneda *tuigneda*Uncán Tugneda, LL 361, MartT (ed Kelly); Tughnetha, MartD; *airchinnech* Tuidnida, tl. & p.Tynan, c. Armagh, *AFM*-ndx; Tuidnigha, *al.* Tuighnidha, AU-ndx; but Uncan Tuigneath no Unnic Tuignech in Uí Dortain, MartO². (*Onom.* 27127)

55d. *B*[*h*]*eirn an Bhealaigh*: Tá seans ann gur tagairt do mhuintir Barnewall atá i gceist. Bhí John Barnewall mar Ard-Seansailéir na hÉireann 1534–8. Aistrítear Barnewell mar Bearna Bhalach in *Annála Uladh*:

> *AU* 1510.1 […] marbthar léo and **Barún Cint** & **Bearna Bhalach Circistoún** & dóine maithi eile nach airimter sund.

> '… there were slain by them there baron Kent and Barnwell of Circistown and other noble persons who are not reckoned here.'

Is dóigh mar sin gur tagairt don duine, Barún Chirciostúin, nó don áit, Circiostún, i gContae na Mí atá i gceist.

57. Is dóigh gur tagairt é an rann seo don eachtra seo inar mharaigh Niall Gofraidh Ó Catháin:

> *AFM* 1526.9 O Catháin .i. Gofraidh mac Gofradha do mharbhadh ag Bealach an Chamáin lá mac I Néill .i. Niall Ócc, & Niall fein do ghabháil fo chend trill iarsin lá h-Ua Neill, & a beith i m-braighdenas frí ré fhoda.
>
> 'O'Kane (Godfrey, son of Godfrey) was slain at Bealach-an-Chamain, by the son of O'Neill (Niall Oge); and Niall himself was soon afterwards taken prisoner by O'Neill, and he was detained a long time in captivity.'

Is dóigh liom gurb é Droim an Draighin i mbarúntacht Chianacht (Uí Chatháin) i gContae Dhoire atá i gceist anseo ach d'fhéadfaí gur logainm eile atá ann.

58d. *céim ceannaigh*: Níl aon sampla eile de seo aimsithe agam sa chorpas. Nílim cinnte faoi bhrí an fhrása.

59a. *easbhaidh*: Tá *easbaidh* lochtach de réir *IGT* ii §149 agus, dá bhrí sin, tá séimhiú curtha ar an *b* agam san eagrán.

59d. *Mhuintir Bheirn*: Ceantar agus pobal is ea Muintir Bhirn i dTír Eoghain (Ó Doibhlin 1971: 20–1).

60d. *fā fhiadh bhFēilim*: Tá easpa uama sa líne seo is ní fhaightear *f* lom i ndiaidh *fa* riamh sa chorpas. D'fhéadfaí *fiadh* a thuiscint mar thabharthach agus séimhiú a sholáthar ar *Féilim* ach ní thiocfadh sin le ciall an fhrása, 'about/thoughout Ireland'. Réiteach amháin air ná leagan malartach de *Fhéilim* a sholáthar. Faightear *Éilim* deimhnithe ag an meadaracht sa dán *A fhir táinig re tasg mBriain* le Tadhg Mór Ó hUiginn,

> Do ghabh Éilim gan fhalaidh
> teach ar Fiacha Fionnalaidh;
> dá adhbhar gon ghaoith fa ghul
> marbhadh an laoich 's a losgudh.
>
> 'Blameless Éilim captured the house of Fiacha Fionnolaidh; the wind had two reasons for lamenting that hero, his death and his burning.' (*Magauran* 4.33)

Ní thugtar leagan dar tús guta in *IGT* ii §112, mar a dtugtar *Félim, Féidhlim, Fedhlim. Félimidh, Feidhlimidh, Feidhlimidh*, le difear suntasach idir na lámhscríbhinní. Níor éirigh liom teacht ar aon sampla eile de *Éilim* le deimhneacht mheadarachta agus, dá bharr sin, fágaim é san eagrán mar atá sé sa lámhscríbhinn.

61. *Shléibh Beathadh*: Tá Sliabh Beatha suite i ndeisceart Thír Eoghain. Tá cur síos spleodrach ar eachtra in 1532 ag *Annála Uladh*, is déanaim amach gur ag tagairt dó sin atá an file anseo:

> *AU* 1532.15 An Giuisdis gu na th-Shaxanachaibh & Goill na Midhe do dhul a Tir Eoccain & sluagh Ghaidhel do eirghi amach ina coinne, mar ata, Níall Og O Neill & Mag Uidhir & O Raighilligh & Mag Mathgamna & slicht Aodha h-Ui Neill & slicht Aodha Buidhe & Clanna Rughraidhe do 'n taobh a tuaigh 'gadam doibh 'ga tuirimh.[25] Acht do impoadur Gaidhil Letha Cuind uile ar O Neill 'munn amsa, achtmadh becc. Rangadur na sluaigh-so, leth ar leth, gu Dún Gheanainn a coinne a cheile, gur' brisedh & gur' blaghadh, gur' muradh & gur' mughaighedh, gur' toirnedh & gur' trascradh, eter chrunn & cloich, eter tighibh & teccar, eter duinedh & deccharus, in baile, gu nar' aithgin Gall na Gaidhel, da faca roime ariamh, ar in tres lá e. Do h-indredh & do h-innarbadh, do dilghiedh & do dilaithridhedh, do loiscedh & do lainmhilledh in tir uile a or gu h-or leo. Do-chuadur almha & innile thire h-Ui Neill gu h-imshlan ar fainnel & ar fordul, no gu rangadur Sliabh Betha, mhic Naói. Do leanadur na Gaidhil-so adubramur romhaind íat, no gu rucadur orra & do thóccbhadar ín bhorumha dhoairme-so leó, no gu rangadur amesc Ghall. Do boi mart ar in m-bonn & mart gacha bhond ag Gallaibh in oidhci-sin. Do-rinnetar Goill & Goidhil a cadach & a caradradh, a cuir & a cumartha, do cheangal re cheile ar lo. Do impádur Goill da n-duintibh & Gaidhil día n-deghbhailtibh gu m-buaidh coscair & araile. Is and do bhai O Domhnaill in uair-sin & Mac Domhnaill na h-Alban & a fheacht ina fhochair, ag gabail neirt a Cuigedh Medhbha.
>
> 'The Justiciary with the Saxons and Foreigners of Meath went into Tir-Eogain and a host of Gaidhil rose out to meet them, that is, Niall O'Neill junior and Mag Uidhir and O'Raighilligh and Mag Mathgamna and the descendants of Aodh O'Neill and the descendants of Aodh the Tawny and the Clanna-Rughraidhe of the northern side… For the Gaidhil of all the Half of Conn, except a few, turned on O'Neill about that time. These hosts went, side for side, to Dun-Gennain to meet each other, so that the town, both wood and stone, both houses and furniture, both fort and fair habitation, was broken and dismembered, destroyed and deleted, overturned and prostrated, so that Foreigner or Gaidhel of those who saw it ever before recognised it not on the third day. The whole territory from border to border was harried and raided, punished and wasted, burned and totally destroyed by them. The herds and other cattle of the territory of O'Neill went in their entirety in fright and constant progress, until they reached the Mountain of Bith, son of Noah. These

[25] Is cosúil nár thuig Mac Carthy, *gadam doibh ga tuirim* (= *gá dám 'gá dtuirimh*, 'What am I at, listing them off?'). Tá mé an-bhuíoch don Dr Mícheál Hoyne as seo a chur ar mo shúile.

> Gaidhil we mentioned before followed them, until they overtook them and carried off with them this cattle-spoil hard to count, until they came among the Foreigners. The beef was for the groat and a beef for every groat with the Foreigners that night. Foreigners and Gaidhil united their alliance and their friendship, their bonds and ratifications, with each other on the next day. The Foreigners returned to their keeps and the Gaidhil to their good houses with victory of overthrow and so on. Where O'Domnaill and Mac Domnaill of Scotland and their force with them were at that time is acquiring power in the Province of Medhbh.'

62. Is dóigh gur ag tagairt don eachtra seo in 1531 atá an rann seo. Bhí Niall ag obair i ndlúthpháirt le hÓ Domhnaill i gcoinne Choinn Bhacaigh Uí Néill, is rinne siad creachadh ar Mhuineachán agus ar Chaisleán Chinn Aird.

> *AU* 1531.5 Sluaighedh leisin n-Gíuisdís Saxanach & le h-Iarla Chilli Dara & le maithibh Gaidhel Erenn a Tir n-Eogain ar tarraing Uí Domnaill & Neill Óig Uí Neill & t-slechta Aodha Uí Neill. Ocus Tir Eogain do loscadh leó o Dhun g-Cal gu h-Abhainn Mhoir & caislen nua Phuirt an Fhaillegain do brisedh leo & duthadh Briain na Mocheírghi do crechloscadh leo & Muinechan d'fhagbail folam ré n-ucht. O Domnaill & Níall Óg do dhul a cend an t-sluaigh Ghallda h-isin gu Cinn Aird & caisdiall Chinn Airtt do brisedh leó. Ocus O Neill do beth, sluagh dí-armhe, re n-ucht & nar' lamhadur a dhul teris-sin a Tir n-Eoghain & do impodur na sluaigh-sin, leth ar leth, dia tighibh fó bhuaidh coscair, gan sith, gan osadh, ag Ua Neill friú.
>
> 'A hosting by the Saxon Justiciary and by the Earl of Kildare and by the nobles of the Foreigners of Ireland into Tir-Eogain, at instigation of O'Domnaill and of Niall O'Neill junior and of the descendants of Aodh O'Neill. And Tir-Eogain was burned by them from Dun-cal southwards to Abhann-mor, and the new castle of Port-an-faillegain was broken down by them, and the district of Brian of the early rising was raided and burned by them, and Muinechan was left empty at their approach. O'Domnaill and Niall junior went to meet that Foreign host to Cenn-ard, and the castle of Cenn-ard was broken down by them. And O'Neill was, with a host hard to count, in front of them, and they attempted not to go beyond that into Tir-Eogain, and those hosts turned, side for side, to their houses with victory of overthrow, without O'Neill having peace or truce with them.'

62cd. Tá imeartas focal ar siúl ar an bhfile anseo le *chinn os aird* agus *Chinn Aird.*

63a. *Clann Dhomhnaill Uí Néill*: Rinne athair Néill, Art Ó Néill, maidhm ar chlann Dhomhnaill Uí Néill in 1514. Bhí Domhnall ina cheann fine go dtí 1509.

Bhí Niall Ó Néill ina ghiall ag Ó Domhnaill go dtí an bhliain sin ach níltear cinnte an raibh Niall amach lena athair i gcoinne Chlann Dhomhnaill Uí Néill.

> *AU* 1514.5 Maidm do thabairt les O Neill ar cloinn Domnaill Uí Neill & ar cloinn Airt Uí Neill & móran d'echaibh & d'étedh & do daínibh do buaín dib.
>
> 'Defeat was given by O'Neill to the sons of Domnall O'Neill and to the sons of Art O'Neill and many horses and armour-suits and persons were taken from them.'
>
> *AU* 1514.9 Maidm do thabairt d'O Neill (.i. Art Óc) ar Aod, mac Domnaill Uí Neill & ar Conn, mac Neill, mic Airt, d'ar' marb & d'ár' ghab moran d'a muinntir & dar' ben a n-eich & a n-éidedh dib & d'ar' ainfainnigh iat, innus gur' an tigernus Tire h-Eogain can imresain aige o shin amach.
>
> 'Defeat was given by O'Neill (namely, Art junior) to Aodh, son of Domnall O'Neill and to Conn, son of Niall, son of Art, wherein he *either* slew *or* took many of their people and wherein he wrested their horses and their accoutrement from them and whereby he humbled them then, so that lordship of Tir-Eogain remained without dispute with him from that out.'
>
> *AU* 1514.10 Coccadh ar n-erghi ider O n-Domnaill (.i. Aod) & O Neill (.i. Art Oc) & moran doíne d'fhostadh gacha taoba doib & a m-beth a fad a faslongport ar comair a cheile. Ocus a techt do rath an Spirita Naim & do comairle na n-deghdaine síth cairdemail do denam doib & a n-dol a cend a celi ar droicheat Arda Sratha & cairdes-Crist do denam dóib ré ceile. Ocus cartacha nuaídhe, maille ré daingniughudh na sencartach, do thabairt la h-Ua Neill d'Ua Domnaill ar Ceniul Moain & ar Innis Eogain & ar Feruibh Manach. Ocus O Domnaill do thindlacudh a mic d'O Neill, .i. Niall O Neill, do bí a fad roime-sin a n-gill ré tairisecht.
>
> 'War arose between O'Domnaill (namely, Aodh) and O'Neill (namely, Art junior) and many persons were hired on each side by them and they were long in camp opposite each other. And it came of the grace of the Holy Ghost and of the counsel of worthy persons that cordial peace was made by them and they went to meet each other on the bridge of Ard-stratha and gossipred was made by them with each other. And new charters, along with confirmation of the old charters, were granted by Ua Neill to Ua Domnaill for Cenel-Moen and for Inis-Eogain and for Fir-Manach. And O'Domnaill delivered to O'Neill his son, namely, Niall O'Neill, who was for a long time before that in pledge for fidelity.'
>
> *AFM* 1514.9 Coccadh d'eircce etir Ó n-Domhnaill (Aodh mac Aodha Rúaidh), & Ó Néll (Art mac Cuinn), & móran daoineadh d'fhostadh doibh ar gach taoibh, & a m-beith a b-fad h-i f-foslongport i n-aghaidh aroile, & a thecht do ghrásaibh an Spirait Naeimh, & do chomhairle a n-dagh-dhaoineadh sídh chairdemhail do dhénamh

doibh re 'roile, & a n-dol h-i c-cend aroile ar droichet Arda Sratha, & cairdes Crist do dhénamh doibh le chéle, & cartacha nuaa (amaille le daingniucchadh na sen-chartach) do thabhairt la h-Ua Neill d'Ua Dhomhnaill ar Chenel Moáin, ar Inis Eoghain, & ar Fheraibh Manach, & Ó Domhnaill do thabhairt a mheic mar aisccidh d'Ua Néll .i. Niall Ócc baí a f-fad riasan tan-sin i l-láimh aicce i n-gioll le tairiseacht.

'A war arose between O'Donnell (Hugh, the son of Hugh Roe) and O'Neill (Art, the son of Con); and they hired many persons on both sides, and remained for a long time encamped opposite each other. It happened, by the grace of the Holy Ghost, and the advice of their chieftains, that they made a friendly peace with each other, and came to a meeting with each other on the bridge of Ardstraw; and they became gossips to each other. And new charters were given by O'Neill to O'Donnell (together with a confirmation of the old charters) of Kinel-Moen, Inishowen, and Fermanagh. O'Donnell also delivered up, as a free gift, to O'Neill, his *O'Neill's* son (Niall Oge), whom he had for a long time before in his custody as a hostage for the observance of fidelity.'

AFM 1514.12 Indsaicchidh la h-Aodh mac Domhnaill Í Néll, & lá Conn mac Neill ar Shean mac Cuinn go Cluain Dabhail, & Baile Sheain do losccadh leó. Creacha an tíre do chor rempa dóibh. O Neill, & Mac Domhnaill do breith orra tóir trom, na crecha do bhein díobh, & briseadh orra. Cúiccer do Shliocht Airt Í Néll do mharbhadh ann .i. Toirrdhealbhach, mac Neill mic Airt, Failghe mac Nell, Ruaidhri mac Aodha mic Airt, Domhnall Ballach mac Airt an Chaisléin, & Aodh mac Emainn mic Airt Í Néill. Do marbhadh ó Aodh ann dá mhac Mhec A Ghiorr .i. Art Ócc & Brian. Ro marbhadh ann bheós Félim Ócc Ó Meallain, & Conn Ó Concobhair, & ro benadh deich n-eich fichet do Chonn don chur-sin.

'An irruption was made by Hugh, the son of Donnell O'Neill, and Con, the son of Niall, into Cluain-Dabhaill, against John, the son of Con; and they burned John's town, *and* they sent the preys of the country before them. O'Neill and Mac Donnell, with a strong body of troops, pursued and overtook them, deprived them of the preys, and routed them *in a conflict, in which* were slain five of the descendants of Art O'Neill, i.e. Turlough, the son of Niall, son of Art; Failghe, the son of Niall; Rory, the son of Hugh, son of Art; Donnell Ballagh, the son of Art-an-Chaislein; and Hugh, the son of Edmond, son of Art O'Neill. There fell also on the side of Hugh the two sons of Mac-a-ghiorr *Mac Kerr*, i.e. Art Oge and Brian. There were also slain there Felim Oge O'Meallain and Con O'Conor; and thirty horses were taken from Con on that occasion.'

64. Measaim go bhfuil an rann seo ag trácht ar imeachtaí na bliana 1532 nuair a bhí Niall i gcomhpháirt le hÓ Domhnaill, Mág Uidhir, agus an Giúistís.

AFM 1532.13 O Domhnaill, & Mag Uidhir ar n-dol h-i c-cenn an iustis Shaxanaigh .i. Uilliam Sceimonton, & rann & cattach do chengal dóibh ré 'roile, an iustis do theacht leó h-i t-Tír Eoghain, & Dún n-Genainn do briseadh, & an tír do milleadh.

'O'Donnell and Maguire went to the English Lord Justice, William Skeffington, and after they had formed a league of mutual friendship and amity with each other, the Lord Justice went with them into Tyrone. The castle of Dungannon was broken down and the country was ravaged.'

64a. *cceilim* (LS): Bainim an t-urú ar lorg *nach* toisc go bhfuil sé neamhchlasaiceach.

65c. *mbais-ne*: D'úsáidtí an bualadh bos mar chomhartha bróin. Feictear a úsáid sa chorpas:

A lucht bhuaileas na bosa
ga bhfuil an gháir gholosa,
a-tá an gol is-tigh fam thuinn
ag cor libh gin go labhruim.

'Ye folk who beat your hands and make sad lament, that lament is in my heart too in sympathy with you; though I say no word aloud.' (*AiD* 10.14)

14. Nior fuilgadh thrá hé gan fhios
a n-ég do chach mar do-chlos
tug ar slúaighibh thuaidh tes
treas fan uaigh ar bualadh bos.

'No time was allowed to pass without making known
The death to all persons as soon as they heard it,
Our hosts conveyed it as a message,
Around the grave they clapped their hands.'
(MacBain, Kennedy 1894: 234–5)

66b. *Uamhabhāil*: Níor éirigh liom teacht ar an bhfocal seo áit ar bith eile. Is dócha gur logainm atá i gceist. B'fhéidir gur leagan den Uaimh atá i gceist, áit ar a ndearna Ó Néill agus Ó Domhnaill ionsaí in 1539/40. Thugtaí An Nuachongbháil ar an Uaimh tráth (cf. logainm.ie *an Uaimh*) agus tá dhá shampla curtha i gcló trom agam thíos:

AU 1540.15 Sluaghadh do denam leis h-Ua n-Domnaill & leis h-Ua Neill docum Gall & bailte do brisad doibh ann, .i. baile Atha Ría & **an Uaimh**. Ocus an sluagh Ghoidhel do filliudh & foslongport do gabail a Fern Magh.

'A hosting was made by Ua Domnaill and by Ua Neill against the Foreigners and towns, namely, the town of Ath-ria and the Cave, were broken down by them. And the host of the Gaidhil turned and took up an encampment in Fern-magh.'

> *AFM* 1539.5 Slóiccheadh lá h-Ua Néill Conn, & lá h-Ua n-Domhnaill, Maghnus d'aon-comhairle & d'aon-aonta gusan Midhe & an rob aimhriarach dóibh dona tíribh-sin do mhilleadh & do losccadh rempa go Temhraigh. Fó-ríth edala aidhbhle iomdha don turus-sin ar ní ro thionoilsiot Gaoidhil do shaighidh Gall isna h-aimsearaibh deidhenchoibh aon-sloighedh as mó lér milleadh do maithes na Midhe inás an creach-shloigheadh íshin, dóigh rob iomdha édala óir & airccitt, umha, & iarainn, ionnmus, & iolmhaoine, & gacha maithesa archena tuccsat a Baile Atha Fhirdhiadh, & as a **Nua-chongbháil** iarna lom-arccain leó don turus-sin.
>
> 'An army was led by O'Neill (Con) and O'Donnell (Manus), with one will and accord, into Meath; and such part of these territories as were disobedient to them they spoiled and burned before them, as far as Tara, and the possessions of all those who refused to submit to them. They obtained immense and innumerable spoils on this expedition, for the Irish had not in latter times assembled to oppose the English army, that destroyed more of the property of Meath than this plundering army; for many were the spoils of gold and silver, copper, iron, and every sort of goods and valuables besides, which they took from the towns of Ardee and Nuachongbhail, which they entirely plundered on that expedition.'

66d. *faghla*[*idh*] *fá c*[*h*]*rodh é ar inghin*: Ba litriúla an t-aistriúchán 'he was a plunderer about cattle in return for a maiden' .i. 'a dowry' (cf. *eDIL* s.v. 1 *crod* (c)).

67a. *Áth Sgilleann*: Tuigim seo mar leagan d'Inis Ceithleann (cf. logainm.ie *Inis Ceithleann*). Ba mhinic a ionsaíodh an áit, mar sin, is deacair a fháil amach cén eachtra atá i gceist anseo.

67b. Ba litriúla b'fhéidir, líne *b* a thuiscint mar 'leaving a tearful pattern in his wake'.

67d. *re*: Tá *re* in úsáid anseo mar *le* na huirlise (cf. *eDIL* s.v. *la* III (b)).

68b. *Ó Condálaigh*: D'ionsaigh Art Ó Néill, athair Néill, Oirghialla in 1515 is maraíodh ann Art Balbh mac Mhéig Mhathghamhna agus Éamonn Ó Condálaigh.

> *AFM* 1515.11 Slóiccheadh lá h-Ua Néill (Art) i n-Oirghiallaibh, & teccmhail do druing don t-sluagh fri Muintir Meg Mathghamhna, & Art Balbh mac Még Mathghamhna saoí chinn fhedhna do mharbhadh lásan sluagh, & Ua Condalaigh .i. Emann.
>
> 'An army was led by O'Neill (Art) into Oriel; and a part of this army met MacMahon's people, and slew Art Balbh, the son of MacMahon, a distinguished captain, and O'Conolly, i.e. Edmond.'

Bheifí ag súil le *Ú* in áit *Ó* mar thabharthach uatha (*IGT* ii §168).

69a. *Port an Fhailleagáin*: Féach an nóta ar rann 62.

69d. *táiridh*: Athraím *tárridh* go *táiridh* ar mhaithe le comhardadh slán le *áirimh*; cf. *IGT* iii §16.

línigh: Féach an plé ag Eoghan Ó Raghallaigh ar *litreach* is *líneach* 'ornamental' (Ó Raghallaigh 2006: 28d nóta).

70a. *fiadhain*: Bainim an séimhiú i ndiaidh *ar* is deimhniú uama sa líne.

71c. *fáidh fíre*: B'fhéidir gurb é atá i gceist leis an bhfáidh fíre anseo ná go bhfuil cáin gach tíre ag Niall is dearbhaíonn sin gurb é an rí ceart é.

72b. Ba litriúla líne *b* a thuiscint mar 'that I have not got to the bottom of his triumphs', cf. *eDIL* s.v. *grian*.

Aguisín 1. Logainmneacha a luaitear sa dán

Dán	**Logainm.ie/ Placenames NI**	**Béarla**
An Fhinn	An Fhinn	River Finn, Donegal
An Mhuaidh	An Mhuaidh	River Moy
An Rúta	An Rúta	The Route, Antrim
Áth Camais	Camas	Camus, Donegal
Áth Sgilleann	Inis Ceithleann	Enniskillen, Fermanagh
Baile Agaird	Baile Hagaird	Haggardstown, Louth
Baile (Átha) Fhir Dhiadh	Baile Átha Fhirdhia	Ardee, Louth
Baile Sláine	Baile Shláine	Slane, Meath
Baile Uí Choitil	Baile Uí Choitil	Cottlestown, Sligo
Bealach na mBracthach		
Bearn an Bhealaigh	Circiostún	Crickstown, Meath
Beirn	Muintir Bhirn	Minterburn, Tyrone
Bóinn	An Bhóinn	River Boyne
Ceann Maghair	Ceann Mhaghair	Kinnaweer, Donegal
Ceann Tinneagáin		
(Céis) Chorainn	Céis Chorainn	Kesh Corann, Sligo
Cionn Aird	Cionn Aird	Kinnard (Caledon), Tyrone
Droim Dhraighin	Droim an Draighin	Drumadreen, Derry
Dún Geanainn	Dún Geanainn	Dungannon, Tyrone
Dún Léire	Dún Léire	Dunleer, Louth
Eamhain	Eamhain Mhacha	Navan Fort, Armagh
Fir Mhanach	Fear Manach	Fermanagh
Gleann Buidhe	Gleann Buí	Glenboy, Leitrim
Gleann Con Cadhain	Gleann Con Cadhain	Glenconkeyne, Derry
Inis Sgreabhainn	Inis Crabhann	Inishcrone, Sligo
Léim an tSionnaigh	Léim an tSionnaigh	Leamashinny Weir, Donegal
Loch	Loch Éirne	Lough Erne, Fermanagh
Muine Mór	Muine Mór	Moneymore, Derry

Dán	Logainm.ie/ Placenames NI	Béarla
Muineachán	Muineachán	Monaghan
Oirghialla	Oirialla	Oriel, Monaghan
Port an Fhailleagáin	Port an Fhailleagáin	Portnelligan, Armagh
Ráth Cruachan	Ráth Cruachan	Rathcroghan, Roscommon
Sionainn	An tSionainn	River Shannon
Sliabh Beathadh	Sliabh Beatha	Slieve Beagh, Tyrone, Fermanagh
Sliabh Dhá Chon	Sliabh Dá Chon	Dog Little, Dog Big, Fermanagh
Teamhair	Teamhair	Tara, Meath
Tír Fhiachrach	Tír Fhiachrach	Tireragh, Sligo
Tríocha	An Triúcha	Trough, Monaghan
Tulach an Charbaid	Tulaigh Charbaid	Tullycorbet, Monaghan

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Emmet de Barra
Foclóir Stairiúil na Gaeilge, Acadamh Rioga na hÉireann