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OBSERVATIONS ON THE MANUSCRIPT SOURCES FOR THE *DÁNTA GRÁ*

Abstract

This paper identifies the manuscript sources of the hundred and six *dánta grá* (love poems) edited by Tomás Ó Rathile in *Dánta Grádha* (1926). The contexts of the poems in the earlier manuscript sources (i.e. manuscripts written up to the beginning of the eighteenth century) are discussed, with particular emphasis on those manuscripts in which *dánta grá* and other poems on love or related themes are written together in clusters. Some general observations on the manuscript transmission of the poems are offered also.

Introduction

In the introduction to the 1926 edition of *Dánta Grádha*, Tomás Ó Rathile states that a great many of the poems in this book were taken from five manuscripts, namely RIA MS 23 D 4 (5), RIA MS 23 I 40 (6), TCD MS H. 5. 9 (1381), the Book of the O'Conor Don and BL Add. 40766 (Ó Rathile 1926: viii). Ó Rathile does not specify which of the poems in his book came from these manuscripts and he does not name any other manuscript sources.[1] A number of subsequent studies have included discussion of the manuscript copies of some of the *dánta grá* but we are still lacking in knowledge of the sources for most of the poems.[2] The aim of this paper then is to provide an overview of the manuscript sources for the hundred and six *dánta grá* in Ó Rathile (1926). As I have identified over two hundred separate source manuscripts for the *dánta grá*, it will not be possible at this point to discuss all of them in depth. I will look in some detail at the early sources and then make some general observations on the manuscript sources in their entirety. For later manuscripts, those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, I restrict myself to providing a list with dates, names of scribes and patrons, and places of writing: these are given in Appendix I. A list of the manuscript sources for each individual *dán grá* is given in Appendix II. In the 1970s, Professor Brian Ó Cuív gave a seminar on the *dánta grá* at the School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, and I used a handout he gave out at this seminar in the initial stages of this research.[3] I have also included a small

[1]His earlier anthologies of Irish love poetry are similarly lacking in information on manuscript sources. See O'Rahilly (1916) and Ó Rathile (1925).

[2]See, for example, Williams (1979: 79 and 93) on *Dán Grá* (henceforth *DG*) 105 and *DG* 106, Ó Háinle (1985: 10–11) on *DG* 47 and Mac Craith (1989: 43–7) on *DG* 4.

[3]Ó Cuív gives the number of manuscript copies of some of the *dánta grá* and lists the *dánta grá* found in the following manuscripts: BDLM; UCD A 25; BOCD; NLS Adv. 72.1.35; TCD MS H. 5. 9 (1381); RIA MSS 23 M 25–23 M 34 (15–24); Giessen MS 1267; BL Egerton 187;

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number of early eighteenth-century manuscripts on Ó Cuív's list among the early sources for the *dánta grá* discussed below.

In the five manuscripts named by Ó Rathile and cited above, and in a number of other manuscripts, *dánta grá* are written together in thematic clusters in which it appears that scribes made a deliberate attempt to bring together texts that deal with love. Some of the poems written alongside *dánta grá* in these clusters might also be categorised as love poems but others are miscellaneous in nature. In order to give some sense of the flavour of each of the manuscript clusters, I will provide a brief (and thus necessarily reductive) description of each poem when it is first mentioned in the discussion below. Attention to the arrangement of the *dánta grá* in these clusters provides us with some hints as to how they were perceived when the manuscripts were written. A small number of the hundred and six poems in the 1926 edition of *Dánta Grádha* are not best classified as love poems.[4] For the sake of thoroughness, I have included these in my account; instances of possible genre misidentification will be noted in passing.

Early sources for the *dánta grá*

NLS Adv. 72.1.37 (The Book of the Dean of Lismore)

Dánta Grá 4, 54

The Book of the Dean of Lismore (BDLM) was compiled by Sir James McGregor, the Dean of Lismore, his brother Duncan and a number of other scribes in Perthshire, Scotland between 1512 and 1542 (Meek 1996: 256–7). It is written not in traditional Gaelic orthography and script but rather in secretary hand and in an orthography largely based on Middle Scots, the vernacular of the Scottish lowlands from *c*. 1400 to *c*. 1560 (Meek 1996: 257–9). *DG* 4 by Gearóid Mac Gearailt (Gearóid Iarla) is written on p. 307 and is preceded by the poem *Ohyz is miss in gilli mor* (*Uch, is mise an giolla mór*) in which the poet, Duncan Campbell, 'laments a reversal of fortune' (Gillies 1978: 41). The question of whether *DG* 4 should be regarded as a love poem has been subject to some debate as it is, strictly speaking, a poem about the traits of women.[5] *DG* 4 as it is edited by Ó Rathile depicts women in a positive light but Mac Craith, taking the longer text of the BDLM into account, argues that it is in fact an anti-woman poem (1989: 58).[6] *DG* 4 is followed by *Marrwm di scarre rwmsyt a ryir* (*M'anam do sgar riomsa a-raoir*) by Muireadhach Albanach.[7] Although the latter poem is an elegy, the poet's depiction of his dead wife's

RIA MS 23 D 38 (26); Adv. MS 72.1.36; Rouen MS 1678; RIA MS 23 D 4 (5); BL Add. 40766; RIA MS 23 I 40 (6); TCD MS H. 5. 10 (1382); TCD MS H. 5. 11 (1383); The Red Book of Clanranald. I would like to thank Professor Seán Ó Coileáin for providing me with a copy of Ó Cuív's handout.

[4]For some discussion see Ó Háinle (2000: 47).

[5]See Ó Tuama (1986: 82–4) and Gillies (2016: 258).

[6]On whether Gearóid Iarla is in fact the author of *DG* 4, see Gillies (1977: 50 n. 18), Ó Tuama (1986: 82), Mac Craith (1989: 53–7) and Mac Mathúna (2010: 253–4 and 263–4).

[7]Edited in Bergin (1970: 101–3).

beauty and the expression of his profound sorrow at her parting from him are reminiscent of those *dánta grá* that deal with the loss of a lover.[8] It is, however, very different in tone to DG 4.

DG 54 by Isibeul Ní Mhic Cailín is on p. 292: the speaker in this poem deplores the suffering she has experienced as a result of love and hopes that the man she loved is suffering even more than she is. *DG* 54 is preceded by a poem beginning *Ne eirfee neall reithin royze* (*Ní iarrfaidh Niall reithe ruadh*) by Eóin Mac Muireadhaigh and is followed by various scribblings: there does not appear to be a thematic link between these writings.[9] Looking at the BDLM as a whole, rather than at the immediate manuscript contexts of the two *dánta grá* it contains, may be more fruitful in gaining an understanding of the attitude of its scribes to poetry on love and related matters: Gillies has noted that the BDLM contains 'a spectrum of different "voices" on the general subject of love and sex, marriage and gender' (2016: 258).[10] Of particular interest in the context of the present study is that the BDLM contains other poems on love or related topics by the authors of its two *dánta grá*: these are *Ní bhfuil an t-éag mar a theist* by Gearóid Iarla which tells of 'unattainable love', *A bhean na dtrí mbó* by Gearóid Iarla in which he warns a woman that her looks will not last and *Atá fleascach ar mo thí* by Ní Mhic Cailín on the pain of being separated from her lover (Gillies 2016: 259–60). *Éistibh, a lucht an tighe-se*, a poem 'on the sexual powers of the speaker's chaplain', may also be a composition of Ní Mhic Cailín's but the attribution is uncertain (Gillies 1977: 42).[11] These poems point to the necessity of looking beyond the contents of Ó Rathile's anthologies of love poetry to gain a greater understanding of Mac Gearailt and Ní Mhic Cailín as love poets.

Oxford Laud Misc. 615

Dán grá 15

This vellum manuscript was written in the 'early decades of the sixteenth century' (Ó Cuív 2001: 89–90).[12] It contains a collection of poems associated with Colum Cille and appears to have been compiled for a scholar rather than a patron (Herbert and O'Sullivan 1973: 174). On p. 140 at the very end of the manuscript is written the prayer beginning *A mhic ionmhain mhilis an Athur as treissi no gach righ*; the first line of *DG* 15 is written in a different and unidentified hand on the superior margin of this page.[13] This line is a question and translates as 'how is my only love?'

[8]Cf. Ó Conaire (1995–7), 235.

[9]A transcription of Mac Muireadhaigh's poem is given in Quiggin (1937: 106).

[10]More generally, see Gillies (1977) and Gillies (2016: 262–6).

[11]There are also poems on love and related matters in Gearóid Iarla's *duanaire*. See Mac Niocail (1963), Mac Ateer (1976: 582–90) and Ó Tuama (1986: 84).

[12]Some paper leaves were added later on when the manuscript was bound (Ó Cuív 2001: 88).

[13]I would like to thank Dr Mícheál Hoyne for bringing this to my attention.

NLS Adv. 72.1.2

Dán grá 99

This is a medical compendium assembled by the Beatons of Mull in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. It contains some non-medical texts, including a small amount of verse. The first quatrain of *DG* 99, in which a man informs a woman that he, unlike other men, will not die for her, is written on the margin of fol. 66r. The main text on this page is the gnomic text *Tecosca Cormaic*. Black (2011) suggests that this portion of the manuscript belongs to the sixteenth century.

UCD A 25

Dánta grá 7, 40, 69

UCD A 25 dates from the early seventeenth century – the date of 1628 is given on p. 127 – and belongs to the northern half of Ireland. A number of hands are evident, some of which have not been identified (Dillon, Mooney and de Brún 1969: 50). *DG* 7, which tells of how various personages from Irish tradition discovered love-gestures such as winking, kissing and sighing, is written on p. 126. The text that precedes it in this manuscript, *Ainic misi a Mhór*, is in a different hand and is a long poem of thirty one stanzas in *rannaíocht mhór* in which a man expresses to a woman named Mór the imperilled state he is in as a result of her beauty.[14] The main scribe of this volume, and the scribe of the other two *dánta grá* under discussion here, was possibly Brian Mag Niallghuis who 'may be identical with Bernardus mc Nellus of Glencolumbkille' (Dillon, Mooney and de Brún 1969: 37 and 50). *DG* 40, which tells of the suffering of a man who is in proximity to his beloved but unable to have direct contact with her, is written on p. 177. In the manuscript, *DG* 40 is preceded by *Tógaibh eadrad is Éire* by Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn and followed by *Foraire Uladh ar Aodh* by Maol Sheachluinn na nUirsgéal Ó hUiginn: there is no evident thematic link between these three poems. The text beginning *Dal Naoisi tre Deird[r]e ar ndál* on p. 129 is not found in Ó Rathile's edition of *DG* 69 but it forms part of the longer version of that poem in the Book of the O'Conor Don (see below).[15] In this text, the speaker compares himself and his beloved to famous couples in Irish tradition – Naoise and Deirdre, Cearbhall and Farbhlaidhe, and so on. The romantic tale *Tochmharc Farbhlaidhe*, which tells of the latter couple, is in fact written at the end of this manuscript, beginning on p. 217; Alan Bruford notes that this is a rare example of an Irish romantic tale 'whose principal theme is love' (1966/69: 26). There are also some jottings in Irish and Latin on the topic of love on p. 123 and p. 210. On the whole, UCD A 25 is miscellaneous in its content and while it contains a number of *dánta grá* and other texts that deal with love, there is no evidence of an attempt at thematic compilation. This is typical of those manuscripts which only contain a small number of *dánta grá*.

[14]A description is given by Simms (2010: poem 179).
[15]This is noted by Ní Laoire (1986: 23).

Br MS 6131–3 (the Book of O'Donnell's Daughter)

Dán grá 14

The initial portion of this manuscript contains poems on the O'Donnells of Donegal and was written for Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill, daughter of Aodh mac Maghnais, who died in Louvain before 1633 (Breatnach 2007: 16–17). The rest of the material in the manuscript was written subsequently and includes a quatrain from *DG* 14 written on the inside of the book's cover (Meyer 1908–10: 190). It appears that the entire manuscript was written outside of Ireland, probably in Flanders (O Lochlainn and Walsh 1947: 180). The quatrain from *DG* 14 corresponds to the second in Ó Rathile's edition (1926: 18) and in it, it is stated that a woman deserves to wear only the finest of brooches on her mantle.[16] There is no other love poetry in the manuscript.

The Book of the O'Conor Don

Dánta grá 6, 8, 10, 13, 17?, 28, 33, 34, 38, 39, 42?, 46, 47, 48, 51, 57, 61, 69, 73, 75, 79, 86, 88, 90, 94, 96 (i), 96 (ii), 106

The Book of the O'Conor Don (BOCD) was written mainly by Aodh Ó Dochartaigh in Ostend from January to December 1631 for Captain Somhairle Mac Domhnaill (Ó Macháin 2010: 6).[17] Katharine Simms notes that 'the different categories of poems' contained in the BOCD 'are normally very clearly distinguished from each other' and that this 'categorization is consistently observed' (2010a: 33). Accordingly, the *dánta grá* are written together in two specific sections of the manuscript. The first of these forms part of the opening section of the manuscript that comes before the contents page. Pádraig Ó Macháin has argued that this section may represent a 'trial piece' that was created 'before the greater project of the BOCD proper was embarked upon' (2010: 23). If we accept this view, the BOCD then would represent two separate albeit related manuscript compilations of *dánta grá*. The second section containing *dánta grá* is unfortunately lost but we know of its contents through the original index of the manuscript. Simms proposes that due to its 'invariably light and entertaining' content, it may have been detached deliberately as 'the more immediately readable section' of the larger book (2010a: 33).

The first section of the BOCD that contains *dánta grá* has been labelled 'Love, satire and miscellaneous' by Simms (2010a: 44). I reproduce below an adapted form of Simms's list of poems in this section, leaving out Tadhg Óg Ó hUiginn's *Mairce neach do ní derbháile* on fol. 24r and the poems that follow *Cionnus sin a fhir na mbreag* as they do not deal with love in any way, leaving us with a list of twenty-six poems, many of which do.

24r	Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa, *Ni mé bur naithne, a áos gráidh* (*DG* 47)
24r	Idem, *A bhean do ní an truaghpeacadh*
24v	Idem, *A bhean croidhe companta* (*DG* 96 (i))

[16]For a transcription, see O Lochlainn and Walsh (1947: 194).
[17]For more on Mac Domhnaill, see Ó hUiginn (2010).

24v Idem, *A fhir croidhe charuimsi* (*DG* 96 (ii))
24v *Trúagh do beatha a bhean areir* (*DG* 73)
24v *Do chuaidh mo shúil tar mo chuid* (*DG* 88)
24v Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa, *A mhacaoímh mhaoídheas do shlad*
24v Idem, *A fhir iomtnuidh an aois téd*
25r *[Ni mair sén do] gnáth* (*DG* 79)
25r Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn, *Fuarus féin im maith ó mhnaoí*
25r *An ccluine mé a mhacaoímh mná* (*DG* 39)
25r Tadhg Ó Cobhthaigh, *Corrach do chodhlus aréir* (*DG* 69)
25v Maghnus Ó Domhnaill, *Maircc do bheir gradh leattromach* (*DG* 51)
25v Maol Muire Ua hUiginn, *Slan uaim don da áodhaire*
25v Brian Mac Griallusa, *Da mbeith méanfhainne a nÉirinn*
25v Cú Chonnacht Ó Cléirigh, *Neimhthinn an galur é an grádh* (*DG* 8)
26 *Trí garrtha as ghnáthach na duanaibh*
26 *Ní chluinim sin a chláirseach*
26 *Aoibhinn duit, a dhuine bhoicht*
26 *Chionuidh ca cion ro bhaoi dhuinn*
26 *Gabhaidh agam, a aos rúin*
26 *Lá dá raibh an tiompánach*
27r *A bhean fuair an falachán* (*DG* 13)
27r *Cia tú fein a mhacaoimh mhná* (*DG* 48)
27r Domhnall mac Dáire Mac Bruaideadha, *Maircc duine bhraitheas é féin* (*DG* 86)
27r *Cionnus sin a fhir na mbreag*

Authorial attribution dictates the ordering of poems at the beginning of this section, where a number of poems by Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa are written one after another, but this principle of organisation is not adhered to consistently thereafter: *DG* 73 is anonymous, and while *DG* 88 is attributed to Ó hEódhusa in the only other extant copy, that in Giessen MS 1267 (discussed below), that is not the case here.[18] After the Ó hEódhusa poems, we find a mix of anonymous poems and poems attributed to various poets. I will now turn to the contents of the poems in this section. *DG* 47 is 'a love poem … in which the poet gravely argues that, having been slain by an angelic vision, he must really be dead' (Bergin 1970: 133). In *A bhean do ní an truaghpeacadh*, a man asks a woman to repent for the unspecified *truaghpheaca* (wretched sin) that she has committed and states that it would be a shame for her to end up in hell for such a slight misdemeanour: the man's jesting tone here suggests that he is not entirely serious.[19] *A bhean croidhe companta* and *A fhir croidhe charuimsi* are published as companion pieces in Ó Rathile (1926: 128–9): the male speaker of the first poem accuses his former beloved of having deceived

[18]On the question of whether *DG* 47 is to be attributed to Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa or Cú Chonnacht Ó Cléirigh, see Bergin (1970: 133 and 274) and Ó Háinle (1985: 6–7).

[19]The poem is classified as a love poem by Simms (2010: poem 11). The BOCD text lacks the final accentual verse in Ó Donnchadha's edition (1931: 288).

him, and in the second poem, the woman defends herself.[20] In *DG* 73, the speaker addresses a woman who is more sinful than anyone known to him and laments that she does not have the good sense to repent. This is an example of a so-called *dán grá* that is primarily a moral poem.[21] In *DG* 88, a man despairs of having his love reciprocated. The two Ó hEódhusa poems that follow this, *A mhacaoímh mhaoídheas do shlad* and *A fhir iomtnuidh an aoís téd* are entirely unconcerned with the theme of love.[22] In the anonymous *DG* 79, the speaker describes how a woman has beguiled and ruined him and many other men too. *Fuarus féin im maith ó mhnaoí* at first reading might not seem to have any thematic link to the *dánta grá* but some commentators have read it as a *double entendre* poem that describes the speaker's sexual relations with a woman (Ó Macháin 1998: 7; Ní Dhonnchadha 2002b: 380). In *DG* 39, the speaker warns his lover that they must remain apart for now because it is not safe for them to make public their love for one another. *DG* 69 is longer here than in Ó Rathile's edition and contains stanzas in which the two lovers are compared with famous lovers in Irish tradition.[23] *DG* 51, as its first line indicates, treats of unrequited love. This is followed by two non-love poems, although it is interesting to note that these poems do touch upon the not entirely unrelated theme of friendship. In *Slán uaim don dá aodhuire*, the poet expresses his sense of the inefficacy of the written word in reaching the hearts of the two friends whom he addresses: 'créad fá mbeinn re fuairleitribh?/ do-chimid croidhe a chéile' ('Why should I have recourse to cold letters? We see each other's hearts.')[24] In *Da mbeith méanfhainne a nÉirinn*, one poet speaks in affectionate terms to another. The addressee here may in fact be Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa as his Christian name is given in the fourth stanza.[25] *DG* 8 is a twist on the typical depiction of love as an unbearable disease in the *dánta grá*: here, the speaker boasts that he feels better than ever since falling in love with a woman.

Folio 26 is missing from the manuscript and Simms indicates that four of the poems which were on it are not found in any other manuscript: these are *Ní chluinim sin a chláirseach*, *Chionuidh ca cion ro bhaoi dhuinn*, *Gabhaidh agam, a aos rúin*, *Lá dá raibh an tiompánach* (Simms 2010a: 44). *Trí garrtha as ghnáthach na duanaibh* describes 'scenes of battle and revelry in a seaside fortress' (O'Rahilly 1927: 85) and *Aoibhinn duit, a dhuine bhoicht* is a moralizing poem in which a man is reproached for neglecting God due to his mind being occupied by the pains of love.[26] *DG* 13 is a poem in praise of the beauty of a woman; in *DG* 48, the poet beseeches a beautiful woman to

[20]These poems are discussed in the wider context of Ó hEódhusa's *ouevre* by Mac Craith (2006).

[21]Ó Háinle discusses *dánta grádha* 'which only poorly accommodate themselves to … the title' (2000: 47). See also Ó Háinle (2013: 175–7).

[22]See Simms (2010: poems 95 and 67).

[23]See discussion of UCD A 25 above.

[24]Edited in O'Rahilly (1927: 143). On the identity of the two men, which the poet does not dare reveal in the poem, see Sharpe (2013: 267–8). The English translation is mine.

[25]See *ABM* (xi and 190).

[26]This is edited by Ó Donnchadha (1931: 289).

reveal her identity to him; *DG* 86 is a reflection by a man who judges that he is more upset at parting from his lover than she is at parting from him. *Cionnus sin a fhir na mbreag* is described by O'Rahilly as being about 'one whose store of lying promises was inexhaustible' (1927: 76). Simms describes this poem as a didactic poem with a question mark after this label (2010a: 44). In the third quatrain, the speaker addresses the lying man as 'a dhéad geal' ('O white-toothed one'), which, in its suggestion that the speaker has an emotional connection to the liar, gives the poem as a whole a tone of intimacy it might otherwise lack. This poem could be read as one in which a female speaker admonishes a man for the extent of his dishonesty, with the subtext that this dishonesty is in his romantic dealings with women, but it is difficult to be certain.[27] Whatever the case may be, the rest of the poems in this section of the BOCD have no thematic connection to love poetry and they do not need to be described here.

The second section of the BOCD to contain *dánta grá* runs from fol. 415 to the very end of the manuscript and has been labelled as 'Love poems, and miscellaneous' by Simms (2010a: 60). The list that follows is again adapted from Simms (2010a: 60); some of these poems are also found in the earlier section of the BOCD discussed above.

415 *Beag liom mo bheandoct don bhás* (*DG* 10)
415 *Dia a naghaidh na hionmhuine*
416 *A bhean do ní an truagh speacadh*
416 *A fhir do ní an t-éad (DG 94)*
416 *Aithreach damh mo dhiochoisge (DG 61)*
417 *A dhuine chodlus go sáimh (DG 34)*
417 *Mo bennocht mar dligim dheit (DG 33)*
417 *Ní taobhtha dhamhsa riom fein (DG 46)*
418 *Maith gach ní on easurraidh (DG 57)*
418 *Ni saimh iachtacht an aoibhnis*
418 *Aoibhinn duit, a dhuine dhoill (DG 28)*
419 *Mairg duine bhíos antuigseach (DG 75)*
419 *Mairg do bheir gradh leatromach (DG 51)*
419 *A Shlaine ní Flannagáin*
419 *Soraidh slán don oidhche aréir (DG 38)*
420 *Aoibhinn sin, a dhamhain duinn*
420 *Na bi dom buaidhreadh, a bhean (DG 17 or DG 42)*
420 *Do beirim seal re saobhnós (DG 6)*
421 *Ionmhuin aisgidh fuair meisi*
422 *Mor do níd daoine díbh fein*
42[ ] *Tugus gradh don fhuath (DG 90)*
42[ ] *Truagh do bhruid, a bhean*

[27]Cf. *DG* 80 in which a female speaker states that many women have been duped by men's falsity in this sphere.

In *DG* 10, the speaker ridicules living people who say they are dead because of love. *Dia a naghaidh na hionmhuine* is not, to my knowledge, found in any other manuscript. The poem that follows it, *A bhean do ní an truagh speacadh* (*sic*) has been discussed above. *DG* 94 deals with a jealous lover; in *DG* 61, a man expresses his regret that he did not avoid the sight of the a woman; the speaker in *DG* 34 discusses how he suffers for love. Simms (2010a: 60) indicates that *Mo bennocht mar dligim dheit* is not known elsewhere than the BOCD but it is likely to have been a copy of *DG* 33, which begins with the very similar line *Ar mbeannacht mar dhlighim dheit*: this deals again with a suffering lover. In *DG* 46, the speaker suffers so deeply from love that he is unsure whether he is alive or dead; *DG* 57 is again on the pains of love. *Ní saimh iachtacht an aoibhnis* is a lost poem. In *DG* 28, the speaker is suffering so much from seeing the woman he loves that he wishes he were blind; in *DG* 75, the speaker laments that he can see but not touch the woman he desires; *DG* 51 on unrequited love appears here for the second time in the BOCD. *A Shlaine ní Flannagáin* has been edited from the copy in RIA MS 23 D 4 (5) by Máirín Ní Dhonnchadha who describes it as 'a bawdy poem addressed to a named woman which exploits the *double entendre* of words associated with weaving' (1995: 65). In *DG* 38, elsewhere attributed to Niall Mór Mac Muireadhaigh, the speaker regrets that he can no longer be with his lover. *Aoibhinn sin, a dhamhain duinn* is a lost poem. Two *dánta grá*, *DG* 17 and *DG* 42, start with the line *Na bi dom buaidhreadh, a bhean* and it is uncertain which one of these was contained in the BOCD: in *DG* 17, the speaker asks a woman to reciprocate his love and in *DG* 42, the speaker asks the woman he loves to stop tormenting him. In *DG* 6, elsewhere attributed to Laoiseach Mac an Bhaird, the speaker declares his love for a woman named Gráinne, and *Ionmhuin aisgidh fuair meisi* is not found in any other manuscript. *Mor do níd daoine díbh fein*, elsewhere attributed to Fear Feasa Ó'n Cháinte, comprises a series of '[s]trictures on some critics and sciolists of his day' (O'Grady 1926: 555).[28] In *DG* 90, the speaker states that hate is preferable to love as its effects are less deleterious. The final poem here, *Truagh do bhruid, a bhean*, is again not found in any other manuscript.

There is one more *dán grá* in the BOCD – that is, *DG* 106, on fol. 76v, in the section of the manuscript labelled 'Religious and Didactic' by Simms (2010a: 45): it fits better into this category than that of love poetry.[29]

MN C 59 (3 B 30)

Dánta grá 47, 105

The leaves of this manuscript belong originally to a manuscript in the private possession of the Stapletons of Silvermines (Béal Átha Gabhann), Co. Tipperary (Ó Fiannachta 1984: 161, 163; de Brún 1988: 38).[30] These leaves

[28]A text of this poem from BL Add. 29614 is given by O'Grady here.

[29]See Williams (1979: 24) and Ó Háinle (2000: 47).

[30]At an earlier point, this manuscript was classified as belonging to the eighteenth century. See Ó Fiannachta and Ó Maoileachlainn (1968: 102).

were written by Seán Galldubh mac Piarais in 1645 and contain bardic poetry mostly (Ó Fiannachta 1984: 163). *DG* 105, a moral poem, is written on p. 12 (fol. 54). *DG* 47 is written on p. 21 (fol. 59), followed by the poem beginning *A mhacaoimh dhealbhas an dán*: Ó Háinle (1985: 7) has argued that the latter poem was composed in response to *DG* 47. This manuscript also contains the love *aisling* beginning *Meanmach m'aisling a cCraig Léith*.[31]

NLS Adv. 72.1.49

Dánta grá 46, 51
This was written by an unknown scribe *c.* 1618–47 and is a collection of bardic verse (Black 2011). The scribe may have been located in Ulster (Black 1989: 155). *DG* 46 is on fol. 17v followed by *DG* 51.

NLS Adv. 72.1.35

Dánta grá 27, 101
This manuscript is now lost (MacKinnon 1912: 221; Black 1989: 158). It was written in different hands, including that of Edmond Mac Laghlan, in the middle of the seventeenth century – the dates 1654 and 1655 are given – and it contained mostly 'Irish poetry of comparatively modern date' (MacKinnon 1912: 222). MacKinnon provides the texts of three poems from notes he took himself before the manuscript went missing: these include *DG* 27 and *DG* 101 (MacKinnon 1912: 223–4). In *DG* 27, the speaker asks the letter he is sending to his beloved to find out from her whether he will die or suffer forever. I have found no other source for this poem. In *DG* 101, the speaker warns a woman of the futility of beauty: it is thus a didactic poem. The third poem given by MacKinnon is a love *aisling* beginning *Aoibhinn m'aisling ar Loch Ria* (1912: 224–5).

RIA MS A v 2 (744)

Dánta grá 15, 56, 64
The three *dánta grá* in this manuscript belong to the tale *Eachtra Uilliam*, an Irish translation of an English prose version of the Middle-English verse romance *William of Palerne* (O'Rahilly 1949: ix–xi).[32] The poems were added by the Irish translator and they resume the speech or dialogues that precede them (O'Rahilly 1949: xvi). The portion of the manuscript that contains *Eachtra Uilliam* appears to be in a mid-seventeenth-century hand (O'Rahilly 1949: vii). Cecile O'Rahilly proposes that the Irish text 'may go back to the 16th century' (1949: xi); Charles W. Dunn, commenting on O'Rahilly's edition, suggests a *terminus a quo* of 1520–9 (1957: 850). No other manuscript copies of *Eachtra Uilliam* survive but there is evidence that other copies existed in

[31]This has been edited by Ó Fiannachta (1969: 115–18).

[32]For the relationship of the English verse and prose versions to the French original, see O'Rahilly 1949: ix–xi. The location of the poems in Cecile O'Rahilly's edition is as follows: *DG* 15, ll. 1657–88; *DG* 56, ll. 248–91; *DG* 64, ll. 570–621.

the past and one poem from the *Eachtra* was written as an independent piece in a small number of manuscripts (O'Rahilly 1949: vii and 227).[33] The lovers of the *Eachtra*, Meliór and Uilliam, are named amongst other famous lovers from the literary tradition in *DG* 71: Tomás Ó Rathile, then, was not the first person to conceive of a connection between this tale and the *dánta grá*.

NLS Adv. 72.1.48

Dánta grá 76, 86
This seventeenth-century manuscript was written at some point after 1660 by an unidentified scribe who was a contemporary of Niall MacMhuirich (*c*. 1639–1726) (Black 2011). It contains syllabic poetry including *DG* 76, in which the speaker marvels at the quick and immodest mind of his lover, on fol. 4v and *DG* 86 on fol. 23r.

TCD MS H. 5. 28 (1399)

Dán grá 11
An unidentified scribe wrote this manuscript in 1679 and it contains romances and poetry. *DG* 11, in which the speaker diagnoses a woman with love-sickness and conjectures that it is he himself the woman is in love with, is on fol. 188b followed by the love *aisling* beginning *Do mhúsgail mé tar éis luighe aréir go sámh*.[34] Elsewhere, this manuscript contains a number of poems dealing with love: *Tuirseach dhamh ag éirghe lae* (fol. 161b), *Do charas tar aon an Deirdre dhea-ghnúiseach* (fol. 164b) and *Do ghad mo sherc 's do gabhadh mé 'na líon* (fol. 156a).[35]

Giessen Universitätsbibliothek MS 1267

Dánta grá 33, 51, 88, 92, 103
Domhnall Ó hEidirsceoil, likely a Munsterman, wrote this manuscript of miscellaneous content at Louvain in 1684 (Stern 1895: 9–10). *DG* 103 is on fol. 14r: Ó Háinle argues that this is a *memento mori* in which Death speaks to a young woman (2000: 52; 2013: 184) whereas Ní Dhonnchadha reads it as a homoerotic poem in which a female speaker warns a woman not to marry any man (2002b: 413). *DG* 92, a poem on jealousy, is written on fol. 25v and corresponds more closely to the *trí rainn agus amhrán* version of this poem than the longer version in *Dánta Grádha*.[36] In this manuscript, three *dánta grá* are written as one text, attributed to Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa and beginning on fol. 53r: these are *DG* 88 (stanzas 1–3, 5–7), *DG* 33 (stanzas 1, 3, 2, 4–6) and

[33]The three *dánta grá* are not found in any other manuscripts with the exception of the first line of *DG* 15. See discussion of Oxford Laud Misc. 615 above.

[34]See Vendryes (1931: 45–6) and Doan (1980: 16–19).

[35]Edited respectively in de Brún, Ó Buachalla and Ó Concheanainn (1971: 58–60 and 43–4) and in Mhac an tSaoi (1950: 155–6).

[36]Edited in Ó Baoill and Ó Dochartaigh (1996: 20).

DG 51 (stanzas 1–3, 7). The attribution of (parts of) *DG* 33 and *DG* 51 to Ó hEódhusa here is spurious.

TCD MS H. 5. 9 (1381)

Dánta grá 2, 3, 13, 33, 41, 42, 62, 74, 81, 82, 83
Three or more different scribes had a hand in writing this manuscript which is dated to *c.* 1684: one of the three gives his name as Turlough O'Reilly.[37] No location is given but it is likely that the scribe belonged to the O'Reillys of Breifne (modern-day County Cavan).[38] I will look first at the cluster of *dánta grá* and other thematically related verse that begins on p. 73. This cluster is preceded by an acephalous copy of the religious poem *Triúr atá ag brath ar mo bhás*.[39]

73 *Mairg táobhas ben mo dhiaigh* (*DG* 82)
73 *Aoibhinn an galar grádh mna* (*DG* 2)
73 *Ná bí dom bhuaidreadh a bhean* (*DG* 42)
74 *Ar mbeannacht mur dhligheam dheit* (*DG* 33)
75 *Buadheartha an giolla e an grádh* (*DG* 62)
77 *Mithe dhamh fuireach go mín*
79 *Mo chion dar lucht abarrthach* (*DG* 74)
81 *A chiúin bhean na nurfholt*

In *DG* 82, the speaker warns that women's love is fleeting and in contrast to this, the speaker of *DG* 2 proclaims that love for a woman is a beautiful disease. The speaker of *DG* 42 asks a woman whose love has tormented him to keep away from him; the speaker of *DG* 33 claims that he is dying from love of a woman who is indifferent to him; the speaker in *DG* 62 again complains of how he suffers from love. *DG* 62 contains five quatrains as in Ó Rathile's edition and not seventeen as stated in the manuscript catalogue.[40] It is followed by a poem beginning *Mithe dhamh fuireach go mín* which is not included in the catalogue description: this is a poem in mixed syllabic and accentual verse in which each verse is connected by the linking alliterative device of *conchlann*. This poem treats of 'unhappy love' (Flower 1926: 171). In *DG* 74, the speaker tells a woman that he wishes the rumours circulating of a love affair between them were true. *DG* 74 is followed by *A chiúin bhean na nurfholt*, a verse in accentual metre in which a man addresses a woman who has said he is not worthy of her love. This is followed on pp. 81 and 82 by some other verses and miscellaneous scribblings, some of which deal with the topic of women.

There are a number of *dánta grá* in other parts of this manuscript as well as some other poems that touch on love or related topics. *DG* 13, a poem in praise of a woman's hair, is written on pp. 10–11. *DG* 41 begins on p. 27: this

[37]Abott and Gwynn (1922: 236).
[38]See Gwynn (1921/3: 1).
[39]See O'Rahilly (1927: poem 75).
[40]Abbott and Gwynn (1922: 237).

is now understood to be not a love poem but a professional praise poem in which the poet adopts the conceit of a woman who is torn between loving two men (Carney 1955: 259). It is preceded in the manuscript by an Ossianic lay, *Aoibhin do chaithim an bhliadhain*, in which Diarmuid Ó Duibhne of the Fianna boasts of his amorous success with women.[41] Two stanzas of a 'half illegible' love song are written on p. 96 (Abbott and Gwynn 1922: 238) and in the poem beginning *Tugas do mhnaoi grádh* on p. 113, a man announces his urge to tell the world of his love for a woman. The last two quatrains of this poem are illegible. *DG* 81 begins on p. 137: here, an apologue is used to explain the ending of a love relationship (Ó Caithnia 1984: 190). *DG* 81 is followed without a break by a version of *DG* 83, another *dán grá* that uses an apologue, here to express the idea that women's promises of fidelity are not to be trusted (Ó Caithnia 1984: 193). The text of *DG* 83 here is quite different to Ó Rathile's version. The pages that follow this contain again some miscellaneous verse on women, some of which is difficult to decipher. There is a copy of *DG* 3 on p. 151: in this poem, the speaker rebukes those who portray women in a negative light.

BL Egerton 187

Dán grá 101
This was written in 1686 by Uilliam Ó Loingsigh, a scribe of the Ó Neachtain circle, in Dublin: he lived in Dublin where 'he seems to have learnt his not impeccable Irish' (Flower 1926: 19). There is a copy of *DG* 101 on fol. 31 in the manuscript. This poem is rightly a moral poem, not a love poem: the manuscript as a whole is taken up with poetry including a number of other moral poems.

RIA MS 23 D 38 (26)

Dánta grá 78, 91
Uilliam Ó Duinnín wrote this in Dublin in 1688 for a man named Toirdhealbhach Ó Domhnaill. There is a series of anonymous poems in this manuscript on pp. 53–67: this begins with *DG* 78, in which the speaker praises a kiss he received from another man's wife, followed by *DG* 91 in which the speaker regrets that he no longer spends his time wooing as he once used to. There are no other poems that deal with love in this manuscript of miscellaneous content.

TCD MS H. 5. 3 (1375)

Dán grá 19
Cormac McPharlane wrote this manuscript in the years 1696–8. It contains poetry mostly: *DG* 19, an echo poem on love, is on p. 70 and in a colophon

[41]The manuscript text is 'largely illegible' (Abbott and Gwynn 1922: 237). For an edition of this lay, see Ó Siochfhradha (1941: 274).

after it, the scribe indicates that he was copying from an original which he had difficulty reading.[42]

NLS Adv. 72.1.36

Dánta grá 38, 55, 99, 102
This was written *c*. 1690–99 by Eoghan Mac Gilleoin (Hugh MacLean) of Kilchenzie, Kintyre for a man named Colin Campbell and contains poetry and some prose tales (Black 2011). *DG* 102, rightly a moralizing poem, begins on fol. 82v and finishes at the foot of fol.83r. *DG* 55, in which the speaker asks a messenger to tell a woman of his love, appears in the manuscript twice: on fol. 85r and on fol. 114v. The copy of *DG* 55 on fol. 85 is followed by *DG* 38. *DG* 99 is on fol. 93v.

RIA MS 23 D 4 (5)

Dánta grá 9, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 28, 32, 36, 37, 38, 47, 57, 59, 60, 67, 68, 70, 80, 83, 84, 85, 89, 97, 98, 105, 106
The scribe of this manuscript is unidentified but O'Rahilly states that his spelling suggests he was a Munsterman; the manuscript is dated to the seventeenth century (O'Rahilly et al. 1926–70: 30). This manuscript contains more *dánta grá* than any other, most of which are written in four particular clusters within the manuscript, suggesting that the ordering of texts within the manuscript was to some extent based on thematic considerations. Other organising principles are also evident, however: there is, in particular, a tendency to write poems of unknown authorship one after another.

The first cluster of *dánta grá* is on pp. 52–65 within a larger grouping of anonymous poems from pp. 29–72.[43] It is interesting to note that the first *dán grá* in this cluster, *DG* 83, has a similar opening line to the two non-love poems that precede it in the manuscript, namely *Mairg rug ar an aimsirsi* and *Mairg do chuaidh re ceird ndúthchais*.[44] This cluster of *dánta grá* and other poems dealing with love runs as follows:

52 *Mairg do ní cumann ris na mnaibh* (*DG* 83)
55 [Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn], *An tusa an bhean do bhí sonn*
59 *Aoibhinn duit, a dhuine dhoill* (*DG* 28)
60 *Na bí dom buaidreadh, a bhean* (*DG* 17)
61 *Uch fa ríor, ón uch fa ríor* (*DG* 68)
62 *Fuar do féin an croidhe tinn* (*DG* 20)
63 *A Dhuibhghil, an ccloin tú an gháir*

[42]For discussion of *DG* 19 and the echo as a literary device, see Mac Craith (1989: 62–74).

[43]The authors of a number of these poems have, however, been identified from elsewhere by the cataloguer.

[44]The first of these is classified as a satire by Simms (2010: poem 1289). The second is known to have been composed by Fear Flatha Ó Gnímh and deals with 'the downfall of the poetic order' (Bergin 1970: 120).

64 *Leathtrom so, a inghean Úghna* (*DG* 60)
65 *Mor mo ghalur do ghrádh mná* (*DG* 23)

The text of *DG* 83 here is quite different to that of O'Rahilly's edition but the overall message of the poem, a warning to men not to confide in or trust women, remains the same. *An tusa an bhean do bhí sonn* is a love *aisling* and has features in common with the *dánta grá* (Knott 1922: lxiii). *DG* 28 and *DG* 17, mentioned earlier on in this paper, are both love poems. In *DG* 68, a man expresses the confused state he is in as a result of love's disease; *DG* 20 again deals with the suffering caused by love. The poem beginning *A Dhuibhghil, an ccloin tú an ghair* comes from the romantic tale *Bás Cearbhaill agus Farbhlaidhe* which was composed at some point between *c.* 1406 and 1555 (Ní Laoire 1986: 23).[45] At the point in the tale where this poem occurs, Farbhlaidhe's lover Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh remembers nothing about her, having imbibed a drink of forgetfulness, and he is wedded to another woman. While the wedding feast is taking place, Farbhlaidhe sneaks into Cearbhall's sleeping chamber with her foster-mother Duibhghil: in the poem, she expresses her anguish at hearing the clamour of the wedding and she curses any woman who will give credence to a man after her apparent betrayal by Cearbhall.[46] The story of Cearbhall and Farbhlaidhe was widely known and is referred to in a number of poems, including *DG* 69 (Ní Laoire 1986: 23). In *DG* 60, a woman named Eisibéal Stívín is reproached for the damage she has done to both the speaker in the poem and a man named Maghnas Ó Caoimh: it is not entirely certain if we are to take it at face value as a love poem or whether the love triangle depicted here stands as a metaphor for some other sort of relationship.[47] *DG* 23 is yet another poem on the pains of love.

A second cluster of love poems is found on pp. 124–38: these are written again within a larger grouping of anonymous poems running from pp. 117–40. The cluster of love poems is as follows:

124 *Seachnuig súil ní nách faiceann* (*DG* 84)
124 *A bhean na ccíoch ccorrsholus* (*DG* 32)
129 *Ar craig aluinn na n-eas mín*
130 *Neart Rí gréine ron cabhair*
131 *Gabh mo theagasg, a bhean bhán*
133 *Maith gach ní on easurra* (*DG* 57)
134 [Mac-con Ó Cléirigh], *A bhean na lurgan loime* (*DG* 97)
135 *Dlighthear díograis d'éanmhnaoi uaim*
136 [Maolmuire Ó Huiginn], *Slán uaim don dá aodhuire*
137 *Dubh Ruis do bo ríogha a ghnúis*

[45]Bruford (1966/9: 26–7) remarks that *Tochmarc Fearbhlaide* is a rare example of a romantic tale whose main theme is love and notes that it is 'based on known Old Irish sources, and owes nothing to continental romance'.

[46]See the edition by Ní Laoire (1986: 49–50).

[47]Cf. Mac Craith (1989: 174) who suggests that the poem may be a 'píosa spraoi' i.e. a playful poem not to be taken literally.

DG 84 deals with the end of a love affair. *DG* 32, a love poem, in this manuscript is longer than the text in *Dánta Grádha* and corresponds to an earlier edition of that poem published by O'Rahilly (1913: 239–43). In the notes to this edition, O'Rahilly states that the poems as it stands in RIA MS 23 D 4 (5) is probably 'not in its original form', due to the lack of a *dúnadh*. He furthermore suggests that the poem would gain by being divided into three parts (1913: 242). This suggestion does not correspond to the changes he made to the text in *Dánta Grádha*: there, he has left out stanzas 16–23 which give a list of great men – Ovid, Alexander the Great, Diarmuid Ó Duibhne and Conall Gulban – who were led astray by women, and stanza 28 which O'Rahilly thought to be an interpolation as it is in a different metre to the rest of the poem (1913: 243). *Ar craig aluinn na n-eas mín* and *Neart Rí gréine ron cabhair* have not been been published. The first of these is of the love *aisling* type: the speaker sees a fairy woman (*sioguidhe*), praises her beauty and states that this sight would make an old man young again. In the second poem, the speaker asks God 'to protect him from woman's love which he puts alongside other great dangers: the devil and worldliness' (Ó Cuív 1980: 78). The latter poem is thus moralizing poetry rather than a love poem, as is the poem that follows it, *Gabh mo theagasg, a bhean bhán* in which a woman is warned not to think too highly of her beauty.[48] Before *DG* 57, a couplet from *Gluais a litir go Lunndain* is written and then cancelled: the full poem is found on p. 98 in the manuscript.[49] *DG* 57 is a love poem but the status of *DG* 97 is less certain: it is classified as a satire by Simms (2010: poem 18) and Caball argues that it is 'a vituperative poem on [a man's] separation from his wife' that reveals his 'disdainful attitude to the Established Church' (1993: 90). *Dlighthear díograis d'éanmhnaoi uaim* is a poem 'for a loved one who surpasses all other women' (Ó Cuív 1980: 78). *Slán uaim don dá aodhuire*, discussed above, is not a love poem.

Some digression is necessary to demonstrate that the last poem in the list above is of thematic relevance. It is an elegy and may form part of a lost romantic tale which 'perished in the sixteenth or seventeenth century' (Ó Cuív 1954: 326). In later manuscripts, a newer version of the romance tale is placed as an introduction to the elegy: Ó Cuív suggests that this version preserves 'the gist' of the earlier tale, being 'probably based on old traditions' (1954: 326). The story as we have it depicts the healing power of the love relationship that develops between Mis, who has lost her mind after witnessing the slaying of her father, and Dubh Ruis. Although the elegy that is placed after this tale is attributed to Mis herself in a number of manuscripts (O'Rahilly 1950: 383), it is clearly uttered from the point of view of a male speaker.[50] There is a brief reference to Mis in stanza 19 of the elegy but Dubh Ruis's irresistibility to womankind as a whole is treated in more detail than any love relationship he

[48]Edited in Williams (1979: 58–9).

[49]This is edited in Bergin (1970: 151–3). The cancelled couplet corresponds to the first two lines of stanza 20 in the edition.

[50]This is noted in Ní Dhonnchadha (2002: 238).

might have had with Mis.[51] *Dubh Ruis do bo ríogha a ghnúis* is incomplete in RIA 23 D 4 (5) due to loss of a leaf: the manuscript copies of this text vary in the number of stanzas and their order (McKenna 1919: 83), so it cannot be assumed that the full text of RIA 23 D 4 (5) corresponded exactly to McKenna's edition. What remains of the poem in this manuscript has but a tenuous link to the love poems that precede it but it is not unreasonable to assume that the scribe was aware of the wider tradition concerning Dubh Ruis's love relationship with Mis and that this might have influenced his placing of the poem at the end of a cluster of poems dealing mostly with love.

The third cluster of *dánta grá* in this manuscript is less clearly defined in that it contains a good deal of non-love poetry too. Most of the poems here are anonymous but a number have authorial attributions.

212 Conchubhar Ó Dálaigh Cairbreach, *A Shiobhán, daingnidh ar ndáil*
213 *A chompáin, coimhnig meisi*
213 *Tre cheannarraic lucht fearainn is maoine is stóir*
214 *Truagh do thoisg, a fhir na scéal*
214 *Mairg do dhuine, mairg do neoch*
215 Gofraidh Mac an Bhaird, *An sgitheach thú, a mhacaoimh mná* (*DG* 70)
216 Muiris mac Dháibhí Dhuibh, *A ógáin, ón a ógáin* (*DG* 106)
217 idem, *Sguir dod tshuirghe, lean dod leas* (*DG* 105)
219 *A fhir dhéanta pleidi re bruinnealluibh stáit*
219 *A shaoghail, ón a shaoghail*
219 *A shaoghuil bhreaguidh ní fhuil eifeacht ann do chor*
220 *D'fhágbhas an saogal séadach*
221 *Aghuidh gach droichsgeoil amach* (*DG* 9)
223 *Ní hadhbhur seargtha go seirc* (*DG* 67)
224 *Da mudh dubh an fhairrge*

It is interesting to note that the poem at the beginning of the list above, *A Shiobhán, daingnidh ar ndáil* by Conchubhar Ó Dálaigh Cairbreach, is a petition to a female patron in which the the language of love relationships is used to express the bond between patron and poet.[52] This poem is followed by a love poem beginning *A chompáin, coimhnig meisi*.[53] The next three pieces deal with miscellaneous topics. *Tre cheannarraic lucht fearainn is maoine is stóir* is a verse in accentual metre on financial matters; *Truagh do thoisg, a fhir na scéal* depicts a person's response to receving an anguishing piece of news from a visitor, a response not entirely different to the suffering wrought by love upon the body in love poems;[54] *Mairg do dhuine, mairg do neoch* warns

[51]See McKenna (1919: 75–8). Dubh Ruis's desirability to women is mentioned in stanzas 10 and 17.

[52]See *ABM* (poem 21).

[53]Edited by Breatnach (2004: 140) and Ní Dhonnchadha (1994: 117–18).

[54]See O'Rahilly (1927: poem 34). The speaker does not know whether he is dead or alive, he cannot distinguish opposites, and so on.

against inhospitableness.[55] In *DG* 70, the speaker in an exaggerated tone asks a woman if she is not satisfied with the large number of men she has already killed with her beauty. *DG* 105 and *DG* 106 are both moral poems.[56] This verse in accentual metre beginning *A fhir dhéanta pléide le bruinnealaibh stáit* warns of the moral danger of seducing women.[57] The three pieces that follow this all deal with the concept of renunciation of the world. The first of these, *A shaoghail, ón a shaoghail* is by Fear Feasa Ó'n Cháinte.[58] The quatrain in accentual metre beginning *A shaoghuil bhreaguidh ní fhuil eifeacht ann do chor* is included as part of Ó'n Cháinte's poem in the catalogue description but I treat it here as a separate piece as there is a *dúnadh* at the end of the last quatrain in syllabic metre in *A shaoghail, ón a shaoghail*. In *D'fhágbhas an saogal séadach*, a man warns people not to hold on to worldly wealth. In *DG* 9, the speaker pokes fun at those who say they are dying from love; in *DG* 67, the speaker complains of the suffering caused to him by love. The two quatrains in accentual verse beginning *Da mudh dubh an fhairrge* deal with women, arguing that women's evil is so great that it would be impossible to ever express it fully.[59] The poems that follow have nothing to do with love or women.

The fourth and final cluster of love poems in this manuscript run from p. 383 to p. 403:

383 *Baoghal dí lá an bhreitheamhnuis* (*DG* 59)
384 *Ní mé bhur n-aithne, a aos gráidh* (*DG* 47)
386 *Iommhain, a bhean, h'óirneamh fhuilt* (*DG* 25)
387 *A bhean atá lán dom f[h]uath* (*DG* 85)
388 *Mairg duin dar dhán* (*DG* 37)
389 *Fada ag seargadh sinn* (*DG* 36)
389 *Mairg dara galar grádh baoth* (*DG* 22)
390 *Déanam fan moine so soir*
391 *Saobh do chiall, a chroidhe leamh* (*DG* 21)
392 *Soradh slán don oidhche a réir* (*DG* 38)
392 *Mo dheaghchnú gan cheilt tú go ccuirthar mhe a ccré*
393 *Sí mo ghrádh, ón sí mo ghrádh* (*DG* 18)
393 *Ni dhéan iomarca ar dhuine ar bheith míthreórach*
394 *Tugus mo thoil do dhías bhan*
395 *Tugus féin mo ghrádh ar fhuath* (*DG* 89)
395 *Ní mheallfa tú mhisi, a bhean* (*DG* 98)
397 *Cumann fallsa grádh na bhfear* (*DG* 80)
397 *Tuirseach mhe dod chomannsa*
398 *Uch, a bhreac, do bhás*
399 *Fuaras fríth is misde mhe*
400 *Ag amharc bacholl sallta na ccámdhlaoi mbuídhe*

[55]Edited by Breatnach (2004a: 196).
[56]See Williams (1979: 24).
[57]Edited by O'Rahilly (1925a: 23).
[58]Edited by McKenna (1938: 14–15)
[59]Edited by O'Rahilly (1921: 17).

In *DG* 59, a man loves a woman who is indifferent to him; *DG* 47 was discussed above; in *DG* 25, the speaker would be happy to die for the love of a woman. In *DG* 85, the speaker reminds a woman who now hates him that she once loved him; in *DG* 37, the speaker regrets that he ever saw the woman for whom he has unrequited love; in both *DG* 36 and *DG* 22, the speakers tell of the damage love has wrought upon them. *Déanam fan moine so soir* is a love poem in which a woman entices a young man to accompany her into a grove.[60] In *DG* 21, the speaker regrets that he ever trusted his foolish heart which has led him astray: the manuscript text contains two extra quatrains left out of Ó Rathile's edition.[61] *DG* 38, mentioned earlier, is a love poem. *Mo dheaghchnú gan cheilt tú go ccuirthar mhe a ccré* is a single verse in accentual metre which deals with the same theme as *DG* 38, that is to say, the sorrow of parting from a lover. *DG* 18 once more deals with the suffering caused by love. *Ni dhéan iomarca ar dhuine ar bheith míthreórach* is another single verse in accentual metre: here, the speaker appears to express his equanimity in the face of hardship. In *Tugus mo thoil do dhías bhan*, the speaker declares that he is torn between two women with whom he has fallen in love to the point that his heart has split in two. In *DG* 89, a man has changed from loving a woman to hating her; *DG* 98 is a moral poem in which the speaker condemns those who would choose love over the possibility of going to heaven; in *DG* 80, a female speaker condemns men for their deceit in amorous matters. *Tuirseach mhe dod chomannsa* deals not with love but with a friendship that has fallen apart.[62] *Uch, a bhreac, do bhás* and *Fuaras fríth is misde mhe* are both in a mix of syllabic and accentual verses linked by the device of *conchlann*: the first of these deals with the loss of a cow and the second is a love *aisling* in which the speaker tells of his suffering due to love.[63] *Ag amharc bacholl sallta na ccámdhlaoi mbuídhe* appears to be a verse in praise of a woman's beauty. The poems that follow these do not have any connection with love.

There are a number of other poems that deal with love in this manuscript, outside the clusters identified above. A poem connected with the romantic tale *Tochmharc Farbhlaidhe* is written on p. 71: this is the poem beginning *Uchán do lámh, a Dhuibhghil* in which Cearbhall expresses his sorrow that Duibhghil has been injured whilst enabling his continued contact with his lover Farbhlaidhe.[64] This is followed on p. 72 by *Slán le simeannrug Airt Óig* in which a male speaker 'has given up philandering to devote himself to the love of one faithful woman'.[65] Finally, there is a copy of the poem *A Shláine ingean Fhlannagáin*, discussed above, on p. 92 of the manuscript.

[60]Edited by Ní Dhonnchadha (1994: 116–17).

[61]These are probably later accretions to the original poem as there is a *dúnadh* at the end of O'Rahilly's edited text.

[62]O'Rahilly (1927: poem 24).

[63]My edition of this text is forthcoming.

[64]This poem is found in manuscripts both as an independent text and within some copies of the romantic tale. See Ní Laoire (1986: 16–17). For an edition, see Ní Laoire (1986: 73–4). See also the discussion of UCD A 25 above.

[65]Edited by Ó Cuív (1980: 78) who emends the word *simeannrug* in the first line to *sibheanradh* 'merry-making, pleasantry'.

BL Add. 40766

Dánta grá 1, 7, 10, 13, 35, 40, 41, 46, 52, 57, 71, 72, 74, 75, 87, 92, 104
This manuscript was '[w]ritten probably in the barony of Magherastephana, Co. Fermanagh, at the end of the [seventeen]th cent[ury]' and the scribe, who did not give his name, 'was no doubt a dependant of the Maguires of that region' and 'perhaps, particularly attached to Máire Ní Raghallaigh, wife of Rudhraighe Óg Mag Uidhir, called [fif]th Lord Enniskillen' (Flower 1926: 161).[66] Flower proposes that the manuscript may even have been written for Máire Ní Raghallaigh (1926: 162).[67] The contents of the manuscript are miscellaneous and it contains many poems on the Maguires and the O'Reillys.[68] A cluster of *dánta grá* begins on fol. 22b:

22b *Ni táobhtha dhamhsa riom féin* (*DG* 46)
23b *Maith gach ní on esurruigh* (*DG* 57)
24b *Trúagh mo dháil le deich laithibh* (*DG* 40)
25 *Aóibhinn a leabhráin do thríall* (*DG* 1)
26 *Mealltar ben le begán téad* (*DG* 72)
27 *Mairg duine bhíos antuigsech* (*DG* 75)
28 *Th'aire riot, a mhacáoimh mná* (*DG* 104)
28b [Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa], *Ionmholta maluirt bhisigh*
29b *Do cuireadh bréag ar an mbás* (*DG* 35)
31 *Beag liom mo bennocht don mbás* (*DG* 10)

DG 46, *DG* 57 and *DG* 40 deal with suffering caused by love. In *DG* 1, the speaker is separated by distance from his beloved and he wishes that he were about to travel towards her as is the book he addresses in the poem. In *DG* 72, the speaker regrets that he cannot play music as it is, he states, a highly effective way of seducing women. In *DG* 75, as mentioned above, the speaker regrets that he cannot have the woman he desires. *DG* 104 is a poem of admonishment in which a woman is warned to hide her beauty so as not to attract amorous advances. Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa's *Ionmholta maluirt bhisigh*, unattributed in this manuscript, seems out of place here in terms of theme: this poem 'deals in a good-humoured manner with the effect upon men of letters of the convulsions of society' (Bergin 1970: 127).[69] In *DG* 35, the speaker states that death is not as terrible a thing as people say and he salutes the woman who brought death upon him: this is a reversal of the

[66]I exclude from the discussion here a small number of texts in the manuscript which were added by Proinsias Ó Casaide in the late eighteenth century. See Flower (1926: 162).

[67]It is intriguing to consider that one of the main manuscript sources for the *dánta grá* may have been written for a woman given that modern critics tend to see the *dánta grá* as reflecting the interests of men. For an overview, see Nic Eoin (1998, 140–50). Such analysis, invaluable as it is, reflects the concerns of modern-day women, however, and has little to say about how women before the advent of feminism might have responded to the *dánta grá*.

[68]See also Carney (1950: vii and ix). For a poem that appears to have been composed for Máire Ní Raghallaigh, see Carney (1950: 233).

[69]For Ó hEódhusa's relationship with the Maguires of Fermanagh, see Carney (1967).

usual association between love and suffering that we find in the *dánta grá*. *DG* 10, discussed above, again pokes fun at those who claim to be dying from love.

Another loose cluster of *dánta grá* and poems dealing with related themes begins on fol. 44b:

44b Toirdhealbhach Ó Conchubhair, *Slán ma do phósadh*
44b *A bhen nach glacann mo ghrádh*
47b *A fhir éadmhuir aga mbí ben* (*DG* 92)
48b (Toirdhealbhach Ó Conchubhair, *A óga do ghlac na hairm*)
50b ([Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn], *Slúagh seisir thainic dom thigh*)
51b *A bhen fúair an falachán* (*DG* 13)
52 *Feach féin an obairsi, a Áodh* (*DG* 41)
55b *Sgéal ar dhíamhuir na suirghe* (*DG* 7)
56b *Mochion dar lucht abarrthaigh* (*DG* 74)
57 *A bhen éaras imtheacht liom* (*DG* 71)
58 *Trúagh nach misi mac Donnchaidh*
58b Tadhg Ó Ruairc, *Goinim thú, a náoidh bheg shíar*

Slán ma do phósadh is a wedding *crosántacht* composed by Toirdhealbhach Ó Conchobhair on the occasion of the wedding of Domhnall Óg Mág Aonghusa (d. 1659) and Sorcha Nic Uidhir (Griffin-Wilson 2010: 412–13): this epithalamium deals with sexual matters in a frank manner, encouraging the wedding couple to consummate their marriage, and also functions as a blessing upon their union (Griffin-Wilson 2010: 421–33).[70] *A bhean nach glacann mo ghrádh* is a dialogue poem in *rannaíocht mhór* in which an old man attempts to woo a young maiden.[71] These two pieces, then, have some thematic overlap with the love poems that follow them in the manuscript. In *DG* 92, mentioned before, the speaker gives advice to a jealous husband. The next two poems are not love poems: *A óga do ghlac na hairm* is a 'satirical poem … attacking cowardly and plundering officers on the Irish side in the wars of 1641' (Flower 1926: 168) and *Slaugh seisir táinig dom thigh* is a satire on members of the O'Hara clan (Knott 1922: xxxi and 278–80). These two poems are followed by a series of five *dánta grá*: *DG* 13 on a beautiful woman; *DG* 41, a praise poem that uses the metaphor of a woman torn between two lovers (see discussion above); *DG* 7, a history of the discovery of various acts of love; *DG* 74, in which a man wishes a rumoured love affair were true; *DG* 71, in which a man attempts to convince a woman to run away with him, citing famous couples from tradition who did likewise. *Trúagh nach misi mac Donnchaidh* also deals with love: in this poem, the speaker laments that he and his lover are not like Cearbhall and Farbhlaidhe in the romantic tale *Tochmharc Farbhlaidhe*.[72]

[70]For a diplomatic edition of this text with English translation, see Griffin-Wilson (2010: 436–41).

[71]See Flower (1926: 132).

[72]The text of BL Add. 40766 is given in Ní Laoire (1986: 24–5).

Goinim thú, a naoídh bheg shíar might also be classified as a love poem, being one 'in which the sports of love are … likened to the moves in a game of backgammon' (Flower 1926: 169).[73]

Aside from these two clusters in which love poems feature prominently, a small number of poems that deal with love or related topics are written separately in various parts of the manuscript. *DG* 87, spoken by a lover who has been deceived, begins on fol. 9. *DG* 52, featuring a despondent lover, is on fol. 66b.[74] *Ní chodlann an dobhrán donn* on fol. 79 tells of a lover who cannot sleep due to jealousy.[75] There is a copy of *Mithe dhamh fuireach go mín*, also found in TCD MS H. 5. 9 (1381) and discussed above, on fol. 85 here.

Rouen MS 1678

Dánta grá 9, 96 (i), 101

Rouen MS 1678 was written by an unidentified scribe in Co. Fermanagh at the end of the seventeenth century and it has much material in common with BL Add. 40766 and BL Egerton 127, two other manuscript sources for *dánta grá* (Vendryes 1928: 298–9). It contains mostly poetry. *DG* 101 is on pp. 60–1. There is a small cluster of poems on love in this manuscript, beginning on p. 215 with *Goinim thú, a náoidh bheg shíar* by Tadhg Ó Ruairc, followed by *DG* 9 and *DG* 96 (i).[76] The manuscript also contains the love *aisling* beginning *Do mhúsgail me tar eis luighe aroeir go sáimh* and the erotic poem *Fir an toighe ag seilg san sliabh* by Domhnall Mac Cárthaigh who composed *DG* 30 and *DG* 44.[77] The poem beginning *Do radas searc shíor don mhnaoi re ráidhtior cúach* is described by Vendryes in his catalogue as a 'pièce érotique' (1928: 303) but he later and rightly concluded that the woman in this poem is in fact a symbol for Ireland (1931: 45).

TCD MS 1355 H. 4. 14 (1355)

Dán grá 45

This manuscript was written by a number of scribes in the seventeenth century: dates between 1685 and 1700 are given. It contains tales and poems: *DG* 45, an *aisling* love poem, is written on p. 204.

RIA MS 23 I 40 (6)

Dánta grá 8, 33, 34, 39, 49, 50, 52, 53, 61, 63, 65, 77, 96 (i), 96 (ii), 97

Little is known about the production of this manuscript: it may have been written around 1700 and the scribe's spelling suggests that he came from County

[73]For an edition and discussion, see Greene (1955).

[74]The text here is in the form of *trí rainn agus amhrán* unlike O'Rahilly's edition which consists of the three syllabic quatrains only. See Ó Baoill and Ó Dochartaigh (1996: 107).

[75]Edited Ó Cuív (1972: 240).

[76]I.e. the first of the two poems edited by O'Rahilly as *DG* 96. Ó Ruairc's poem is mentioned in the discussion of BL Add. 40766 above.

[77]For the former, see the discussion of TCD MS H. 5. 28 (1399) above and for the latter, see Ó Buachalla 2013: 330–5).

Offaly or thereabouts (O'Rahilly et al. 1926–70: 38). Most of the *dánta grá* it contains are in one cluster, as follows:

38 *Fada leam an la amárach*
39 Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa, *A dhuine na heasláinte*
41 idem, *A bhean chroidhe chompanta* (*DG* 96 (i))
42 idem, *A fhir chroidhe c[h]aruimsi* (*DG* 96 (ii))
42 *Coir foighide re ferg nDe*
45 *Deacuir tagra re treise*
46 *Aithreach damh mo dhíochoisge* (*DG* 61)
46 *Ní tinn galar acht gradh ruin* (*DG* 65)
47 *Meinic sin, a ghealltanuis*
48 *A dhuine chodhlas go sáimh* (*DG* 34)
48 *Ar mbeannacht mar dhlighim dhuit* (*DG* 33)
49 Maghnus Ó Domhnaill, *Croidhe lán do smuaintighthibh* (*DG* 52)
49 idem, *Dar leam is galar é in grádh* (*DG* 50)
50 idem, *Croidhe so dá ghoid uainne* (*DG* 49)
50 idem, *Goirt anocht dereadh mo sgél* (*DG* 53)
50 *Mór mhilleas an mheanma bhaoth* (*DG* 63)
51 *An ccluine mé, a mhacaoimh mna* (*DG* 39)
52 *Cara 7 eascara in fhearg*

In the eulogy *Fada leam an la amárach* the speaker uses the language of love poetry to describe his sorrow at his imminent departure (O'Rahilly 1927: poem 16). After this, we find three poems attributed to Eochaidh Ó hEódhusa. The first of these, *A dhuine na heasláinte*, is not a love poem by any means: in this poem an unwell man is advised of the diet and habits that will restore him to health.[78] *DG* 96 (i) and *DG* 96 (ii), giving a man and a woman's view of a love relationship, are written together here as was the case in the BOCD (see above). *Coir foighide re ferg nDe* and *Deacuir tagra re treise* are respectively a religious poem and a poem of petition and do not have any apparent thematic link with the *dánta grá* that surround them here.[79] *DG* 61, discussed above, gives voice to a disappointed lover and *DG* 65 depicts a man who is tormented by pangs of love. In *Meinic sin, a ghealltanuis*, a patron who does not deliver on his promises is reprimanded: this, again, has no thematic link to the *dánta grá*.[80] The next eight poems, four of which are by Maghnas Ó Domhnaill, are all found in O'Rahilly's anthology and all of them deal with aspects of the suffering caused by love. In the final poem above, *Cara agus eascara in fhearg*, it is argued that quarelling strengthens the bond of love rather than weakening it and the poet details his falling out and subsequent reconciliation with Máire, the daughter of a man named Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir. Bergin (1970: 167) gave this poem the title 'A lover's quarrel' but this is not to be

[78]This text is given in *ABM* (poem 10).
[79]See *ABM* (poems 109 and 155).
[80]See O'Rahilly (1927: poem 20).

taken literally: Damian McManus has argued that it is not a love poem but rather a poem on the bond between poet and patroness.[81]

Apart from this cluster, the manuscript contains a small number of other texts that are of interest in the context of this study. The first quatrain of *DG* 77, on a jealous husband, is written amongst a collection of miscellaneous quatrains on p. 30. *DG* 97 is written on p. 71.[82] On p. 73, a quatrain from *DG* 8 beginning *Cuid do dheire báid os tuinn*, which gives the name of a woman in code, is written as a loose quatrain.[83]

Siena G. IX. 50

Dán grá 101

The contents of this manuscript indicate that it may have been written in South Tipperary in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century (Dooley 1991: 83). All three scribes who wrote in the manuscript are unidentified. It contains a large amount of syllabic poetry, including *DG* 101 on fol. 71r.

TCD MS H. 5. 10 (1382)

Dánta grá 7, 19, 106

This was written by Shane O'Sullivan in 1703 (Abbott and Gwynn 1921: 240). It is a miscellaneous volume containing mostly poetry, including three *dánta grá*. *DG* 19, an echo poem on love's torment, is on p. 17. This is surrounded by poems which deal with love or which give praise to women. These are *Cia an ealta ógban-so ad-chiam* in praise of three daughters of an O'Brien on p. 16 and the love *aisling* beginning *A laoidh, a dhaoine, an síltí go méarainn buan* beginning on p. 19.[84] The text of *DG* 7, on p. 75, contains verses in accentual metre between some of the syllabic quatrains: this version of the poem is also found in some other later manuscripts. *DG* 106 is written on p. 147: this, as noted before, is a moral poem. Elsewhere in the manuscript, we find a copy of *A bhean nach glacann mo ghrádh* on p. 155 and the poem *A naoi bheag neart-mhar do leathnaigh an ciach fám chlí* on p. 70.[85] In the latter poem, a poet expresses the effects of a woman's beauty upon his mind: Ó Cuív, however, takes this to be a praise poem, not a love poem (1986: 112).[86]

TCD MS H. 5. 11 (1383)

Dán grá 2

This manuscript of religious tracts and poems was written by Domhnall O'Reilly circa 1704 (Abbott and Gwynn 1922: 243). *DG* 2 is on p. 17 here.

[81]See McManus (forthcoming).

[82]See discussion of RIA MS 23 D 4 above.

[83]This quatrain is decoded by Ó Mainín (1958: 43).

[84]These are edited by Ní Cheallacháin as part of the *oeuvre* of Pádraigín Haicéad (1962: poems 28 and 2). On the lack of evidence for the attribution of the latter poem to Haicéad, see Breatnach (1989: 72).

[85]For the first of these, see the discussion under BL Add. 40766 above.

[86]The poem is edited in Ó Cuív (1986: 112–14).

RIA MSS 23 M 25 – 23 M 34 (15–24)

Dánta grá 50, 105, 106
These ten manuscripts were all originally one manuscript of miscellaneous content which was written by Eoghan Ó Caoimh in the years 1684–1707, partly while travelling throughout counties Cork and Kerry (O'Rahilly et al. 1926–70: 63; Ó Conchúir 1982: 33–6). *DG* 50, on love's disease, is written on p. 267. *DG* 106 is on p. 352 in the manuscript and *DG* 105 is on p. 522: these two poems are moral poems, not love poems. The poem *Dubh Rois do ba ríoghdha a ghnúis* from the romantic tale of Mis and Dubh Ruis is on p. 285.[87]

MN B 8

Dán grá 11
Héinrí Ó Carraic/Mac Carrtha wrote this in Sligo in the years 1701–8. It contains poetry and a copy of Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh's *Cuimre*.[88] *DG* 11 is on p. 3 in the manuscript and ends with an extra verse in accentual metre. The quatrain on p. 5 in this manuscript beginning *Fadogh seirce fearg an ghráidh* and attributed to Feidhlim Ó Headhra deals with friendship rather than love.

The Red Book of Clanranald

Dánta grá 38, 66
The Red Book of Clanranald was written in South Uist from *c*. 1686 to 1727 and mostly by Niall MacMhuirich (*c*. 1637–1726) (Gillies 1987: 42; Thomson 1987: 186; Black 1989: 156). It contains a great deal of historical material and some poetry, including copies of *DG* 38 and *DG* 66.[89] It also contains a love poem in mixed syllabic and accentual metres with the linking device of *conchlann* between each quatrain: this poem begins with the line *Aoibhinn an galar e an grá* and, as its first line indicates, it deals with the suffering caused by love.[90]

Vendryes Irish manuscript

Dánta grá 3, 26, 99, 100, 101
This manuscript was formerly in the private possession of Joseph Vendryes and is now stored in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (de Brún 1988: 32 and 69). It was written by Pól Ruillis/Paul Rutledge at the beginning of the eighteenth century: the date 1714 is given for one of the texts it contains (Vendryes 1931a: 236–8) and it seems that Ruillis was living in northern France at the time of writing (ibid. 239). Vendryes was of the opinion that Ruillis copied pieces in English, French and Irish from various sources into this manuscript for his own

[87]See discussion of RIA MS 23 D 4 (5) above.
[88]On the latter, see Ó Muraíle (2002: 266–7).
[89]The texts of these are given in Cameron, McBain and Kennedy (1894: 289–91).
[90]Cameron, McBain and Kennedy (1894: 288–9).

use and amusement (1931a: 241). We find the following cluster of *dánta grá* beginning on p. 233:

233 *Cia thú fein a mhaccaoimh mna* (*DG* 101)
234 *Leig diot h'airm, a maccaoimh mná* (*DG* 26)
235 *Ni bhfuighe misi bás duit* (*DG* 99)
235 *Céud slán iomraidh do na mnáibh* (*DG* 3)

A small number of loose quatrains are written among these poems and they are followed on p. 237 by a poem in praise of a woman beginning *A stát bhean úr na ttromfholt taisfhréamhach*. Separately, the accentual verse beginning *Do bheirimse faem bréithir dá mbáití an sluagh*, found at the end of *DG* 100, is written as a loose quatrain on p. 305.

Conclusion

Some of the *dánta grá* express the amorous sentiments of the poems' speakers and their experiences of love, and others present more abstract or generalised arguments on love. In most cases, the impetus for their composition is unknown to us, as is the degree to which they are to be taken as sincere, but the fact of their survival in manuscripts suggests that the poems had a resonance beyond the circumstances of their composition and earliest performances. In some of the early sources discussed above, we find quatrains from *dánta grá* written in marginal positions – literally, in the case of NLS Adv. 72.1.2 and metaphorically, in the case of Br MS 6131–3 where a quatrain from a *dán grá* is written inside the manuscript's cover. Most of the early sources contain one or a small number of *dánta grá*: these are generally written amongst texts of different kinds but occasionally, we find small clusters of two or more love poems in these manuscripts. We might take the larger clusters of *dánta grá* in manuscripts compiled for people such as Somhairle Mac Domhnaill, Máire Ní Raghallaigh (or a relative of hers), and the unknown patrons of Ó Rathile's other three named manuscripts as representing a new trend that emerged in the seventeenth century, but given the great loss of Irish manuscripts after the destruction of the Gaelic order, it is not inconceivable that such clusters also existed in other manuscripts now lost.[91] It is also possible that the compilers of the five named manuscripts might have had access to such sources for their own work: the separate clusters of *dánta grá* we find in RIA MS 23 D 4 (5), for example, hint that the compiler may have had access to a number of separate sources over a period of time. These five manuscripts come from different and distant locations – one was written in Munster, another in Fermanagh, another in Breifne, another the Irish Midlands and another in Ostend for an Ulsterman by an Ulsterman: this suggests that Ó Rathile's named manuscripts represent a widely spread interest. The Book of the Dean of Lismore is a unique manuscript in many respects but the bulk of the

[91]On this destruction, see Ó Corráin (2011–12). Ó Rathile alludes to this in his introduction, mentioning that the great majority of Irish love poems were lost forever with the destruction of the Irish manuscripts ('nuair a dineadh an léirsgrios ar lss. na Gaelge') (1926: viii).

evidence we have at this stage points to the poetry it contains as representing the wider Gaelic tradition of both Scotland and Ireland rather than a separate development in Scotland or a once-off literary experiment carried out by the Dean and his collaborators.[92] There are only two *dánta grá* in it that feature in Ó Rathile's anthology but, as discussed above, it contains many other poems that deal with love and related topics and might thus be regarded as a sixth substantially-sized compilation of such poetry and an indicator that interest in compiling such material existed also in the sixteenth century. It is interesting to note that *DG* 27, *DG* 54, *DG* 55 and *DG* 76 are found only in Scottish manuscripts. *DG* 27 may have come from Ireland (see discussion of NLS Adv. 72.1.35 above) and it is already known that the composer of *DG* 54, Isibeul Ní Mhic Cailín, was a Scottish woman but the evidence of the manuscripts also suggests that *DG* 55 and *DG* 76, both poems of unknown authorship, may belong to that country.[93]

The *dánta grá* are never labelled as such in the manuscripts: the term *dán grá* is not, to my knowledge, found in any manuscript and may have been coined by Ó Rathile himself. It first appears as the title of his 1916 anthology and is apparently a direct translation of the English 'love poem', a term Ó Rathile had used in earlier writings referring to the poems that would later become known as *dánta grá*.[94] It seems likely that Ó Rathile was also influenced in his choice of title by Douglas Hyde's *Abhráin Ghrádha Chúige Connacht* which appeared in 1893.[95] There are a number of different terms that appear to refer to love poems in Irish texts but they are not widely attested. I have found two instances of the term *laoidh chumainn*, the plural form of which Ó Rathile used as the title for his 1925 collection of love poems. In the opening line of *DG* 95, a man asks a woman to remember the *laoidh chumainn* (poem of love/affection) he has composed for her (*Meabhraigh mo laoidh chumainn-se*). This term is also used in a story in Keating's *History of Ireland*. Here, the *laoidh chumainn* is composed by a woman: Moiriath, the daughter of a west Munster king composes a lay to express her love for Maon, later known as Labhraidh Loingseach, and sends the harper Craiftine to France to sing this lay for her beloved:

> Agus is é ní da dtáinig a bhréagadh ón bhFraingc go hÉirinn, grádh éagmaiseach tug Moiriath inghean Scoiriath ríogh críche bhFear Morc i n-iarthar Mumhan dó, ar méid na clú is na dteastas

[92]For discussion of this question, see Gillies (2016: 262–6). His point that the contrast between the apparent bawdiness of some of the poems in the BDLM and their Irish equivalents is due to Ó Rathile's particular conception of what constitutes a love poem is worth reiterating here (2016: 264). That said, I have yet to find a poem as explicit as Duncan Campbell's *Bod bríoghmhor atá ag Donncha* (Gillies 1983: 66–7) in the Irish manuscripts!

[93]Niall Mór Mac Muireadhaigh, to whom *DG* 38 is attributed, was, of course, also a Scotsman: *DG* 38, like many of the *dánta grá* that appear in Scottish manuscripts, also circulated in Irish manuscripts.

[94]See Mac Craith (1989: 15–17) for excerpts of some of Ó Rathile's writings on the *dánta grá* prior to 1916.

[95]Hyde included a number of *dánta grá* in this collection and noted the difference between them and the love songs which made up the bulk of his volume. For discussion, see Mac Craith (1989: 12–13).

> do bhí air. Ollmhuighthear lé Craiftine Cruitire, oirfideach do bhí fán am soin i nÉirinn, ré dul 'n-a dhiaidh don Fhraingc agus iomad do ghréithribh geanamhla leis mar aon ré **laoidh chumainn** 'n-ar nocht sí díoghainne a dioghraise do Mhaon ; agus sinnis port síthbhinn ar a chruit ar rochtain na Fraingce do Chraiftine an tan ráinig mar a raibhe Maon; agus gabhais an **laoidh chumainn** do rinne Moiriath inghean Scoiriath do Mhaon.
>
> 'And the way in which he was allured from France to Ireland was that Moiriath daughter of Scoiriath, king of the territory of Feara Morc in west Munster, conceived a violent passion for him on account of the greatness of his name and fame. She equipped Craiftine the harper, a musician who was in Ireland at the time, that he might go after him to France with many love-presents, together with a love lay in which she set forth the intensity of her passion for Maon; and when Craiftine arrived in France, he played a very sweet tune on his harp when he came to where Maon was, and he sang the love-lay which Moiriath daughter of Scoiriath had composed for Maon.' (Dinneen 1908: 164–5)

In the anonymous poem *Dlighthear díograis d'éanmhnaoi uaim* found in RIA MS 23 D 4 (5), the speaker refers to the poem he is composing for the woman he loves as a *duain díograis*:

> Ag so ar nduain diograis dibh
> a sduaig is miontaisi meoir.[96]
>
> 'This is my poem of affection to you
> O lady whose fingers are gentlest and most delicate.'

The term *duain chumainn* is listed by the poet Seán Ó Gadhra (fl. 1722) as one of a number of types of poems a professional poet would have been expected to be able to compose, but it is not clear whether *cumann* here refers to love, friendship or alliance, all three being concepts covered by its semantic range.[97]

Most of the later manuscript sources listed below only contain one or a small number of *dánta grá*. Those which contain large clusters of *dánta grá* are copies of earlier manuscripts, not independent compilations. These are Hyde MS 56, MN C 87 (b), RIA MS 12 F 8 (888) and UCC T lvii (a) from RIA MS 23 D 4 (5) and UCC M 55 from BL Add. 40766.[98] Forty-two of our later manuscripts are the work of members of the Ó Longáin family of scribes and their associates.[99] We have copies of seventeen different *dánta*

[96]RIA MS 23 D 4 (5), p. 135.

[97]For discussion of this term as used by Ó Gadhra, see Ní Dhonnchadha (2002b: 295) and Ó Macháin (2013: 155–8).

[98]Some other later manuscripts also contain texts from early ones but I omit such details here.

[99]Tadhg Ó Cuarthnáin, Seán Ó Muláin, Eoghan Tóibín, Tadhg Ó Conaill and Seán Ó Cuarthnáin were all friends of Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin's. For more on Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin's contacts with other scribes, see Ó Conchúir (1982) and Ní Úrdail (2000).

grá in the hand of Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin.[100] In two manuscripts of his, he wrote a number of *dánta grá* together. In RIA MS F vi 2 (253), written in 1813 for a man named Seán Ó Connughadh and of whom little else is known, Ó Longáin wrote a number of *dánta grá* and thematically related poems together with a prefatory note to the effect that they are 'light poems suitable for young readers' (O'Rahilly et al. 1926–70: 661). Whether this view is to be taken as a reflection of that of earlier centuries is, however, doubtful. Again, in MN M 2, written in 1818 for the Catholic bishop of Cork, Seán Ó Murchú, a number of *dánta grá* and other poems on women are written together on pp. 212–32.[101] Such thematic arrangements are a rarity in the later sources, however. Many of the manuscripts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were written by 'manuscript men' or non-professional scribes often working in less than ideal circumstances, but in the nineteenth century, we begin to find copies of *dánta grá* in manuscripts written by people who were able to receive a stronger degree of support for the labour of copying Irish manuscript materials, through literary or antiquarian societies or academic institutions or on account of their privileged position in society.[102] These include John O'Daly, member of the Celtic Society and the Ossianic Society; Nicholas Kearney, one-time member of the Ossianic Society; the antiquarians Standish Hayes O'Grady and Eugene O'Curry; the scholar John O'Donovan; Seamus Goodman, Professor of Irish in Trinity College Dublin from 1879 onwards; W.S. O'Brien, Irish Nationalist MP; Pól Ó Longáin, employed by the Royal Irish Academy from 1854 onwards. It must be stressed that, in the case of most of these scribes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, whatever their background or their means, love poetry was far from their central preoccupation and there is no sense that they saw it as a particularly important or revelatory part of the literary remains of earlier ages. That said, the later manuscript sources are not without importance. The earliest copies of twelve of the *dánta grá* are found in these, namely *DG* 5, *DG* 12, *DG* 16, *DG* 24, *DG* 30, *DG* 31, *DG* 43, *DG* 44, *DG* 58, *DG* 93 and *DG* 95, the earliest copies of which are in eighteenth-century manuscripts, and *DG* 29 which first appears in a nineteenth-century manuscript. The latter poem is attributed to an Uilliam Ruadh whom Ó Rathile (1926: 148) suggests may be Uilliam Rua Mac Coitir (*c.* 1690–1738): the late dates of the manuscript sources do not preclude this possibility.

Ó Rathile generally based his editions on good early manuscript copies of the poems, the texts of which were then normalised in accordance with the editorial practices of his time.[103] In a small number of cases, he has made more substantial changes to the manuscript texts, changes that could not be made silently by a modern-day editor. The most striking examples are *DG* 69 and *DG* 21 from which stanzas have been excised and *DG* 43, where the layout

[100]These are *DG* 5, 6, 7, 14, 16, 19, 24, 26, 31, 58, 66, 83, 86, 92, 100, 105 and 106.

[101]Ó Murchú was an important patron and supporter of the Irish language. See Ó Conchúir (1982: 222–4).

[102]For an account of the 'manuscript men', see de Brún (1972).

[103]On the development of editorial approaches to syllabic verse, see Mac Cárthaigh (2010: 36–7).

of quatrains in the sole manuscript copy is different to that of the edition (see Appendix II below). Many of the poems have rather complex manuscript traditions and while many of the later copies may be shown to be corrupt and thus unhelpful in resolving problems in earlier texts, they cannot be dismissed out of hand. A curious omission from Ó Rathile's list of *dánta grá* poets (1926: 148) is Gofraidh Mac an Bhaird to whom *DG* 70 is attributed in RIA MS 23 D 4 (5). Mac an Bhaird flourished around the first quarter of the seventeenth century (Hoyne 2011: 59–60) and I see no reason to doubt this attribution. Some of the later manuscripts give other authorial attributions not found in Ó Rathile's anthology but I have not recorded these here as they are likely to be spurious.

The present-day conception of the *dánta grá* as a distinct literary genre is very much coloured by Ó Rathile's choice of poems for inclusion in his collections: there are other poems in the manuscripts discussed above (and in other manuscripts not discussed in this paper) that might also be thought of as belonging the the category of *dánta grá*. In some of the manuscripts, we also find poems from romantic tales transmitted along with *dánta grá*: I would contend that this shows that there is a certain porousness between genres and that prose and prosimetric texts must also be taken into account when we seek to understand how people thought about love in early modern Ireland. I have noted instances of non-love poems within the clusters discussed above that share thematic links with the *dánta grá*: these include poems that deal with related topics such as sex, friendship or sexual morality, or poems that use language and imagery typical of the *dánta grá* for purposes other than discussing love or expressing amatory sentiments. These poems certainly have no place in an anthology of love poetry but they remind us that the *dánta grá* are best read as forming one part of the wider literary experience of poets, patrons and audiences.

Appendix I: later manuscript sources for the *Dánta Grá*

For further information on these manuscripts listed below, the reader is referred to de Brún (1988). In some late manuscripts, such as NLI G 200 (a), quatrains from *DG* 82 and *DG* 83 and occasionally other poems are combined. I have generally not noted such composite texts in the description below and have categorised these texts by the poem from which their opening quatrain comes.

Aber A 7 (NLW MS 414D), Tomás Mac Eochagáin, after 1824: *DG* 16 (p. 156).
Aber A 23 (NLW MS 5341A), Risteárd Mac Gearailt, 1768: *DG* 83 (p. 41).
Aber A 25 (NLW MS 5343C), unidentified scribe, nineteenth century: *DG* 19 (p. 22).
BC, Mícheál Mac an Bhaird, Melvin, Co. Leitrim, 1823–8: *DG* 5 (p. 38), *DG* 45 (p. 100); *DG* 45 (p. 102).[104]
Bel XXXIII, A, Roibeard Mac Ádaimh copying from a manuscript of 1844: *DG* 14 (p. 4).
BL Add. 18749, Donnchadh Mag Oireachtaigh for Samuel Coulter of Carnbeg near Dundalk, Co. Louth, 1792: *DG* 14 (fol. 18).
BL Add. 34119, Laurence McNally, Ratoath, Co. Meath, 1765: *DG* 83 (fol. 40).
BL Eg. 122, Finghín Ó Scannail, nineteenth century: *DG* 45 (fol. 89 b), *DG* 99 (fol. 90b.), *DG* 19 (fol. 136).
BL Eg. 127, Muiris Ó Gormáin, 1775: *DG* 92 (fol. 14b), *DG* 94 (fol. 14 b), *DG* 77 (fol. 14b), *DG* 2 (fol. 15), *DG* 14 (fol. 16), *DG* 101 (fol. 31b), *DG* 90 (fol. 36).[105]
BL Eg. 128, Muiris Ó Gormáin, 1748–9: *DG* 102 (fol. 112), *DG* 103 (fol. 112b).
BL Eg. 146, Edward O'Reilly, nineteenth century: *DG* 45 (fol. 97b).
BL Eg. 155, Fearghal Ó Raghallaigh, probably of Co. Meath or Co. Cavan, 1790–6: *DG* 44 (fol. 82), *DG* 77 (fol. 83 b), *DG* 101 (fol. 134b).
BL Eg. 158, Séamus Ó Broin, Cork, 1736–9: *DG* 1 (fol. 46b).
BL Eg. 161, various unidentified scribes, Ulster, 1778–88: *DG* 14 (fol. 21), *DG* 92 (fol. 22b), *DG* 94 (fol. 23b), *DG* 77 (fol. 40),[106] *DG* 2 (fol. 40b).
BL Eg. 174, Pádraig Ó Doibhlin of Meath for Conn Ó Néill, first half of the eighteenth century: *DG* 101 (fol. 39).
BL Eg. 178, Séamus Mag Oireachtaigh, probably at Ballintober, Co. Roscommon, 1782: *DG* 90 (fol. 4), *DG* 3 (fol. 4).
BL Eg. 192, Séamus Mag Uidhir in Sligo for Tadhg Ó Baoighealláin, 1729: *DG* 77 (fol. 11b).
BL Eg. 211, Seán Ó Murchú na Ráithíneach, Cork for Muiris Ó Conchúir, 1758: *DG* 105 (fol. 9b).
Car 2 (MS 2.395), John O'Daly, 1848: *DG* 106 (p. 43), *DG* 11 (p. 67), *DG* 50 (p. 75), *DG* 105 (p. 99), *DG* 11 (p. 224).

[104]This is the manuscript catalogued by Nilsen (1985: 3–12) and now held in Boston College, Massachusetts.
[105]*DG* 77 here begins with the line *Gach maith o neamh go lár.*
[106]*DG* 77 here begins with the line *Gach maith ó neamh go lár.*

Cam 10 (Add. 3085), (a), Art Mac Bionighacht/Mac Bionamhacht, 1831–2: *DG* 82 (fol. 4r), *DG* 83 (fol. 4v).
Cam 13 (Add. 4182), Tadhg Ó Cuarthnáin, Cork, 1825: *DG* 24 (p. 62), *DG* 7 (p. 152), *DG* 7 (p. 167).
Cam 34 (Add. 6532), (f), Standish Hayes O'Grady, nineteenth century: *DG* 50 (fol. 2v).
Cam 38 (Add. 6558), Standish Hayes O'Grady, mid-nineteenth century: *DG* 1 (p. 137).[107]
Cam 48 (Add. 7089), Standish Hayes O'Grady, *c.* 1850–1: *DG* 106 (p. 22), *DG* 11 (p. 81), *DG* 83 (p. 308).
CC1, Eoghan Ó Comhraí, Dublin, 1846 for Father Mathghamhain Ó Caolaí: *DG* 30 (p. 80).
CF 5, Éamann Ó Mathghamhna. *c*. 1842: *DG* 106 (p. 65), *DG* 105 (p. 68).
CF 8, Pól Ó Longáin for Father Muiris Cinnefic, 1842: *DG* 105 (p. 130).
DeBr 2, unidentified scribe, nineteenth century: *DG* 103 (p. 18).
Don 1, Ó Murchaidh (firstname unknown), *c*. 1777: *DG* 82 (p. 134).
Dun 2, Tomás Ó hÍceadha of Ballygray, Co. Tipperary, nineteenth century: *DG* 83 (p. 208).
Hyde MS 56, John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry, nineteenth century: *DG* 83 (p. 24); *DG* 28 (p. 31); *DG* 17 (p. 32); *DG* 20 (p. 34); *DG* 60 (p. 36); *DG* 23 (p. 39); *DG* 83 (p. 93); *DG* 28 (p. 96); *DG* 17 (p. 97); *DG* 68 (p. 97); *DG* 20 (p. 98); *DG* 60 (p. 99); *DG* 23 (p. 100); *DG* 84 (p. 136); *DG* 32 (p. 136); *DG* 57 (p. 141); *DG* 97 (p. 141); *DG* 106 (p. 191).
HW, unidentified scribe, 1813: *DG* 45 (p. 42).
KI 5, Daniel Fullerton alias Mac Cloy(e), Corkey, Loughguile, Co. Antrim, 1755: *DG* 105 (p. 47).
Liv 12079M, Maolmuire Mac Paralán, 1776–7: *DG* 5 (p. 104).
Mad 180, Tadhg Mac Aogáin, 1836–7: *DG* 31 (p. 105), *DG* 7 (p. 127), *DG* 5 (p. 131).
Mal A, Uilliam Ó Cléire of 'Ráithín', *c*. 1763: *DG* 24 (p. 38).
Mal K, unidentified scribe, eighteenth or nineteenth centuries: *DG* 2.[108]
ML 11, unidentified scribe, nineteenth century: *DG* 78 (p. 117), *DG* 91 (p. 119).
MN B 6, unidentified scribe, possibly from Ossory, late eighteenth to early nineteenth century: *DG* 4 (p. 33), *DG* 5 (p. 33), *DG* 7 (p. 75), *DG* 83 (p. 83).
MN C 21 (3 A 21), Séamus Ó Muraidheagh/Jacobus Murry, 1729: *DG* 8 (p. 5).
MN C 25 (3 A 24), (a), Seon Lloyd, Limerick, 1773: *DG* 8 (p. 14).
MN C 49 (3 B 18), Domhnall Ó Briain, *c*. 1789: *DG* 105 (fol. 10b).
MN C 71, (c), unknown scribe of the nineteenth century: *DG* 1 (item 22).
MN C 72, (4), Richard Ryan, Dungarvan, 1767: *DG* 105 (p. 7).
MN C 74, (c), James Scanlon, Astee, Co. Kerry for Peadar Ó Conaill in Dublin, 1788:[109] *DG* 16 (p. 3).
MN C 74, (g), (5), Diarmuid Ó Drisceoil, 1763: *DG* 69 (fol. 2a).

[107]This text is copied from Hardiman (1831: 343)
[108]The pages are unnumbered in the catalogue description.
[109]The poem was enclosed with a letter sent by Scanlon to Ó Conaill.

MN C 74, (i), Giolla Bríde Mac Bruadhigha, 1718: *DG* 8 (p. 15).
MN C 87, (b)/(2 G 13), Eoghan Ó Comhraí, 1841–60: *DG* 106 (p. 441), *DG* 105 (p. 441), *DG* 9 (p. 444), *DG* 67 (p. 445), *DG* 59 (p. 535), *DG* 47 (p. 536), *DG* 25 (p. 537), *DG* 85 (p. 538), *DG* 37 (p. 538), *DG* 36 (539), *DG* 22 (p. 540), *DG* 21 (p. 541), *DG* 38 (p. 541), *DG* 18 (p. 542), *DG* 89 (p. 543), *DG* 98 (p. 544), *DG* 80 (p. 544).
MN C 92, (g), unidentified scribe, nineteenth century: *DG* 104 (p. 3).
MN C 95, Peadar Ó Conaill, *c*. 1784: *DG* 100 (p. 121).
MN C 102 (k), Uilliam Ó Cearmada, 1789: *DG* 93 (p. 58).
MN M 2 (3 C 2), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin, Cork for Dr Seán Ó Murchú, Bishop of Cork, 1818: *DG* 24 (p. 213), *DG* 16 (p. 213), *DG* 31 (p. 217), *DG* 26 (p. 220), *DG* 66 (p. 221), *DG* 100 (p. 225), *DG* 58 (p. 225), *DG* 5 (p. 226), *DG* 83 (p. 227), *DG* 86 (p. 230).
MN M 4 (3 C 4), Peadar Ó Longáin, 1818: *DG* 19 (p. 365).
MN M 6 (3 C 6), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin and Eoghan Tóibín, 1818:[110] *DG* 83 (p. 404), *DG* 6 (p. 432).
MN M 7 (3 C 7), Peadar Ó Longáin, 1818: *DG* 86 (p. 16).
MN M 9 (3 C 9), Seán Ó Muláin, Cork, *c*. 1818: *DG* 5 (p. 209), *DG* 29 (p. 222).
MN M 10 (3 C 10), Eoghan Tóibín, Cork, 1817: *DG* 5 (p. 317).
MN M 11 (3 C 11), Seán Ó Muláin for Bishop John Murphy, Cork, 1817: *DG* 19 (p. 267).
MN M 13 (3 C 13), appendix, Domhnall Ó Súilleabháin, Maynooth, *c*. 1818: *DG* 16 (p. 5), *DG* 101 (p. 341).
MN M 14 (3 C 14), Seán Ó Muláin and Pól Ó Longáin, *c.* 1820:[111] *DG* 11 (p. 255), *DG* 5 (p. 285).
MN M 57 (3 F 5), (a), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin in various locations, 1785–9: *DG* 19 (p. 35).
MN M 57 (3 F 5), (c), Séamus Ó Cinnéide, 1789: *DG* 105 (p. 200).
MN M 70 (3 F 18), Tadhg Ó Conaill, Cork, *c*. 1820: *DG* 106 (p. 46), *DG* 105 (p. 51).
MN M 72 (3 F 20), Tadhg Ó Conaill, Cork, 1822: *DG* 106 (p. 161), *DG* 105 (p. 163).
MN M 84 (4 A 10), Seán Ó Murchú na Ráithíneach, Co. Cork, 1738–47: *DG* 106 (p. 137), *DG* 105 (p. 261).
MN M 85, Donnchadh Rua Mac Conmara, 1758: *DG* 11 (p. 64).
MN M 86 (4 A 11), (a), Eamon Ó Cearmhic/Kerby, 1775–6: *DG* 92 (p. 13), *DG* 83 (p. 15), *DG* 7 (p. 22).
MN M 89 (4 A 14), Tadhg Ó Conaill, nineteenth century: *DG* 105 (p. 137).
MN M 94, Seán Ó Cuarthnáin, Cork, 1820: *DG* 19 (p. 24), *DG* 26 (p. 285), *DG* 31 (p. 366), *DG* 5 (p. 374).
MN M 95 (4 B 1), Seán Ó Murchú na Ráithíneach in Carrignavar, Co. Cork for Seán Builléad, 1754–5: *DG* 83 (p. 31).

[110]Ó Longáin wrote *DG* 6, Tóibín *DG* 83.
[111]Ó Muláin wrote *DG* 5, Ó Longáin *DG* 11,

MN M 96 (4 B 2), Pól Ó Longáin and Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin, Cork, *c*. 1817 : *DG* 106 (p. 270), *DG* 105 (p. 272).
MN M 107 (4 B 10), unidentified scribe, eighteenth century: *DG* 99 (p. 255).
MN M 111 (4 B 14), Seán Ó Finúcain for Seán Ó hAnnracháin, 1764–8: *DG* 8 (p. 14).
MN MF 9, Aodh Ó Néill, Newry, Co. Down, 1802–3: *DG* 2 (p. 11), *DG* 14 (p. 16), *DG* 101 (p. 67), *DG* 90 (p. 76).
MN R 97 (3 G 14), Mícheál Ó Raghallaigh, Ennistimon, Co. Clare, 1827–46: *DG* 8 (p. 513).
Ms Longfellow 5709 (Section C), nineteenth century, unknown scribe, 1813: *DG* 45 (p. 42).[112]
NLI G 38, Muiris Ó Gormáin, eighteenth century: *DG* 101[113] (p. 71).
NLI G 82, Seán Mac an tSaoir/John Carpenter, Dublin, 1744–5: *DG* 82, *DG* 86, *DG* 45.[114]
NLI G 122, Pádraig Ó Dálaigh, England, *c*. 1849: *DG* 19 (p. 188).
NLI G 127, Richard Tipper, 1713–15: *DG* 30 (p. 271).
NLI G 140, Matha Ó Troidhthe/Matthew Troy, 1724–40: *DG* 42 (p. 562).
NLI G 193, Domhnall Ó hUiginn, Drumcliff, Co. Clare, 1774–1813: *DG* 8 (p. 67).
NLI G 200 (a), Peadar Ó Gealacáin, 1828–39: *DG* 82 and *DG* 83 (p. 261),[115] *DG* 104 (p. 294).
NLI G 210, Seán Ó hAnnracháin, Honeypound, Co. Limerick, 1811: *DG* 8 (p. 1).
NLI G 234, Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin, 1841: *DG* 16 (p. 99).
NLI G 319, Mícheál mac Peadair Ó Longáin, eighteenth to nineteenth centuries: *DG* 66 (p. 114).
NLI G 351, Muiris Ó Conchúir, Cork, 1758–64: *DG* 5 (p. 97).
NLI G 360, Eoghan Tóibín, Cork, 1815: *DG* 7 (p. 163).
NLI G 403, Tomás Ó hÍceadha, 1845–9: *DG* 8 (p. 171).
NLI G 429, Seán Ó Murchú na Ráithíneach, Cork, 1721–25: *DG* 19 (p. 27).
NLI G 433, Mícheál mac Peadair Ó Longáin, eighteenth to nineteenth centuries: *DG* 31 (p. 98), *DG* 100 (p. 124), *DG* 66 (p. 168), *DG* 14 (p. 168).
NLI G 436, Séamus Ó Fithcheallaigh, Rossinver, Co. Leitrim, 1823–8. *DG* 45 (p. 194).
NLI G 454, Miles O'Reilly, 1822: *DG* 83 (p. 224).
NLI G 470 (b), M. Ó Moráin, 1768: *DG* 5 (p. 13), *DG* 24 (p. 14).
NLI G 501, Tadhg Ó Ceallaigh, Cloghaunbeg, Moyarta, Co. Clare, 1793–6: *DG* 8 (p. 134)
NLI G 560, unidentified scribe, possibly of the late eighteenth century: *DG* 83 (p. 95).
NLI G 819, Seán Ó Dreada, 1820: *DG* 29 (p. 96).

[112]Catalogued by Nilsen (1985: 15–17). This is held in Longfellow House, Brattle Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
[113]The catalogue description states incorrectly that this is *DG* 48 (Ní Shéaghdha 1961: 50).
[114]These are written with other verse as one text on pp. 167–9.
[115]Quatrains from both poems are combined in one text.

NLI G 1121, Muiris Ó Riagáin, Doneraile, Co. Cork, *c.* 1817–27: *DG* 19 (p. 184), *DG* 5 (p. 185).
NLS Adv. 50.1.12, nineteenth century: *DG* 54 (fol. 145a).
NLS Adv. 72.3.2, written in Ireland for Dr Donald Smith, then surgeon with the Black Watch in Enniskillen, 1798: *DG* 16 (p. 15).
NLS Adv. 72.3.11, Rev. Donald Mackintosh, nineteenth century: *DG* 55 (p. 128), *DG* 55 (p. 181), *DG* 102 (p. 216), *DG* 99 (p. 226), *DG* 38 (p. 230).[116]
PB 9, Seán Lloyd for Seán Ó Callanáin, Cork, 1775: *DG* 93 (p. 90).
RIA MS 4 A 46 (1427), Diarmuid Ó Briain, Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny, 1793: *DG* 4 (p. 7), *DG* 5 (p. 7).
RIA MS 12 E 22 (722), Pádraig Ó Riada, 1754: *DG* 86 (p. 89).
RIA MS 12 E 24 (907), John O'Daly, Dublin, 1845: *DG* 100 (p. 254).
RIA MS 12 E 25 (908), James Nolty/Seamus Mac a Nolltaidhe probably of Co. Meath, 1772: *DG* 83 (p. 103).
RIA MS 12 F 8 (888), a transcript of RIA MS 23 D 4, possibly by Eugene O'Curry, nineteenth century: *DG* 83 (p. 8), *DG* 28 (p. 11), *DG* 17 (p. 12), *DG* 68 (p. 12), *DG* 20 (p. 13), *DG* 60 (p. 14), *DG* 23 (p. 15), *DG* 84 (p. 53), *DG* 32 (p. 53), *DG* 57 (p. 58), *DG* 97 (p. 59), *DG* 70 (p. 115), *DG* 106 (p. 116).
RIA MS 23 A 17 (358), the scribe may be John Cullinan or John Haly, nineteenth century: *DG* 8 (p. 11).
RIA MS 23 A 45 (629), Muiris Ó Gormáin, 1745: *DG* 14 (p. 6), *DG* 92 (p. 7), *DG* 94 (p. 7), *DG* 2 (p. 67).
RIA MS 3 B 9 (73), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin, Ballybrack, Co. Cork for Henry Joseph Heard, 1810–14: *DG* 7 (p. 95), *DG* 31 (p. 247), *DG* 26 (p. 283), *DG* 66 (p. 285), *DG* 24 (p. 291), *DG* 16 (p. 369).
RIA MS 3 B 38 (251), Peadar Ó Gealacáin, 1853: *DG* 12 (p. 175), *DG* 95 (p. 179).
RIA MS 3 C 12 (625), Eoghan Ó Comhraí, nineteenth century: *DG* 8 (p. 39), *DG* 48 (p. 41).
RIA MS 23 A 12 (231), unidentified eighteenth-century scribe probably from Ballyspillane, barony of Barrymore, Co. Cork: *DG* 100 (p. 7 and p. 9).
RIA MS 23 A 27 (385), Mícheál Ó Mathúna, Astee, Co. Kerry, 1822–3: *DG* 93 (p. 1).
RIA MS 23 A 35 (193), Mícheál Ó Mathúna, Astee, Co. Kerry, 1822–7: *DG* 93 (p. 65).
RIA MS 23 B 24 (498), unidentified scribe, *c.* 1837: *DG* 6 (p. 288).
RIA MS 23 B 31 (646), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin in 'Magh Ratha' for Uilliam Ó Duinnín of 'Cnoc an Bhile', 1824: *DG* 105 (p. 361).
RIA MS 23 B 35 (300), unidentified scribe, nineteenth century: *DG* 16 (p. 21).
RIA MS 23 B 36 (389), Tadhg Mac Cártha for Fr Ryan of 'Teampall Uachtarach' and 'Drom Bán', Co Tipperary, 1820: *DG* 105 (p. 40).
RIA MS 23 B 38 (30), Séamus Ó Murchú at 'Droitchiod Ceann-puill', 1778–9: *DG* 105 (p. 13), *DG* 7 (p. 60), *DG* 86 (p. 130), *DG* 5 (p. 132), *DG* 11 (p. 144), *DG* 4 (p. 272).

[116]These poems are copied from NLS 72.1.36.

RIA MS 23 C 10 (941), Pól mac Mhíchíl Uí Longáin at Knockavilly, Co. Cork for Uilliam Ó Duinnín, nineteenth century: *DG* 92 (p. 243).
RIA MS 23 C 21 (672), Eoghan Caomhánach at 'Cluainín' near Slievenamon and 'Mount Celtieman' near Clonmel, 1816–17: *DG* 6 (p. 10), *DG* 83 (p. 118).
RIA MS 23 C 30 (783), Uilliam Ó Cearmada, probably of Kerry, 1785–9: *DG* 50 (p. 272).
RIA MS 23 D 13 (151), Seón Mac Solaidh, 1713: *DG* 30 (p. 35).
RIA MS 23 D 16 (506), unidentified scribe, eighteenth or nineteenth century: *DG* 102 (p. 185), *DG* 103 (p. 189), *DG* 92 (p. 189).
RIA MS 23 D 25 (962), Peadar Ó Féichín in Cork for his friend Seán Bhailís (John Walsh), 1768: *DG* 83 (p. 17).
RIA MS 23 E 9 (527), Conchúir Óg Ó Máille, 1807–8: *DG* 93 (p. 196), *DG* 50 (p. 232).
RIA MS 23 E 12 (769), Nicholas O'Kearney, *c*. 1846: *DG* 16 (p. 229).
RIA MS 23 E 14 (125), Seán Ó Dálaigh in Dublin in 1846: *DG* 106 (p. 153), *DG* 50 (p. 160).
RIA MS 23 E 16 (491), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin at various locations, 1797–1808: *DG* 24 (p. 34), *DG* 86 (p. 147), *DG* 92 (p. 263).
RIA MS 23 G 10 (974), Séamus Brún and Pádraig Brún, 1807–23: *DG* 100 (p. 176).
RIA MS 23 G 20 (211), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin in various places in counties Cork, Kerry and Limerick, 1786–1814: *DG* 14 (p. 177), *DG* 100 (p. 180), *DG* 26 (p. 235).
RIA MS 23 G 21 (917), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin at various locations, 1795–1828: *DG* 26 (p. 354), *DG* 66 (p. 355).
RIA MS 23 G 23 (256), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin at 'Carraig Annuis' near Macroom, Co. Cork, 1794–9: *DG* 26 (p. 166), *DG* 7 (p. 190), *DG* 31 (p. 198), *DG* 5 (p. 202), *DG* 106 (p. 295), *DG* 105 (p. 297).
RIA MS 23 G 24 (257), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin at various places in counties Cork and Limerick, 1795–1833: *DG* 19 (p. 61), *DG* 83 (p. 136), *DG* 6 (p. 287), *DG* 58 (p. 432).
RIA MS 23 G 27 (492), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin at various locations, 1794–1837: *DG* 106 (p. 256), *DG* 105 (p. 258).
RIA MS 23 H 15 (946), Ríghrí Mac Raghnaill, Castletownroche, Co. Cork, 1768–79: *DG* 5 (p. 121), *DG* 19 (p. 266), *DG* 7 (p. 266).
RIA MS 23 H 30 (714), unidentified scribe, eighteenth to nineteenth centuries: *DG* 50 (p. 123), *DG* 19 (p. 123), *DG* 100 (p. 124).
RIA MS 23 H 39 (985), Peadar Ó Conaill for Theophilus Ó Flannagáin in Dublin, 1787: *DG* 16 (p. 53).
RIA MS 23 I 1 (126), Richard Tipper of Castleknock, Co. Dublin, early eighteenth century: *DG* 44 (p. 130), *DG* 83 (p. 137).
RIA MS 23 I 20 (409), John McCarthy, 1755: *DG* 5 (p. 122).
RIA MS 23 I 25 (412), Seán Ó Cinnéide for Aindrias Ó Maoldomhnaigh, 1752: *DG* 93 (p. 14).
RIA MS 23 K 9 (192), Mícheál Ó Mathúna, Astee, Co. Kerry, 1821: *DG* 93 (p. 59).

RIA MS 23 K 25 (179), Maolsheachlain Ó Comhraí of Limerick, *c.* 1818: *DG* 105 (p. 32).
RIA MS 23 L 10 (552), unidentified scribe, nineteenth century: *DG* 16 (p. 99).
RIA MS 23 L 13 (787), Peadar Ó Conaill, *c.* 1782: *DG* 8 (p. 155).
RIA MS 23 L 27 (556), Seán Ó Cinnéide, 1737–8: *DG* 8 (p. 89).
RIA MS 23 L 32 (111), Richard Tipper of Michelstown, Castleknock, Co. Dublin, 1716–17: *DG* 8 (p. 1), *DG* 5 (p. 32).
RIA MS 23 L 35 (858), Peadar Ó Conaill in Corca Bhaiscinn, Co. Clare, 1782: *DG* 100 (p. 111).
RIA MS 23 M 16 (308), Aindrias Mac Mathúna, 1767–76: *DG* 9 (p. 93), *DG* 105 (p. 194), *DG* 97 (p. 200), *DG* 28 (p. 213).
RIA MS 23 M 23 (340), unidentified scribe, eighteenth century: *DG* 77 (p. 154).
RIA MS 23 N 12 (488), Mícheál mac Peadair Ó Longáin, *c.* 1763: *DG* 7 (p. 205).
RIA MS 23 N 13 (249), Mícheál mac Peadair Ó Longáin, eighteenth century: *DG* 19 (p. 194).
RIA MS 23 N 15 (490), Mícheál mac Peadair Ó Longáin, 1740–*c.* 1781: *DG* 16 (p. 127), *DG* 58 (p. 132).
RIA MS 23 N 18 (981), Tomás Ó Dumhluing, eighteenth century: *DG* 100 (p. 223).
RIA MS 23 N 33 (565), Nicholas Kearney, *c.* 1851: *DG* 82 (p. 12).
RIA MS 23 N 35 (210), Peadar Ó Longáin, *c.* 1846: *DG* 106 (p. 183), *DG* 105 (p. 190).
RIA MS 23 O 35 (55), Brian Ó Fearraghail in various places in Co. Galway, 1772–8: *DG* 82 (p. 33), *DG* 90 (p. 36), *DG* 3 (p. 37), *DG* 92 (p. 39), *DG* 82 (p. 174 and p. 181).
RIA MS 23 O 73 (1382), Tomás Ó hÍceadha, counties Waterford and Tipperary, 1814–30: *DG* 6 (p. 159), *DG* 83 (p. 226).
RIA MS 23 P 14 (690), unidentified scribe, nineteenth century: *DG* 45 (p. 259), *DG* 99 (p. 265).[117]
RIA MS 23 Q 2 (571), Edward O'Reilly, nineteenth century: *DG* 101 (p. 94).
RIA MS 23 Q 3 (572), possibly written by James Hardiman, nineteenth century: *DG* 45 (p. 64), *DG* 99 (p. 68).
RIA MS 24 A 6 (1009), nineteenth century manuscript: *DG* 100 (p. 476).[118]
RIA MS 24 A 7 (574), Tadhg Mac Cártha, 1818: *DG* 5 (p. 128).
RIA MS 24 A 34 (1064), Tadhg Mac Aogáin, 1836–7: *DG* 31 (p. 13), *DG* 7, (p. 43).
RIA MS 24 B 7 (325), W.S. O'Brien, nineteenth century: *DG* 106 (p. 51).
RIA MS 24 B 26 (242), Uillaim Ó Cléire of 'Rathaoin/Rathéen', 1760–63: *DG* 5 (p. 187).
RIA MS 24 B 29 (579), Tadhg Ó Donnabháin, Cork, 1785–8: *DG* 5 (p. 137), *DG* 83 (p. 142).
RIA MS 24 B 33 (594), possibly Pádraig Ó Dálaigh of 'Glanuir' *c.* 1849: *DG* 1 (p. 460).

[117] Both poems are accompanied by an English translation.
[118] This is a newspaper cutting.

RIA MS 24 C 11 (274), Seosamh Ó Longáin, *c.* 1849: *DG* 6 (p. 200).
RIA MS 24 C 23 (319), W.S. O'Brien, nineteenth century: *DG* 11 (p. 1).
RIA MS 24 C 24 (316), W.S. O'Brien, nineteenth century: *DG* 83 (p. 159).
RIA MS 24 C 39 (1169), unidentified scribe, eighteenth century?: *DG* 45 (p. 73).
RIA MS 24 C 56 (1186), Tomás Ó Conchúir and possibly John O'Daly:[119] *DG* 5 (p. 532), *DG* 24 (p. 533), *DG* 6 (p. 631).
RIA MS 24 L 2 (117), section (f), unidentified scribe possibly of the eighteenth century: *DG* 19 (p. 4).
RIA MS 24 L 4 (119), unidentified scribe of the eighteenth century: *DG* 19 (p. 12).
RIA MS 24 L 5 (9), Seán Ó Conaill, 1764: *DG* 105 (p. 38).
RIA MS 24 L 37 (67), unidentified scribe of Munster origin, possibly during the second decade of the nineteenth century: *DG* 4 (p. 255), *DG* 5 (p. 256).
RIA MS 24 L 38 (789), Diarmuid Ó Riain, *c.* 1786–7: *DG* 5 (p. 72).
RIA MS 24 M 4 (601), Seán Ó Dreada, Cork, 1836: *DG* 29 (p. 173).
RIA MS 24 M 30 (612), a member of the Ó Longáin family of scribes, eighteenth-nineteenth centuries: *DG* 19 (p. 86).
RIA MS 24 M 43 (639), Seán Ó Dálaigh, Dublin, 1848–51: *DG* 50 (p. 17).
RIA MS 24 P 29 (1074), Toirdhealbhach Mag Uidhir, 1789 and Labhrás 'Oháran' at Dublin for Toirdhealbhach Mag Uidhir: *DG* 16 (p. 235), *DG* 43 (p. 352), *DG* 95 (p. 355), *DG* 12 (p. 355).
RIA MS 24 P 49 (1412), (a), Pádraig Ó hIfearnáin, *c.* 1846–8, Limerick: *DG* 8 (p. 70).
RIA MS A iv 2 (27), Seán do Niadh, partially in Macroom, Co. Cork, 1751–7: *DG* 7 (p. 93 a.).
RIA MS B i 2a. (1079), verses on a letter written by Charles O'Conor, eighteenth century: *DG* 90 (Section I, item 5).
RIA MS E iv 1 (751), unidentified scribe, eighteenth century: *DG* 83 (p. 62).
RIA MS E iv 3. (11), Aindrias Mac Cruitín in Moyglass, Co. Clare, 1727: *DG* 8 (p. 4).
RIA MS E v 5 (203), Pól Ó Longáin in Cork for Séamus de Róiste, 1819: *DG* 14 (p. 354), *DG* 100 (p. 356).
RIA MS F ii 3 (255), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin and Peadar Ó Longáin for Séamus de Róiste, Cork, 1820: *DG* 106 (p. 128), *DG* 105 (p. 137), *DG* 106 (p. 249).
RIA MS F iii 1 (265), Peadar Ó Longáin for Séamus de Róiste of Cork, 1820: *DG* 6 (p. 318).
RIA MS F v 3. (34), Henri Mac an tSaoir in Dublin, 1788: *DG* 92 (p. 45), *DG* 94 (p. 46), *DG* 14 (p. 186), *DG* 90 (p. 220), *DG* 103 (p. 351).
RIA MS F v 5. (36), Henri Mac an tSaoir in Dublin, 1787: *DG* 101 (p. 174).
RIA MS F vi 1 (252), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin, *c.* 1820: *DG* 106 (fol. 149r), *DG* 105 (fol. 151v).

[119]Ó Conchúir wrote *DG* 5 and *DG* 24 and O'Daly is possibly the scribe of *DG* 6. RIA MS 24 C 56 (1186) is a bound collection of portions of manuscripts and miscellaneous pages belonging to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

RIA MS F vi 2 (253), Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin in Carraig na bhFear, Co. Cork, 1813 for Seán Ó Connughadh: *DG* 7 (p. 130), *DG* 66 (p. 159), *DG* 26 (p. 160), *DG* 92 (p. 367), *DG* 6 (p. 368), *DG* 5 (p. 369), *DG* 100 (p. 370), *DG* 58 (p. 371), *DG* 31 (p. 371), *DG* 14 (p. 575).
RIA MS G vi 1 (37), Henri Mac an tSaoir in Dublin, 1787–8: *DG* 83 (p. 214).
SM HM4543, Tadhg Ó Conaill, 1827: *DG* 86 (p. 44), *DG* 5 (p. 117), *DG* 31 (p. 128), *DG* 26 (p. 129), *DG* 83 (p. 160).
TCD MS H. 1. 17 (1291), Hugh O'Daly for Dr. Sullivan, 1755: *DG* 83 (fol. 112a), *DG* 3 (fol. 117b), *DG* 81 (fol. 122a), *DG* 102 (fol. 160).
TCD MS H. 2. 5 (1296), Desmond O'Conor, eighteenth century: *DG* 5 (p. 343), *DG* 33 (p. 344).
TCD MS H. 4. 10 (1351), unidentified scribe; eighteenth century but *DG* 11 is in a later hand to the rest of the contents: *DG* 11 (p. 100).
TCD MS H. 4. 15 (1356), Stephen Rice, 1727–8: *DG* 18 (p. 506), *DG* 69 (p. 506), *DG* 93 (p. 502).
TCD MS H. 4. 19 (1360), Hugh O'Daly, *c.* 1742: *DG* 19 (p. 13), *DG* 7 (p. 76), *DG* 106 (p. 168).
TCD MS H. 4. 20 (1361), Tadhg Ó Neachtain, 1725–9: *DG* 5 (p. 66), *DG* 90 (p. 242).
TCD MS H. 5. 19 (1391), unidentified scribe, eighteenth century: *DG* 16 (p. 1).
TCD MS H. 6. 7 (1411), Donnchadh Ó Conaill, Gurteen, Killathy, Co. Cork, 1737: *DG* 7 (p. 3); *DG* 86 (p. 44); *DG* 105 (p. 364).
TCD MS H. 6. 11 (1415), Henry O'Brien, 1754: *DG* 100 (p. 26).
TCD MS H. 6. 14 (1418), Peadar Ó Féichín, Blarney, Co. Cork for Toirdhealbhach Ó hAnnracháin of Cork, 1770: *DG* 83 (p. 100), *DG* 5 (p. 279).
TCD MS H. 6. 15 (1419), Maurice Newby, 1714–5: *DG* 13 (p. 30).
TCD MS H. 6. 21 (1423), James Chambers, 1774–81: *DG* 6 (p. 148).
UCC M 32, Thomas Haly, eighteenth to nineteenth centuries: *DG* 5 (p. 70).
UCC M 34, Séamus Goodman in Trinity College, Dublin, 1880: *DG* 5 (p. 150).
UCC M 40, Cathal Ua Tucaoidh, Co. Wexford, 1824: *DG* 105 (p. 239).
UCC M 55, Peadar Ó Gealacáin, Co. Meath, 1825: *DG* 87 (p. 11), *DG* 92 (p. 100), *DG* 40 (p. 111), *DG* 1 (p. 113), *DG* 75 (p. 114), *DG* 35 (p. 117), *DG* 10 (p. 120), *DG* 46 (p. 156), *DG* 57 (p. 158), *DG* 72 (p. 159), *DG* 52 (p. 163), *DG* 7 (p. 185), *DG* 74 (p. 188), *DG* 71 (p. 189), *DG* 13 (p. 219), *DG* 41 (p. 264).
UCC M 63, Domhnall Mac Consaidín of Ennis, Co. Clare, 1855–9: *DG* 1 (p. 182), *DG* 50 (lch 430), *DG* 19 (p. 568).
UCC T i, Seán Ó Muláin, Cork, 1795–*c.*1807: *DG* 58 (p. 138).
UCC T iii, unidentified scribe, eighteenth century: *DG* 5 (p. 18).
UCC T xxi, possibly by Pól Ó Longáin, *c.* 1834: *DG* 19 (p. 72).
UCC T xxxvii, Brian Ó Ruairc, Conray, Co. Leitrim, 1841–2: *DG* 5 (p. 310).
UCC T xlv, Piaras Móinséal/Mansfield, Doneraile, Co. Cork, 1814: *DG* 50 (p. 64)
UCC T lvii (a), unidentified scribe, no date: *DG* 83 (p. 4), *DG* 28 (p. 7), *DG* 17 (p. 8), *DG* 68 (p. 8), *DG* 20 (p. 9), *DG* 60 (p. 10), *DG* 23 (p. 11).
UCC T lix, Michael Kirby, Listowel, Co. Kerry, *c.* 1841: *DG* 93 (item 4).
UCC T 5, Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, Dublin, 1895: *DG* 19 (p. 219).

UCC T 6, Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, 1896–8: *DG* 92 (p. 29).
UCD A 23, Labhrás Mhac Analladh/Laurence McNally, 1763–4: *DG* 82 (p. 16).
UCD A 33, possibly Seón Lloyd, eighteenth century: *DG* 8 (p. 107).
UCD F 1, Pádraig Feiritéar, 1889: *DG* 93 (p. 293).

Appendix II: manuscript sources for individual *dánta grá*

The manuscript copies of all 106 poems in Ó Rathile's 1926 edition of *Dánta Grádha* are listed here. The manuscripts for each indivdual poem are given in chronological order from earliest to latest. The number of copies of each *dán grá* is given in square brackets.

***DG* 1** BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); BL Eg. 158 (1736–9); UCC M 55 (1825); UCC M 63 (1855–9); RIA MS 24 B 33 (*c*. 1849); Cam 38 (mid-19th c.); MN C 71 (19th c.). **[7]**

***DG* 2** TCD MS 1381 (*c*. 1684); TCD MS 1383 (*c*. 1704); RIA MS 23 A 45 (1745); BL Eg. 127 (1775); BL Eg. 161 (1778–88); MN MF 9 (1802–3); MAL K (18th or 19th c.). **[7]**

***DG* 3** TCD MS 1381 (*c*. 1684); Vendryes MS (*c*. 1714); TCD MS H. 1. 17 (1755); RIA MS 23 O 35 (1772–8); BL Eg. 178 (1782). **[5]**

***DG* 4** NLS Adv. MS 72.1.37 (1512–42); RIA MS 23 B 38 (1778–9); RIA MS 4 A 46 (1793); MN B 6 (late 18th–early 19th c.); RIA MS 24 L 37 (1810s?). **[5]**

***DG* 5** RIA MS 23 L 32 (1716–17); TCD MS H. 4. 20 (1725–9); RIA MS 23 I 20 (1755); RIA MS 24 B 26 (1760–3); NLI G 351 (1758–64); TCD MS H. 6. 14 (1770); NLI G 470 (1768); Liv 12079M (1776–7); RIA MS 23 H 15 (1768–79); RIA MS 23 B 38 (1778–9); RIA MS 24 L 38 (*c*. 1786–7); RIA MS 24 B 29 (1785–8); RIA MS 4 A 46 (1793); RIA MS 23 G 23 (1794–9); TCD MS H. 2. 5 (18th c.); UCC T iii (18th c.); MN B 6 (late 18th–early 19th c.); UCC M 32 (18th–19th centuries); RIA MS F vi 2 (1813); MN M 10 (1817); MN M 2 (1818); MN M 9 (1818); RIA MS 24 A 7 (1818); RIA MS 24 L 37 (1810s?); MN M 94 (1820); MN M 14 (*c*. 1820); NLI G 1121 (*c*. 1817–27); SM HM4543 (1827); BC (1823–8); Mad 180 (1836–7); UCC T xxxvii (1841–2); UCC M 34 (1880); RIA MS 24 C 56 (18th & 19th c.). **[33]**

***DG* 6** BOCD (1631); TCD MS H. 6. 21 (1774–81); RIA MS F vi 2 (1813); RIA MS 23 C 21 (1816–7); MN M 6 (1818); RIA MS F iii 1 (1820); RIA MS 23 O 73 (1814–30); RIA MS 23 G 24 (1795–1833); RIA MS 23 B 24 (*c*. 1837); RIA MS 24 C 11 (*c*. 1849); RIA MS 24 C 56 (18th & 19th c.). **[11]**

***DG* 7** UCD A 25 (*c*. 1628); BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); TCD MS 1382 (1703); TCD MS H. 6. 7 (1737); TCD MS H. 4. 19 (*c*. 1742); RIA MS A iv 2 (1751–7); MN M 86 (1775–6); RIA MS 23 N 12 (*c*. 1763); RIA MS 23 H 15 (1768–79); RIA MS 23 B 38 (1778–9); RIA MS 23 G 23 (1794–9); MN B 6 (late 18th–early 19th c.); RIA MS F vi 2 (1813); RIA MS 3 B 9 (1810–14); NLI G 360 (1815); Cam 13 (1825); Cam 13 (1825); UCC M 55 (1825); Mad 180 (1836–7); RIA MS 23 A 34 (1836–7). **[20]**

***DG* 8** BOCD (1631); RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700); RIA MS 23 L 32 (1716–17); MN C 74 (1718); RIA MS E iv 3 (1727); MN C 21 (1729); RIA MS 23 L 27 (1737–8); MN M 111 (1764–8); MN C 25 (1773); RIA MS 23

L 13 (*c*. 1782); NLI G 501 (1793–6); UCD A 33 (18th c.); NLI G 193 (1774–1813); NLI G 210 (1811); MN R 97 (1827–46); RIA MS 24 P 49 (*c*. 1846–8); NLI G 403 (1845–9); RIA MS 23 A 17 (19th c.); RIA MS 3 C 12 (19th c.). **[19]**

***DG* 9** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); Rouen MS 1678 (end 17th c.); RIA MS 23 M 16 (1767–76); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[4]**

***DG* 10** BOCD (1631); BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825). **[3]**

***DG* 11** TCD MS 1399 (1679); MN B 8 (1701–8); MN M 85 (1758); RIA MS 23 B 38 (1778–9); TCD MS H. 4. 10 (18th c.?); MN M 14 (c. 1820); Car 2 (1848); Car 2 (1848); Cam 48 (*c*. 1850–1); RIA MS 24 C 23 (19th c.). **[10]**

***DG* 12** RIA MS 24 P 29 (*c*. 1789); RIA MS 3 B 38 (1853). **[2]**

***DG* 13** BOCD (1631); TCD MS 1381 (*c*. 1684); BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); TCD MS H. 6. 15 (1714–15); UCC M 55 (1825). **[5]**

***DG* 14** Br MS 6131–3 (after 1633); RIA MS 23 A 45 (1745); BL Eg. 127 (1775); BL Eg. 161 (1778–88); RIA MS F v 3 (1778); BL Add. 18749 (1792); NLI G 433 (18th –19th c.); MN MF 9 (1802–3); RIA MS F vi 2 (1813); RIA MS 23 G 20 (1786–1814); RIA MS E v 5 (1819); BF XXXIII (after 1844). **[12]**

***DG* 15** Laud Misc. 615 (early 16th c.); RIA MS 744 (mid-17th c.). **[2]**

***DG* 16** RIA MS 23 H 39 (1787); RIA MS 23 N 15 (1740–*c*. 1781); MN C 74 (1788); RIA MS 24 P 29 (*c*. 1789); NLS Adv. 72.3.2 (1798); TCD MS H. 5. 19 (18th c.); RIA MS 3 B 9 (1810–14); MN M 2 (1818); MN M 13 (*c*. 1818); Aber A 7 (after 1824); NLI G 234 (1841); RIA MS 23 E 12 (*c*. 1846); RIA MS 23 B 35 (19th c.); RIA MS 23 L 10 (19th c.). **[14]**

***DG* 17** BOCD (1631)?; RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.); UCC T lvii (undated). **[6]**

***DG* 18** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); TCD MS H. 4. 15 (1727–8); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[3]**

***DG* 19** TCD MS 1375 (1696–8); TCD MS 1382 (1703); NLI G 429 (1721–5); TCD MS H. 4. 19 (*c*. 1742); RIA MS 23 H 15 (1768–79); MN M 57 (1785–9); RIA MS 24 L 4 (18th c.); RIA MS 23 N 13 (18th c.); RIA MS 24 L 2 (18th c.?); RIA MS 24 M 30 (18th–19th c.); RIA MS 23 H 30 (18th–19th c.); MN M 11 (1817); NLI G 1121 (*c*. 1817–27); MN M 4 (1818); MN M 94 (1820); RIA MS 23 G 24 (1795–1833); UCC T xxi (*c*. 1834); NLI G 122 (*c*. 1849); UCC M 63 (1855–9); UCC T 5 (1895); Aber A 25 (19th c.); BL Eg. 122 (19th c.). **[22]**

***DG* 20** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.); UCC T lvii (undated). **[5]**

***DG* 21** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[2]**

***DG* 22** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[2]**

***DG* 23** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.); UCC T lvii (undated). **[5]**

***DG* 24** MAL A (*c*. 1763), NLI G 470 (1768); RIA MS 23 E 16 (1797–1808); RIA MS 3 B 9 (1810–14); MN M 2 (1818); Cam 13 (1825); RIA MS 24 C 56 (18th & 19th c.). **[7]**

***DG* 25** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[2]**

***DG* 26** Vendryes MS (*c*. 1714); RIA MS 23 G 23 (1794–9); RIA MS F vi 2 (1813); RIA MS 23 G 20 (1786–1814); RIA MS 3 B 9 (1810–14); MN M 2 (1818); MN M 94 (1820); SM HM4543 (1827); RIA MS 23 G 21 (1795–1828). **[9]**

***DG* 27** NLS Adv. 72.1.35 (*c*. 1654–5). **[1]**

***DG* 28** BOCD (1631); RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); RIA MS 23 M 16 (1767–76); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.); UCC T lvii (undated). **[7]**

***DG* 29** MN M 9 (1818); NLI G 819 (1820); RIA MS 24 M 4 (1836). **[3]**

***DG* 30** RIA MS 23 D 13 (1713); NLI G 127 (1713–15); CC 1 (1846). **[3]**

***DG* 31** RIA MS 23 G 23 (1794–9); NLI G 433 (18th–19th c.); RIA MS F vi 2 (1813); RIA MS 3 B 9 (1810–14); MN M 2 (1818); MN M 94 (1820); SM HM4543 (1827); Mad 180 (1836–7); RIA MS 23 A 34 (1836–7). **[9]**

***DG* 32** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.). **[3]**

***DG* 33** BOCD (1631); Giessen MS (1684); TCD MS 1381 (*c*. 1684); RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700); TCD MS H. 2. 5 (18th c.). **[5]**

***DG* 34** BOCD (1631); RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700). **[2]**

***DG* 35** BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825). **[2]**

***DG* 36** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[2]**

***DG* 37** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60) **[2]**

***DG* 38** BOCD (1631); NLS Adv. 72.1.36 (*c*. 1690–99); RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); Clanranald (*c*. 1686–1727); MN C 87 (1841–60); NLS Adv. 72.3.11 (19th c.). **[6]**

***DG* 39** BOCD (1631); RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700). **[2]**

***DG* 40** UCD A 25 (*c*. 1628); BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825). **[3]**

***DG* 41** TCD MS 1381 (*c*. 1684); BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825). **[3]**

***DG* 42** BOCD (1631)?; NLI G 140 (1724–40). **[2]**

***DG* 43** RIA MS 24 P 29 (*c*. 1789).[120] **[1]**

***DG* 44** BL Eg. 155 (1790–6); RIA MS 23 I 1 (early 18th c.). **[2]**

***DG* 45** TCD MS 1355 (*c*. 1685–1700); NLI G 82 (1744–5); RIA MS 24 C 39 (18th c.?); HW (1813); MS Longfellow 5709 (1813); BC (1823–8); BC (1823–8); NLI G 436 (1823–8); BL Eg. 122 (19th c.); BL Eg. 146 (19th c.); RIA MS 23 Q 3 (19th c.); RIA MS 23 P 14 (19th c.). **[12]**

***DG* 46** BOCD (1631); NLS Adv. 72.1.49 (*c*. 1618–47); BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825). **[4]**

***DG* 47** BOCD (1631); MN C 59 (1645); RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[4]**

***DG* 48** BOCD (1631); RIA MS 3 C 12 (19th c.). **[2]**

[120]The initial two quatrains of the poem as found in Ó Rathile's edition are written vertically on the page, followed by the first quatrain of *DG* 9. The rest of the poem, beginning with the third quatrain of Ó Rathile's edition, is written horizontally on the same page. The poem is catalogued under the first line of the horizontal portion of the text, viz., *Truagh nach e codhla mo chaoidh*.

***DG* 49** RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700). **[1]**

***DG* 50** RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700); RIA MSS 15–24 (1684–1707); RIA MS 23 C 30 (1785–9); RIA MS 23 H 30 (18th–19th c.); RIA MS 23 E 9 (1807–8); UCC T xlv (1814); RIA MS 23 E 14 (1846); Car 2 (1848); RIA MS 24 M 43 (1848–51); UCC M 63 (1855–9); Cam 34 (19th c.). **[11]**

***DG* 51** BOCD (1631); BOCD (1631); NLS Adv. 72.1.49 (*c*. 1618–47); Giessen MS (1684). **[4]**

***DG* 52** BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700); UCC M 55 (1825). **[3]**

***DG* 53** RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700). **[1]**

***DG* 54** NLS Adv. MS 72.1.37 (1512–42); NLS Adv. 50.1.12 (19th c.?).[121] **[2]**

***DG* 55** NLS Adv. 72.1.36 (*c*. 1690–9); NLS Adv. 72.1.36 (*c*. 1690–9); NLS Adv. 72.3.11 (19th c.); NLS Adv. 72.3.11 (19th c.). **[4]**

***DG* 56** RIA MS 744 (mid-17th c.). **[1]**

***DG* 57** BOCD (1631); RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.). **[6]**

***DG* 58** RIA MS 23 N 15 (1740–*c*. 1781); UCC T i (1795–*c*. 1807); RIA MS F vi 2 (1813); MN M 2 (1818); RIA MS 23 G 24 (1795–1833). **[5]**

***DG* 59** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[2]**

***DG* 60** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.); UCC T lvii (undated). **[4]**

***DG* 61** BOCD (1631); RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.). **[3]**

***DG* 62** TCD MS 1381 (*c*. 1684). **[1]**

***DG* 63** RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700). **[1]**

***DG* 64** RIA MS 744 (mid-17th c.). **[1]**

***DG* 65** RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700). **[1]**

***DG* 66** Clanranald (*c*. 1686–1727); NLI G 319 (18th–19th c.); NLI G 433 (18th–19th c.); RIA MS F vi 2 (1813); RIA MS 3 B 9 (1810–14); MN M 2 (1818); RIA MS 23 G 21 (1795–1828). **[7]**

***DG* 67** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[2]**

***DG* 68** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.); UCC T lvii (undated). **[4]**

***DG* 69** UCD A 25 (*c*. 1628); BOCD (1631); TCD MS H. 4. 15 (1727–8); MN C 74 (1763). **[4]**

***DG* 70** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.). **[2]**

***DG* 71** BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825). **[2]**

***DG* 72** BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825). **[2]**

***DG* 73** BOCD (1631). **[1]**

***DG* 74** TCD MS 1381 (*c*. 1684); BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825). **[3]**

***DG* 75** BOCD (1631); BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825). **[3]**

***DG* 76** NLS Adv. 72.1.48 (after 1660). **[1]**

***DG* 77** RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700); BL Eg. 192 (1729); BL Eg. 127 (1775); BL Eg. 161 (1778–88); BL Eg. 155 (1790–6); RIA MS 23 M 23 (18th c.). **[6]**

[121]The NLS Adv. 50.1.12 text derives from NLS Adv. MS 72.1.37 (Mackechnie 1973: 23).

***DG* 78** RIA MS 26 (1688); ML 11 (19th c.). **[2]**
***DG* 79** BOCD (1631). **[1]**
***DG* 80** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[2]**
***DG* 81** TCD MS 1381 (*c*. 1684); TCD MS H. 1. 17 (1755). **[2]**
***DG* 82** TCD MS 1381 (*c*. 1684); NLI G 82 (1744–5); UCD A 23 (1763–4); Don 1 (*c*. 1777); RIA MS 23 O 35 (1772–8); RIA MS 23 O 35 (1772–8); RIA MS 23 O 35 (1772–8); Cam 10 (1831–2); NLI G 200 (1828–39); RIA MS 23 N 33 (*c*. 1851). **[10]**
***DG* 83** TCD MS 1381 (*c*. 1684); RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN M 95 (1754–5); TCD MS H. 1. 17 (1755); BL Add. 34119 (1765); Aber A 23 (1768); RIA MS 23 D 25 (1768); TCD MS H. 6. 14 (1770); RIA MS 12 E 25 (1772); MN M 86 (1775–6); RIA MS 24 B 29 (1785–8); RIA MS G vi 1 (1787–8); RIA MS 23 I 1 (early 18th c.); RIA MS E iv 1 (18th c.); NLI G 560 (late 18th c.?); MN B 6 (late 18th–early 19th c.); RIA MS 23 C 21 (1816–7); MN M 2 (1818); MN M 6 (1818); NLI G 454 (1822); SM HM4543 (1827); Cam 10 (1831–2); RIA MS 23 O 73 (1814–30); RIA MS 23 G 24 (1795–1833); NLI G 200 (1828–39); Cam 48 (*c*. 1850–1); Dun 2 (19th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 24 C 24 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.); UCC T lvii (undated). **[32]**
***DG* 84** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.). **[3]**
***DG* 85** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[2]**
***DG* 86** BOCD (1631); NLS Adv. 72.1.48 (after 1660); TCD MS H. 6. 7 (1737); NLI G 82 (1744–5); RIA MS 12 E 22 (1754); RIA MS 23 B 38 (1778–9); RIA MS 23 E 16 (1797–1808); MN M 2 (1818); MN M 7 (1818); SM HM4543 (1827). **[10]**
***DG* 87** BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); UCC M 55 (1825). **[2]**
***DG* 88** BOCD (1631); Giessen MS (1684). **[2]**
***DG* 89** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[2]**
***DG* 90** BOCD (1631); TCD MS H. 4. 20 (1725–9); BL Eg. 127 (1775); BL Eg. 178 (1782); RIA MS 23 O 35 (1772–8); RIA MS F v 3 (1778); RIA MS B i 2a. (18th c.); MN MF 9 (1802–3). **[8]**
***DG* 91** RIA MS 26 (1688); ML 11 (19th c.). **[2]**
***DG* 92** Giessen MS (1684); BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); RIA MS 23 A 45 (1745); BL Eg. 127 (1775); MN M 86 (1775–6); RIA MS 23 O 35 (1772–8); BL Eg. 161 (1778–88); RIA MS F v 3 (1778); RIA MS 23 E 16 (1797–1808); RIA MS F vi 2 (1813); UCC M 55 (1825); UCC T 6 (1896–8); RIA MS 23 D 16 (18th or 19th c.); RIA MS 23 C 10 (19th c.). **[14]**
***DG* 93** TCD MS H. 4. 15 (1727–8); RIA MS 23 I 25 (1752); PB 9 (1775); MN C 102 (1789); RIA MS 23 E 9 (1807–8); RIA MS 23 K 9 (1821); RIA MS 23 A 27 (1822–3); RIA MS 23 A 35 (1822–7); UCC T lix (*c*. 1841); UCD F 1 (1889).[122] **[10]**

[122]In MN C 102, RIA MS 23 E 9, RIA MS 23 K 9, RIA MS 23 A 27, RIA MS 23 A 35, UCC T lix and UCD F 1, *DG* 93 forms part of the poem beginning *An bhean do b'annsa liom fán ngréin* which is attributed to Piaras Feiritéar in some manuscripts. For a text of this type, see Dinneen

***DG* 94** BOCD (1631); RIA MS 23 A 45 (1745); BL Eg. 127 (1775); RIA MS F v 3 (1778); BL Eg. 161 (1778–88). **[5]**

***DG* 95** RIA MS 24 P 29 (*c*. 1789); RIA MS 3 B 38 (1853). **[2]**

***DG* 96 (i)** BOCD (1631); Rouen MS 1678 (end 17th c.); RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700). **[3]**

***DG* 96 (ii)** BOCD (1631); RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700). **[2]**

***DG* 97** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); RIA MS 23 I 40 (*c*. 1700); RIA MS 23 M 16 (1767–76); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.). **[5]**

***DG* 98** RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); MN C 87 (1841–60). **[2]**

***DG* 99** NLS Adv. MS 72.1.2 (second half of 16th c.); NLS Adv. 72.1.36 (*c*. 1690–99); Vendryes MS (*c*. 1714); MN M 107 (18th c.); BL Eg. 122 (19th c.); NLS Adv. 72.3.11 (19th c.); RIA MS 23 Q 3 (19th c.); RIA MS 23 P 14 (19th c.). **[8]**

***DG* 100** Vendryes MS (*c*. 1714); TCD MS H. 6. 11 (1754); RIA MS 23 L 35 (1782); MN C 95 (*c*. 1784); RIA MS 23 A 12 (18th c.); RIA MS 23 N 18 (18th c.); NLI G 433 (18th–19th c.); RIA MS 23 H 30 (18th–19th c.); RIA MS 23 G 20 (1786–1814); RIA MS F vi 2 (1813); MN M 2 (1818); RIA MS E v 5 (1819); RIA MS 23 G 10 (1807–23); RIA MS 12 E 24 (1845); RIA MS 24 A 6 (19th c.). **[15]**

***DG* 101** NLS Adv. 72.1.35 (*c*. 1654–5); BL Egerton 187 (1686); Rouen MS 1678 (end 17th c.); Siena G. IX. 50 (late 17th to early 18th c.); Vendryes MS (*c*. 1714); BL Eg. 174 (first half of 18th c.); BL Eg. 127 (1775); RIA MS F v 5 (1787); BL Eg. 155 (1790–6); NLI G 38 (18th c.); MN MF 9 (1802–3); MN M 13 (*c*. 1818); RIA MS 23 Q 2 (19th c.). **[13]**

***DG* 102** NLS Adv. 72.1.36 (*c*. 1690–9); BL Eg. 128 (1748–9); TCD MS H. 1. 17 (1755); RIA MS 23 D 16 (18th or 19th c.); NLS Adv. 72.3.11 (19th c.). **[5]**

***DG* 103** Giessen MS (1684); BL Eg. 128 (1748–9); RIA MS F v 3 (1778); RIA MS 23 D 16 (18th or 19th c.), DeBr 2 (19th c.). **[5]**

***DG* 104** BL Add. 40766 (end 17th c.); NLI G 200 (1828–39); MN C 92 (19th c.). **[3]**

***DG* 105** MN C 59 (1645); RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); RIA MSS 15–24 (1684–1707); TCD MS H. 6. 7 (1737); MN M 84 (1738–47); KI 5 (1755); BL Eg. 211 (1758); RIA MS 24 L 5 (1764); MN C 72 (1767); RIA MS 23 M 16 (1767–76); RIA MS 23 B 38 (1778–9); MN M 57 (1789); MN C 49 (*c*. 1789); RIA MS 23 G 23 (1794–9); MN M 96 (*c*. 1817); RIA MS 23 K 25 (*c*. 1818); RIA MS F ii 3 (1820); RIA MS 23 B 36 (1820); MN M 70 (*c*. 1820); RIA MS F vi 1 (*c*. 1820); MN M 72 (1822); UCC M 40 (1824); RIA MS 23 B 31 (1824); RIA MS 23 G 27 (1794–1837); CF 8 (1842); CF 5 (*c*. 1842); RIA MS 23 N 35 (*c*. 1846); Car 2 (1848); MN C 87 (1841–60); MN M 89 (19th c.). **[30]**

(1934: 109–112) and for further commentary on accretions to this poem, see Dinneen (1934: 63–4) and Nic Mhathúna (2007: 30–31).

***DG* 106** BOCD (1631); RIA MS 23 D 4 (17th c.); TCD MS 1382 (1703); RIA MSS 15–24 (1684–1707); TCD MS H. 4. 19 (*c*. 1742); RIA MS 23 G 23 (1794–9); MN M 96 (*c*. 1817); RIA MS F ii 3 (1820); RIA MS F ii 3 (1820); MN M 70 (*c*. 1820); RIA MS F vi 1 (*c*. 1820); MN M 72 (1822); RIA MS 23 G 27 (1794–1837); CF 5 (*c*. 1842); RIA MS 23 E 14 (1846); RIA MS 23 N 35 (*c*. 1846); Car 2 (1848); Cam 48 (*c*. 1850–1); MN C 87 (1841–60); Hyde MS 56 (19th c.); RIA MS 24 B 7 (19th c.); RIA MS 12 F 8 (19th c.). **[22]**

Abbreviations

Aber	National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.
Bel	Central Public Library, Royal Avenue, Belfast
BC	Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts
Br	Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Brussels
Car	Cardiff City Library
Cam	Cambridge University Library, England
CC	St Kieran's College, Kilkenny
CF	St Colman's College, Fermoy
DeBr	Irish manuscripts in the possession of Pádraig de Brún
Don	St Patrick's College, Armagh
Dun	Dunington Manuscripts[123]
Hyde	Douglas Hyde Collection, National University of Ireland, Galway
HW	Henry Wordsworth Ms, Cambridge, Massachusetts
KI	King's Inns, Dublin
Liv	University Library, Liverpool
Mad	Madison, Wisconsin
Mal	St Malachy's College, Belfast
ML	St Mel's College, Longford
MN	Maynooth University
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
PB	de Barra Collection[124]
Siena	Biblioteca Communale, Siena
SM	Henry E. Huntingon Library, San Marino, California
UCC M	Murphy Collection, University College Cork
UCC T	Torna Collection, University College Cork
UCD A	The Franciscan Collection now housed in UCD
UCD F	Patrick Ferriter Collection

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[123] Most recently reported to be in the possession of the late Edgar M. Slotkin (Slotkin 1991: 56).
[124] See Ó Fiannachta (1978: 135).

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