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A POEM ON DIARMAID MAC MURCHADHA IN THE BOOK OF LEINSTER

ABSTRACT

A transcription and edition is presented here of a previously unnoticed fragment of a bardic elegy on Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, from the Book of Leinster.

In a footnote to his discussion of the term ‘Diarmaid na nGall’ as applied to Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, king of Leinster (1126–71), Brian Ó Cuív remarked:

It may be assumed from the eulogy of Diarmaid in Gilla na Naem ua Duind’s poem beginning Cúiced Laigen na lecht ríg (LL.4411–22) that he patronised learning and that he would be familiar with well-known Leinster traditions.

The poem referred to is a versified list of the kings of Leinster that concludes (prior to uá Duind’s additional signature quatrain) with three quatrains praising Diarmaid as the current king, who extends his supremacy beyond Laigin. This poem by Gilla na Naem (†1160) is part of the contemporary fabric of the Book of Leinster (TCD MS H 2.18 (1339)), a fabric that, at its most overt, encompasses a number of allusions to Mac Murchadha. This is also the case with the poem immediately preceding that of Gilla na Naem in the Book of Leinster, that beginning tenth-century poet, Cinaed ua Artacain. Into the Book of Leinster copy in order to continue the poem’s enumeration of deceased warrior-heroes, and this poem eleven quatrains were interpolated by a sub-verse to conclude the poem with a distinctly triumphal Laigin flavour, understand to be living at the time of the composition of this interpolation, is said to have been victorious (see below). These interpolated verses follow the metrical pattern of the original poem in their combination of deibhthe scailte and deibhthe nuigibreach metres. The other known poetic effort by the Bishop is contained in his famous address (confirming his interest in poetry with his request for Mac Lonain’s aicill rhyme).

The emphasis on the current king of Leinster in these two contemporary texts (Cúiced Laigen na lecht ríg and the interpolated section of Fianna bòtar i nÈmain), taken with other references to him in Bishop Find’s note on p. 288 and in the Book of Leinster in general, brings into focus the possibility of Mac Murchadha being patron of that book in the sense that we understand patronage to have generally operated in the production of Irish manuscripts. He certainly must have been the recipient of Gilla na Naem’s poem, and the fact that the poem presents, to a high degree, a dún díreach version of rann-aíghneas mhóir across its 63 quatrains says something of the expectations of this ughdar Erenn re senchus agus re dan regarding the poem’s reception by Mac Murchadha.

A seanchas poem in this strict metre was a relatively new departure, one that was not destined to last, but in the twelfth century we find other seanchas-compositions in strict metre that suggest that some seanchaidhe were moving in this metrical direction in tandem with the praise-poets of the time. Only in the closing verses referencing Mac Murchadha does Gilla na Naem veer towards praise-poetry — recalling the contemporary seanchas praise-poem beginning Clanna Ollaman naisle Emma (Byrne 1964) — and dún díreach praise-poems were to become the dominant literary art-form from the thirteenth century onwards. Among the candidates for the earliest surviving praise-poem composed in dún díreach is that addressed to Raghnall, king of Man (1187–1229), who, like Mac Murchadha, appears to have been a patron of literature. Its editor, Brian Ó Cuív, suggested that the poem to Raghnall may have been composed between 1187 and 1208.

It is in the context of the development of bardic praise-poetry and the emergence of Early Modern Irish, and also in the particular context of the history of the Book of Leinster, that the verses edited here are of interest. They consist of the first seven quatrains, in séadna metre, of an elegy on Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, which appears to have contained a caithréim or list of his martial victories. It is found as a fifteenth-century addition to the Book of Leinster, that the verses edited here are of interest. They consist of the first seven quatrains, in séadna metre, of an elegy on Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, which appears to have contained a caithréim or list of his martial victories. It is found as a fifteenth-century addition to the Book of Leinster where existing text was cleared from the page, sparing only the top quarter of column a (ll. 1–21) — the end of Cath Ruis na Ríg — of what, judging from the recto of the leaf (p. 177), should have been

Cromhthainn, in the lower margin of p. 288 of the Book of Leinster, a verse in rann-aíghneas bheag without aicill rhyme.

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5LL. xv–xvi.
7Reckoned to be ‘about 94%’ in 6 Cúiv (1968: 289–90).
9Ó Cuív (1968: 288–9). It is possible that this may have given rise to an element of rivalry between the two learned classes: Ó Macháin (2015: 99).
10Ó Cuív (1957); and Ó Cuív (1968: 290).
12Other twelfth-century poems in this metre are analysed in Ó Cuív (1968: 288–9).
13So dated in LL, 779 n. 3.
A poem on Diarmaid Mac Murchadha in the Book of Leinster

16

17

PÁDRAIG Ó MÁCHÁIN

A 52-line column. In the space thus created three additions were made, occupying 14 lines: (a) a single quatrain in loose deibhidhe: ‘Asi [..]ltair sin atbeir uil. naidirigh etronn incher u. righ nacoige fosogn. righ etronn is urraide’; (b) a metrical text inscribed in hybrid Gaelic and Anglo-Norman script, apparently referencing ‘rosg Fergusu Finn’ in the body of the text, and beginning Moche[...].indicui im iaeaill con glaiss. j afhiaeeaillfot eriss j a ehulehi ci taiss; and (c) the seven verses presented here, written (in Gaelic script) across the page, one quatrain per line. The remainder of the page beneath these additions is blank, save for traces of erased text.

As there was still plenty of space left on p. 178 for more of the Mac Murchadha poem to be added, we can only speculate that either the remainder was not to hand or that the scribe lost interest in completing the poem. While this status of space-filling later addition is of interest in itself — paralleling that of the Ö Maoléicheallainn elegy in NLI MS G2–316 — the historic importance of the existence of this bardic elegy, albeit incomplete, on Mac Murchadha, in a manuscript associated with him, is of greater interest still. Allusions are made in the poem to incidents for which no other record survives today, and there is also the open question as to who among his surviving family was the intended recipient of the poem. Finally, there is the consideration that the poem was composed, one presumes, in or shortly after 1171, thus providing an early date for a bardic praise-poem in dán dreach.

EDITION

1. Easbach dith diarmaata durgean na dhiadh fhasas anba dhulc adiu do dainib ni dechaid fiu an coimhthir creochaigh acurp 2. IS ammuidh airighim easbaidh fhir chualanne do chosaín chaigh in bith uile mair bud fholam can duine ar doman na dhiadh 3. Tuireamad gach gort rogabson is gach giall teann tuc amuih biaidh fos i fiaird ar flatha turem cach catha do cuir 4. Ac tig munnda ar maitimh muman, ramoid ra curaid cuinc roir. ferdh blad ar flatha a fomaist car in catha a moraid móir 5. Do bris ar thigern gan taltean tuir tuirgen ar dol adiu a tres re huib bruin in braghga. bes ni ciuin do rala riú 6. Ógach do aith milid mastean mnai cherbaill ma do cuaid cuairt tuc tres no do tres na digail tuc fodes righan u ruiare

ra (4b), simple preposition re for ra (4b). Editorial conventions such as capitalisation of proper nouns, hyphenation after pretonic elements in adverbs and compound verbs, and insertion of length marks, have been adhered to, as has the arrangement of the verses, which are in quatrains with editorial punctuation. Less cosmetic interventions have taken place in supplying grammatical lenition (1cd, 2b, 4ad, 5abe, 6b, 7d) and eclipsis (1d, 3c, 4bc, 5bc, 7a); so also with emendations in 6b (supply of ℓ omitted through haplography) and in 6d where the accusative singular form ròghain is a grammatical and metrical requirement, and where the following form u represents ut (see note).

EDITION

1. Easbach dióth Diarmada Duirghean, 'na dhiadh fhasas anba d'hulc; a-dídh do dhaoínth mb dhreachaid fiadh an choimhthir creochaigh i gcúirp.

2. Is amhaidh airighim easbaidh fhir Chualann do chosaín Chlaidh in bith uile mar budh fholam, gan duine ar domhan 'na dhiaidh.

3. Tuireámadh gach gort ro ghabhsomh, is gach gialt teann tug a-muigh biaidh fos i fiaird ar flatha tureamh gach catha do chuir.

4. Ag tig munnda ar maitimh muman, ramoid ra curaid cuinc roir. ferdh blad ar flatha a fomaist car in catha a moraid móir.

5. Do bris ar thigern gan taltean tuir tuirgein ar dol adiu a tres re huib bruin in braghga. bes ni ciuin do rala riú.


On the understanding that the manuscript form does not indicate the presence of an infixed pronoun.

14Ó Longáin reads inspísaitir (Ó Longáin and Atkinson 1880).
15Differing in some points from the hybrid script that contributed the I Mhórdaí poems on p. 53 for which see O’Sullivan 1968.
16Ó Macháin (2015: 100).
17This and other matters relating to the Book of Leinster were presented in summary at a public lecture in Trinity College Dublin, April 2018, as part of the ‘Beyond the Book of Kells’ series. I thank Dr Gordon Ó Riain, Prof. Seán Ó Coileáin and the anonymous peer-reviewer for helpful comments on a draft of this paper.
18In his edition of a poem to Cathal Croibhdhearg, dated c. 1191, Brian Ó Cuív remarked on a linguistic and orthographic situation comparable to the present text: ‘In general the language of the poem is in conformity with classical Early Modern Irish usage, but there are a few features which seem more representative of late Middle Irish ... A normalized text might be presented in either an Early Modern or a Middle Irish form’ (Ó Cuív 1983: 160).
7. Ri gu fressabra fer maistene mac murchada maighe sead. ma nertsum nocha nar labra roethechtum clar banba acht beag

7. Ri go bhfressabra fear Maistean Mac Murchadha Maighe Sead; 'ma neartsumh nocha nár labhra: ro theachtsumh clár Banbha acht beag.

TRANSLATION

1. A grievous loss is the death of Diarmaid of Duirghean, it is in his wake that great evil grows; no-one like the fair plundering man has been born here [since].

2. This is how I perceive the loss of the man of Cuala who gained Cliú: as if the whole world were desolate, no-one at all succeeding him.

3. I will enumerate every territory that he conquered, and every substantial hostage whom he brought in; in our prince’s court will still occur the enumeration of every battle he gave.

4. At Teach Munna the hero of Cnoc Róir overcame the nobles of Murnha; the fame of our prince from F6mhain was enhanced by the prosecution of the battle in Móin Mhór.

5. The pillar of Duirghean, having gone hence, defeated Tighearnan of Tailte battle in M6in Mh6r.

6. Fondly did the warrior of Maiste compensate the wife of Ó Cearbhaill when he visited; southwards he brought Ó Ruairc’s queen: he fought one or two battles in requital for her.

7. 'King with Opposition’ of the men of Maiste was Mac Murchadh of Magh Sead; there is no shame in speaking of his power: he possessed the plain of battles in requital for her.

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NOTES

1a Easb[h]ach is cited as a canamhuin form (as opposed to easb[h]adhach) in IGT ii, I. 1978: see Carney (1945: I. 278 n.). The question of -b/-bh- may be merely one of orthography in the present instance, but despite the prohibition of the form easbaidh in IGT ii, 149, forms with unlenited -b- are attested in the poetry (e.g. DDðna 113.4; Carney (1945: I. 1291); Mac Airt (1944: I. 3968), and so the manuscript reading is retained here, and in 2a.

Diarmanda Duirghean This echoes combinations of the name Diarmaid and duirgen from at least three other poems: that on the sword of Cearbhall (Meyer 1899: 10.8b: Diarmaid duirgen ‘Diarmaid the hardy-born’); on Carmun in the dindsheanchas (MD iii, 8.96: Diarmaid dron-mas durgen ‘Diarmaid Durgen’); and on the kings of Cashel (Ó Donnchadha [1940]: 411.78: dar éis Durama duirgen). These and other examples are tentatively construed in DIL (s.v. dår, 453.41–6) as representing a compound of dår and gein; the examples cited, however, show deibhide nd-rhymes (re) hed : dårgen (Cearbhall) and cned : durgen (MD and Leabhar Muimhneach); the peer-reviewer suggests a compound of dår and gen ‘sword’. It is in light of q. 5b below, where an apparent variant occurs in the expression ‘tuir tuirgen’, that I suggest that the word may represent an unidentified place-name — distinct from the Leinster placename, Bealach Duirghein — though I cannot explain the form.

1cd ní dheachaidh ... i gceart ‘has not been incarnated’. The peer-reviewer suggests the opposite interpretation (taking MS a as the simple preposition ‘out of’): ‘no-one like the fair plundering man has died here’.

2b fr Chualann may have been a tribal/territorial name (Carney 1943: I. 1044) but is to be taken here as in ri Cualann (DDðna 84.5) or indeed a fr Chualann (Magauran L. 2493), save that in the present instance the context gives expression to Mac Murchadh’s sphere of influence covering Leinster (Cual a in south Dublin and north Wicklow) and Munster (Cliú centered on east Limerick).

3a Tuiréamhad The only other example to hand of an é-future of tuirmhidi (< do-rí) is in Magauran L. 2503: buaidh do throd ní thuiréamhm.

3b ghabsomh (cf. ro theachtsumh 7d) See McKenna’s remarks on the disappearance of this enclitic in poetry after the thirteenth century (McKenna 1944: 190), and the comments on this in Ó Riain (2016: 16 n. 83).

3c bhfuiridh ‘apparently a structure or enclosure of some kind’ (DIL s.v. 1 fuiridh).

4a As the circumstances referred to are unclear, either of two places named Teach Munna (Tagmon in present-day counties Westmeath and Wexford) could be intended. The Wexford location seems more likely, and there is a record of an incursion into I Cheinsealagh by Ó Brian and his allies being repulsed by Mac Murchadha in 1134 (Ó hInne 1947: 22); hence the emendation maithimh > maithiith here. (Note that Ó Longáin (Ó Longáin and Atkinson 1880) reads mundu and maithimh in this line.)

4b Cnoc Róir is perhaps The Rower in south county Kilkenny, on the border with county Wexford, though linked to the form rómhar in Onom.

4c Fóhmhain Another unspecified Leinster location, the quantity of the first syllable being established here by the rhyme with Mónaidh, but elsewhere presenting as a short vowel, rhyming with find-choraib (MD iii, 74,101–2).

4d Móin Mhór refers to the uplands immediately to the north of Cork city, rising eventually to the Nagles Mountains between Mallow and Fermoy; Micheál Óg Ó Longáin speaks of Templamichael, east of Carraig na bhFear, as being located san Móin Móir (Ó Conchúir 1982: 37). References to the battle of Móin Mhór (A.D. 1151) occur elsewhere in the Book of Leinster: in
Bishop Find’s additions to the poem *Fianna bótar i nEmain* (LL, II. 4163–6) — generally taken as establishing a *ferminus a quo* for the manuscript — and in the annalistic notes in the tract on the Christian rulers of Ireland (*do fhlaitheasais agus amser sais Herend iar creitim*, LL, II. 3192–5). The event has been treated comprehensively in Kelleher (1988).

5a Tighearnán Ó Ruairc, king of Bréifne (11172), one of Diarmaid’s chief antagonists. The victory in question may have been that of 1152; when Mac Murchadha combined with Toirdhealbhach Ó Conchubhair to defeat Ó Ruairc, in the aftermath of which the latter’s wife Dearbhfghoragh was taken by Diarmaid, an incident alluded to in q. 6.

5b Tuairghean The manuscript clearly reads initial t-, perhaps under the influence of tuir, and so is either a slip or a variant of Duiührung in q. 1a.

5c hUibh Bríúin an Bhragha Ua Ruairc was of the Uf Bhriiiin Bhreifne; an Bhragha is an epithet referring to Brugh (gen. Brogha/Bragha) na Bónine and complementing the reference to Tailte in line a.

5d bheas See DIL s.v. 2 bês; ‘the word seems to be OIr. bês “perhaps” with shortened vowel’ (Watson 1940: 179).

6 The dalliance — as I interpret the text — with Ó Cearbhaill’s wife is otherwise unrecorded; nor is it clear whether it is Ó Cearbhaill Eile (Mac Murchadha’s distant neighbour) or the more powerful and prominent Ó Cearbhaill, Rf Airghiall, who is intended. The latter, Donnchadh Ó Cearbhaill, was half-brother to Tighearnán Ó Ruairc (ATig.s.a. 1155), whose wife is referred to in the second half-quatrain. Seán Ó Coileáin makes the ingenious suggestion that these lines contain no innuendo, but rather that Mac Murchadha’s purposed service to Ó Cearbhaill’s wife may have consisted of the restoration to her of her husband following his imprisonment by Ó Ruairc in 1155, though no source refers to Mac Murchadha’s involvement in that episode.

The incident involving Ó Ruairc’s wife was a celebrated one — and indeed became the subject of bardic apologue (Ó Cuv 1975: 136–7) — involving the abduction by Diarmaid in 1152 of Dearbhfhorghaill, daughter of Ó Macilleachlann of Meath and wife of Tighearnán Ó Ruairc (of q. 5); she returned to Ó Ruairc the following year. For a summary of the story see Martin (1975: 17–18). The annals specify that it was in revenge for this (*do dighail mna hÚ Ruairic fair*, ATig.) that Ó Ruairc and Ó Macilleachlann, with the Dublin Norse, attacked and banished Mac Murchadha in 1166; and that Mac Murchadha was forced to pay compensation of 100 ounces of gold to Ó Ruairc i llóg a mna (ATig.), having been defeated on his return in 1167. These incidents may be the ‘treas nó dá threis’ referred to here.

6a MS Bagach might also be taken as ‘warlike’; *do aith* (< sgaithe in Magaurain l. 4200) is the perfect 3 sg. form of aíthidh (< ad-fen).

6b má do-chuaidh cuairt This appears to be practically a temporal use of the conjunction má; Professor Ó Coileáin suggests emending to mar. For the verb phrase, compare Dá ndeachadh cuairt go Cruachain (Carney 1952: 157.6) and an chuairt-se do-chuaamar (DDána 67.49), in contrast to more common expressions involving use of the preposition ar, or verbs such as do-bheir, gabhthidh and curridh.

6b and 6d Emendations in these lines have been mentioned in the editorial remarks above. The restored genitive singular forms t and u reflect the variation common in bardic poetry (cf. McManus 2013: 121). In line d the manuscript form a (for genitive singular u) is of interest because (as pointed out by the readers) three examples of it are noted by Liam Breathnach in *SnaG* 246, all from the Book of Leinster. Further examples from the same manuscript are *fíche bliadna sar mbás há Chuined co báds há Néill* Nógailaig (Smith 2007: 202.38, 206.50, with note p. 242). That this form was not confined to the Book of Leinster is shown by examples from the Book of Ballymote (RIA MS 23 P 12), e.g. *meic hu chuined*, fol. 76va16 (cf. *meic hui chuined*, Book of Lecan (RIA 23 P 2), fol. 91r8) and *Carn hu neid*, fol. 200vb28.

The ornamentation known as *breacadh* is present in the second half-quatrain: *treas : tres : dheas*.

7a The expression *rí go bhféreasabhra* might seem less than complimentary here, but in the twelfth century it would have been a term of high praise; see some legal references in Simms (1998: 32–4). Diarmaid’s great-grandfather, Diarmaid mac Maol na mB6, was considered to have been the first *Rí Eireann go bhféreasabhra*. The aspirational element in the compliment consists of the fact that, even given the shifting allegiances of the time, Diarmaid Mac Murchadha hardly met the traditional definition (alluded to in l. d here) of such an office. Being from the Southern Half, this would have entailed him being Rf Leithe Mogha, and also controlling Teamhair, and, in addition, controlling another *cúigeadh* from the Northern Half: see *LL* II. 3158–63; in the seventeenth century this definition was refined as follows by Fear Feasa Ó Maol Chonaire: *Follus go ngoiríth i mBanbha / mar so raí go bhféreasabhra:* / een *Éirinn an ais* ő *do bheith / 's cuigeadh don dara hdirdle.* (Mhágh Craith 1967: 39.102). In the wake of Móin Mhór, Mac Murchadha was referred to as ‘ardrig Leithi Moga’ by Bishop Find in his famous epistle on p. 288 of the Book of Leinster, perhaps reflecting opinion at that point in time; and as *rí Leithi Moga uile . . . agus Mi * by a later scriber in the tract on *Rí Lagen* in the same manuscript (*LL* II. 5501–2).

7b Maighe Sead Unidentified.

7d acht beag Four examples of this expression are cited in *DIL* s.v. *bec* 47.38–42.
A POEM ON DIARMUID MAC MURCHADHA IN THE BOOK OF LEINSTER

ABBREVIATIONS


DDáná Láimhheartach Mac Cionnaith (ed.), Dioghlúim Dáná (Baile Átha Cliath, 1938).


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