



An Irish Historical Tract Dated A.D. 721

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VI.

AN IRISH HISTORICAL TRACT DATED A.D. 721.

By JOHN MAC NEILL, B.A.

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CONTENTS.

1. Introductory, ...	123	6. Comparison of Z with A and B, ...	141
2. Textual extracts with translation, ...	125	7. The doctrine of A, ...	142
3. The Middle-Irish redactor of Z, ...	137	8. Z the foundation of later Irish chrono-	
4. The date and original of Z, ...	139	logies, ...	144
5. The chronological basis of Z, ...	140		

ABBREVIATIONS.

A = the Irish synchronistic tract headed "A" in Todd Lecture Series (Royal Irish Academy), vol. iii., p. 278.

B = the Irish synchronistic tract headed "B," *ib.* p. 286.

Z = the Irish synchronistic tract quoted in this paper from

BB = the Book of Ballymote (R.I.A. facsimile), and

Lecan = the Book of Lecan, ms. in Royal Irish Academy.

1. INTRODUCTORY.

THE Irish Synchronisms represent the earliest essays to construct the history of Ireland before St. Patrick. The origin of the Synchronisms has been well explained by the late Dr. Bartholomew MacCarthy in one of his Todd Lectures.¹ They were written in imitation of St. Jerome's Latin version of the Chronicon of Eusebius. Dr. MacCarthy brings forward evidence to show that one of the synchronistic tracts printed by him, the tract which he designates by "A," "may date from the end of the sixth century." In a later work, he writes of this tract that it "was composed towards the end of the sixth century."² The text dealt with in the present paper represents an original composed early in the eighth century. Two sections of it are quoted by Dr. MacCarthy. The remainder may have escaped his notice by reason of the peculiar form in which the document has been preserved.

I have called this document Z. It does not appear to exist anywhere as a whole. Separated portions of it are embodied in the versions of the *Lebor*

¹ R. I. A., Todd Lecture Series, vol. iii., pp. 244, 245.

² Annals of Ulster, MacCarthy's Introduction, vol. iv., p. cix.

Gabála and *Flaithiusa Hérenn* contained in the Book of Ballymote and the Book of Lecan. These portions when brought together are seen to form a continuous and homogeneous text. So complete is the continuity that in one place in the Book of Ballymote the opening sentence of the excerpt has for its subject a pronoun having reference to a personal name of which the last previous mention is found four pages back.

Owing to the loss of several leaves in each MS., the text of Z is not complete either in BB or in Lecan; but fortunately all that is missing in one appears to be supplied in the other. Two of the sections, V. and VI., are contained in both MSS.

The present paper deals chiefly with the earlier portion of the text. In the sections quoted and translated, I have omitted long lists of oriental kings in which no reference to Ireland occurs. I have indicated such omissions in the customary way.

The later sections of the text embody an account of Irish matters which are within the period of contemporary records or border closely thereon. Of these sections, I have quoted only those parts which establish the date of compilation. The remaining parts demand separate study and fall outside of the scope of this paper. To edit the text in its entirety will be a necessary part of the work of producing a complete edition of the early versions of the "Book of Invasions"—a work of such importance to the study of Irish and British origins that one wonders why it has been hitherto neglected.

The original of Z was written in the year 721. So far as I am aware, no other document containing the general framework of Irish legendary history exists of earlier date than the eleventh century. Z is thus a text of the highest critical value as showing how the historical legend grew and developed in succeeding centuries. A large development will be seen to have taken place in the legend of the Sons of Míl, i.e. in the origin-legend of the Gaelic people. According to Gilla Coemáin, writing in the eleventh century, the Gaels conquered Ireland about 1545 B.C. According to Z, this conquest took place no earlier than 331 B.C.¹

Z, in fact, supplies a solvent by means of which we are enabled to eliminate a large element of medieval elaboration and invention, and to obtain a nearer and clearer view of the genuine outlines of Irish primitive tradition.

For some British archaeologists it appears to be almost a settled doctrine that the Gaelic Celts reached Great Britain and Ireland in the beginning of

¹ See Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus*, p. 186. The relations of A and Z to the Irish sources of Nennius may deserve investigation.

the Bronze Age, that is to say, perhaps a thousand years before any Celts are known to have reached the coasts of Gaul and Spain. This theory has long seemed to me to be chiefly sustained by the scaffolding that surrounds it. I do not know how far it may have been suggested by the claims to remote antiquity put forward on behalf of the Gaelic people in Ireland by their medieval historians. At all events, it is not irrelevant to point out that the writer of Z, the oldest known document which assigns a period to the Gaelic conquest of Ireland, is content to claim for that event a date no more remote than the time of Alexander the Great. To my mind, it has neither been proved nor shown probable that any Celtic people had settled in Britain or Ireland before the Celts were already far advanced in the use of iron. While I attach no precise importance to Z's date for the Gaelic immigration—the method by which that date was determined will be shown in further analysis—I consider it reasonable to think that the migrations to Ireland came in natural sequence from the occupation of the Atlantic seaboard by the Celts, and may not have begun earlier than the fifth century B.C.

2. TEXTUAL EXTRACTS WITH TRANSLATION.

I. (BB 21 β 28).

I cind .ccc. bl. iar ndilind ro gab
Parrtholon *Erinn*, no dno amar aderam
bos treabhsad a sil .l. bl. ar .u.c. conda-
sealgadar *Concheind* go na terno neach
di[a] claind ana beathaigh tricha bl.
iarsin gan duine beo a n*Erinn*.

At the end of 300 years after the
Flood, Partholon took possession of Ire-
land, or else, as we shall further relate,
his race dwelt [here] 550 years until
the Dogheads slew them, so that not one
of their posterity escaped alive. For
thirty years thereafter, there was no
one alive in Ireland.

[Then follows an account of certain prediluvian immigrants to Ireland—
Capa, Laighne, and Sluasad, and again Cessair and her company.]

II. (BB 23 α 29).¹

Ocus nir gabh neach do chloind Adham
re ndili *Erinn* acht sain. Ba fas tra
Eriu fria re .ccc. bla. *conas-torracht*
Parrtholon. no da bl. ar mile 7 is fir
eissein. doig is .lx. bl. ba slan do

And no one of the race of Adam before
the Flood took possession of Ireland but
these. Now Ireland was vacant for the
space of 300 years until Partholon
reached it; or rather 1002 years, and

¹ I give this section in its order, but regard it as forming no part of the original tract. Its object is to amend the earlier reckoning. For Mac Carthy's translation and emendations, see Todd Lect. iii., p. 262.

Abraham in tan ro gabh Parrtholon Eriu 7 da bl. xl.^a 7 ix. c. o Abraham co dilind suas .i. lx. aissi Abraham frisin .lx. sin conadh .c.^a i. c. sin frisna .ix.c. conadh mile 7 da bl. fairsin conad follus assin conadh da bliá. ar mile o dilind co tiachtain Parrtholon a nErinn. Ocht mbla. .l. 7 se. c. 7 da mili o tosach domain co tainig Parrtholon a nErinn. ui. c. bl. 7 da mili acht di bliadain da easbaigh o Adam co hAbraham.

that is true. For Abraham had completed 60 years when Partholon occupied Ireland, and there are 942 years from Abraham backwards to the Flood, i.e. the sixty of Abraham's age in addition to the former sixty, which makes [102?] besides the 900, making 1002 years, so that it is evident therefrom that from the Flood to the arrival of Partholon in Ireland is 1002 years. 2658 years from the beginning of the world till Partholon came to Ireland. 2600 years all but two from Adam to Abraham.

III. (BB 26 a 7).

In n-aes thanaisdi dno o dilind co hAbraham is da bl. xl. 7 ix. c. bliadan a fad sidhein 7 i cind .lx. bl. iarsin ro gabh Parrtholon Erinn .l. ar .u.c. o thiahtain Parrtholon a nErinn co tamleacht a muindtire. [Here follows a synchronic list of eastern rulers without reference to Ireland, down to 26 a 25.] in lx.^o anno etaitis Abraham ro ghabh Parrtholon Erinn. [Synchronic list continued to 26 a 34] .l. ar .u.c. bl. do bhi sil Parrtholon a nErinn. [26 a 37] Reimheas .xui. righ do righaib in domain do chaith sil Parrtholon a nErinn. [26 a 44] Pelocus adho¹ fo .u. nó tri bl. tricad 7 xii. bl. dib a comhfhlaitheus re sil Parrtholon .i. co tamleacht muindteiri Parrtholon 7 a tri deg dibh 7 Eire fas ingean Phelocis .iiii. mbl. conadh da bl. xx. sin bheos 7 Eiri fas. Athosa 7 Saimiraimmis a dha hainm na hingene sin. Poillipoiris xxx. bl. 7 ix. mbl. dho a righe in doma[i]n in tan tanig Neimeadh a nErinn na .ix. mbl. 7 in bl. ar .xx. isiat sin in tricha

The second age of the world then from the Flood to Abraham, 942 years is the length thereof, and 60 years thereafter Partholon took possession of Ireland. 550 from Partholon's arrival in Ireland to the death of his people by plague² In sexagesimo anno aetatis Abraham Partholon occupied Ireland. For 550 years the race of Partholon was in Ireland. It was the time of 16 kings of the kings of the world that Partholon's race spent in Ireland. Belocus [reigned] five times five years, or thirty-three years and twelve years thereof in co-sovereignty with Partholon's race, i.e. till the destruction of Partholon's people by plague³; and during thirteen years thereof Ireland was empty. The daughter of Belocus [reigned] eight years, so that that is 22 (21) years so far in which Ireland was empty. Atossa and Semiramis are the two names of that daughter. Balepares [reigned] 30 years, and was 9 years in the kingship of the world when Nemed

¹ Read a. u. (mistaken for a. ii.).

² "The second age . . . plague" is evidently interpolated. See sec. i.

³ "Till . . . plague" interpolated.

bl. ro bai Eiri ig fas.¹ O ro indsimar tra do Cheassair 7 do Parrtholon gu leir 7 dia comaimsearaibh o Adham co dilinn 7 o dilinn co hAbraham 7 o Abraham co Neimheadh go fhis comaimsearreachta gach righ do ghabh in domun frisin re sin. 7 is fearr duind indisin do Neimhead 7 dona righaibh rena re.

came to Ireland. The 9 years and the 21 make the 30 years for which Ireland was empty. Since we have told now of Cessair and of Partholon thoroughly, and of their synchronizings from Adam to the Flood and from the Flood to Abraham, and from Abraham to Nemed, explaining the synchronism of every king who ruled the world during that time, it is better for us to tell of Nemed and of the kings in his time.

IV. (BB 27 β 20).

Da fhicheat bl. 7 se .c. o gein Abraham co tiachtain Neimidh in nErinn .i. in lx. ro chaith Abraham co tiachtain Parrtholon in nErinn 7 in .l. ar. u.c. aibh ro bai sil Parrtholon in Erinn 7 in .xxx. ro bai Eriu ig fas conad iadsin na da .xx. 7 na .ui. c. bl. o Abraham co Neimeadh. Da bl. immorro 7 .lx. 7 u.c. 7 mile o dilind co tiacht Neimeadh a nErinn. Tricha bl. 7 ii.c. tra o thainig Neimeadh a nErinn gu toghail tuir Conaing. Poilipoiris ro bai in airdrige in doma[i]n in tan tainig Neimidh asin Sceithia a nErinn xxx. bl. aireimheas 7 ix. bl. do ir-righe reimh Neimeadh² (β 40) Secht mbladna tra o thamleachta muindtiri Parrtholon gu toghail Trae² (β 45) Et Tonus Concoler nó Conaeler .xx. bl. Ise sin tiuglaith Asardha. Sarrdanapallas a ainm gregdha do shnimh chuigile do chuaidh condhearrnaidh cailleach de conroloise fein i teinidh. cccc. 7 lxx. bl. o thainig Neimidh in nErinn co forbha flaitiusa Assardha 7 iiiii. rig dheg fria sil Neimidh. Mili 7 cc. 7 ii. xx.

640 years from Abraham's birth to Nemed's arrival in Ireland, i.e. the 60 that Abraham lived until Partholon's coming to Ireland, and the 550 that Partholon's race lived in Ireland, and the 30 in which Ireland was empty—these make the 640 years from Abraham to Nemed. 1562 from the Flood to Nemed's arrival in Ireland.³ 230 years from when Nemed came to Ireland till the destruction of Conaing's tower. Balepares was in the sovereignty of the world when Nemed came from Scythia to Ireland. 30 years was his reign, and he was 9 years king before Nemed. . . . Seven years from the destruction of Partholon's people by plague to the destruction of Troy. . . . And Thonos Concolerus, 20 years. He is the last Assyrian sovereign. Sardanapalus was his Greek name. He took to spinning with a distaff, so that he became an old wife and burned himself in a fire. 470 years from when Nemed came to Ireland till the end of the Assyrian sovereignty, and 14 kings during [the time of]

¹ The incorrect insertion of *ig* before *fas* is interesting as an indication that the modern *a'fás* = *ag fás* dates back as far as the fourteenth century. The mistake is repeated in IV, 6, so cannot be fortuitous.

² Lists of Assyrian kings are here given.

³ This section so far is given by Mac Carthy, p. 263.

fot flaithiusa na nAssarda 7 se¹ righ
trichad ro bhadar frisin re sin ut dixit
poeta.

Da xx.¹⁴ da .c. gan chair
mili ni breg do bliadnaib
fad a flaithis bha brigh bhale
re re na n-ocht righ trichad
Madh o. c. bliada[i]n Nin nair
ro ghabhsat riagail sograid²
mili gidh mo meadh³ namma
da .c. 7 xl.

Iar flaithius Assardha ig Cichloiscibh
ro bai .i. c. bl. doibh 7 ui. righanda dibh
risin re sin Marsebia 7 Lapita Ensiopa
Iiorithia Antiobla Pentisilia dno. Innis-
tear cheana isin stair Dariat Pentisilia
do bheith illeith na Troianda ig catugh-
adh fria Gregaibh go ndorcair la Pirr
mc. Aichir Masse Tutaineis ro bhi in
n-aimsir toghla Troi is a comainsir
frisna hAssardaibh ro bhail. Pentisilia
agna Cichloisethibh ria no⁴ ro thoghladh
in Trai. Flaithius Meadh ba he in
t-ardflaithius a ndiaidh na nAsradha .i.
ocht righa ro bhadar dibh nae⁵ mbliadhna
.l. 7 cc. fad a flaithiusa ut dicitur.

Nae mbliadhna .l. da. cet
re riagladh⁶ ni himirbreg
fod flatha Meadh brigh co mblaidh
re re ocht righ do righaibh.

Nemed's race. 1240 [years was] the
duration of the empire of the Assyrians,
and 36 [or 38] kings there were during
that time, ut dixit poeta :

Two score, two hundred, without fault,
a thousand, it is no lie, of years
the length of their sovereignty that
was a solid strength
in the time of the thirty-eight kings.
If it be [reckoned] from the first year of
noble Ninus
that they held the rule of high degree,
a thousand only, though it be the
greatest number(?),
two hundred and forty.

After the empire of the Assyrians,
the Amazons had it i.e. 100 years for
them and six queens of them during that
time, Marsebia and Lapitha, Ensiopa,
Iiorithia, Antiobla, Penthesilea. It is
told, however, in the history of Dares
that Penthesilea was on the side of the
Trojans warring against the Greeks, till
she was slain by Pyrrhus son of Achilles.
If it was Tautamus that lived in the
time of the Sack of Troy, he was con-
temporary with the Assyrians. Pen-
thesilea [reigned] among the Amazons
before Troy was sacked. The sovereignty
of the Medes was the supreme sove-
reignty after the Assyrians,⁷ i.e. eight
kings there were of them. 259 [?]
years was the duration of their realm, ut
dicitur :

Two hundred and fifty-nine years,
according to rules, it is no falsehood,
the length of the reign of the Medes,
a power with fame,
during the time of eight kings.

¹ "no ocht" written over "se."

⁴ Read resiu?

⁷ Meaning that the Amazon kingdom is not reckoned as a "world-kingdom."

² Read rograid.

⁵ "no .u." written over "nae."

³ Read méd, mét.

⁶ Read re (= fri) riagla?

Arbait in .c. righ dībħ ocht. mbl. xx. do. Suffonus xxx. b. do. Is ina re ro bhai tiughfhlaith Asarrdha .i. Sardana-pallus 7 Madidus. xxx. bl. is na re rug Salmnasar cetbroid .x. treibi. Cardicias .xiii. bl. 7 Deachus .iiii. b. l. do. Isin-dala bl. xxx. a righ cath Leithead Laughtmaidhe i nDail Riada indorchair Starnd mac Neimidh re Conaind mac Faebair i cind .viii. mbl. iarsin toghail tuir Conaind 7 dieur cloindi Neimidh a hErinn .c. bl. 7 xl. do fhlaithius Meadh tarthadar sil Neimidh ceithri .c. bl. 7 lxx. ro chaithsead do fhlaithius Asardha 7 se dec nō xiii. righ ar Asardhaibh 7 se rigna na Cichloisce 7 u. righ do righaibh na Meadh ro chaithesdair cona shil in Erinn isiad sin tra in xxx. 7 na dha .c. ro badar sil Neimhidh in Erinn. Deochus uero u. bl. no a .iiii. l. i righi 7 Eiriu fas. Fraortes .xx. iii. bliadna Cir atreas uiiii ised a re ro bai Nabhgodon im mBhabiloin 7 Astiagheis uiiii. mbl. xx. go-ro-n-aithrigh Cir mac Dair mac a ingene fein. Is na re ro loisc Nabhgodon fa dho Ierusalem. Ise sin thra fhlaithius Meadh .xu. b. 7 xxx. d. 7 Eri fas in fhlaithius dar eis Meadh ag na Gallag-daibh ro bai 7 ni hairimhtear amal ard-fhlaithius itir sen .i. Nabgodon. a xiii. 7 a mac .i. Ebelimordach. xvii. mb. 7 a ua Negusar .xl. 7 a iarmua Labasairdech .ix. missa 7 a indua Ballasdair xuiii. bl. Cuig righ sin do Ghalladagaibh 7 c. bl. 7 na .u. bl. deg 7 na ceithri xx. ro bhadar Meadha i righi 7 Eiri fas 7 na .u. bl. 7 in c. ro bhadar na Galladagda isiad sin na .c. bl. ro bai Eri fas o thoghail tuir Connaind co loingis Fear mBholg.¹

Arbaces, the first king of them, 28 years for him. Sosarmus, 30 years for him. In his time lived the last ruler of the Assyrians, i.e. Sardanapalus. Mamycus, 30 years. In his time Sal-manassar carried off the first captivity of the Ten Tribes. Cardaces, 13 years, and Deioces, 54 years for him. In the 32nd year of his reign, the battle of Lethet Lachtmaige in Dal Riada, in which Starnn son of Nemed was slain by Conann (or Conaing) son of Faebair. Eight years later, the destruction of Conann's tower and the expulsion of Nemed's race from Ireland. 140 years of the empire of the Medes, the race of Nemed lasted. 470 years they spent of the Assyrian empire; and [the time of] sixteen or thirteen kings over the Assyrians, six queens of the Amazons, and five kings of the kings of the Medes, he [Nemed] and his race passed in Ireland. Those are the 230 years that Nemed's race was in Ireland. Deioces was 55 or 54 years reigning, Ireland being empty; Phraortis 24 years; Cyaxares 8 — it was [for] his time that Nabuchodonosor was in Babylon; and Astyages 28 years until his own daughter's son, Cyrus son of Darius, deposed him. It was in his time that Nabuchodonosor twice burned Jerusalem. That then is the empire of the Medes, 45 (?) years, Ireland being empty. After the Medes, the sovereignty was held by the Chaldeans, and that is not accounted at all as a supreme empire; i.e. Nabuchodonosor 13, and his son Evilmerodach 17 years, and his grandson Neriglissor 40 and his greatgrandson Laborosoarchod 9 months, and his great-great-grandson Balthassar 18 years. That makes five

¹ The numerals in this section must be wrongly transcribed in several places.

kings of the Chaldeans and 100 years; and the 95 years that the Medes reigned, Ireland being empty, and the 105 years that the Chaldeans reigned, make up the [two] hundred years that Ireland was empty from the destruction of Conann's tower to the voyage of the Fir Bolg.

V. (BB 31 β 38.)

Et da .c. bl. do bhi Eri fas o thoghail thuir *Conaind* cu tangadar Fir Bholg. Comaimseardhacht righ in domain andso fria righaibh Fear mBholg .i. a ndeireadh fhlaithiusa na nGallagha tra tangadar Fir Bolg a nErinn .i. a tiughlaithsidhe 7 is do tarfas dornn gan righidh ig sgribeand 7 issed ro scribh mane techel 7 faires .i. umir 7 tomhus 7 foghail 7 is fair ro thoghail Cir mac Dair im mBaibiloin 7 ro marb Ballastair 7 ise Cir ro leg in mbroid do *Erusalem* iar mbeith doi .lxx. bl. a ndaire Flaithius Pers tra a ndiaidh na nGallagha .i. da righ dec ro gabastair dhibh. trica 7 da .c. bliadan doibh .i. sil Elaimh meic Sheimh meic Nae Laimida ba sloindidh doibh gu Persus mac Ioib 7 Pers immorro osin amach. Cir mac Dair a ceidrigh siden tricha bliadan do gunorchair la Scitheagdaibh. gu tri .c. mile uime 7 isse sin rug m.l. mile¹ do broid *Jerusalem* a Babiloin 7 u.¹ castair oir 7 mile¹ castar n-airgid a lin. Cambaseis mac Cir iarsin .uii. mbl. co ros marbsat a dhruithe fein 7 Eochaid mac Eire i righe nErenn in tan sin 7 isiad sin na uiu. mbliadna xxx. ro badar Fir Bolg a nErinn .i. ocht mbliadna² flaithiusa. Cir meic Dair gosin seachtmadh bl.

And 200 years was Ireland empty from the destruction of Conann's tower till the Fir Bolg came. The following is the synchronizing of the kings of the world with the kings of the Fir Bolg. At the end of the sovereignty of the Chaldeans the Fir Bolg arrived in Ireland. He [Balthassar]³ was their last prince, and to him was shown a hand without an arm writing, and what it wrote was *mane thekel phares*, i.e. number and measure and division; and over him Cyrus son of Darius captured Babylon, and he slew Balthassar. And it was Cyrus who let go the captives (*lit.* captivity) to Jerusalem when they had been 70 years in bondage. The Persian empire then after the Chaldeans, i.e. twelve kings of them reigned. Their time was 230 years, i.e. the race of Elam son of Shem son of Noah. Elamites was their description until Persus son of Jove, and Persi thenceforward. Cyrus son of Darius, their first king, reigned 30 years till he was slain by Scythians, with 300,000 of his followers. And it was he that brought the 50,000 of the captives of Jerusalem out of Babylon, and 5,000 vessels of gold, and many thousand vessels of silver, such was

¹ Read as in *Lecan*.

² Read 6 chét bliadain.

³ The omission of the name shows that the compiler of the *Leabhar Gabhála* had a continuous text of Z which he broke up into sections. Balthassar is the last king named in the preceding section. Four pages of BB intervene. The *Lecan* scribe noted the omission and re-inserted the name.

flatusa Campesis meic Cir 7 ina ocht-madh bl. tangadar t.d.d. a nErinn 7 daradsat cath Moige Tureadh dFheraibh Bolg 7 ro marbad and Eochaid mac Eirc.

their number. Cambyses son of Cyrus thereafter, 7 years, until his own druids slew him, Eochaid son of Erc being king of Ireland at that time. And those are the 37 years that the Fir Bolg were in Ireland, i.e. from the first year of the reign of Cyrus son of Darius till the seventh year of the reign of Cambyses son of Cyrus. And in his eighth year the Tuatha Dé Danann arrived in Ireland and fought the battle of Mag Tured with the Fir Bolg, and in it Eochaid son of Erc was slain.

Lec. 23 α , β . Comaimsirad rig in domuin inso fri rigaib Fer mBoleg. a n δ eridh flatha na Call. u (?) tancatar Fir Boleg a nErinn. Ballastar a tiugflaith side is do doarfais in dorn cen rigidh icon sg[ri]bind 7 ised ro scrib mane tethel 7 phares .i. numir 7 tomus 7 fod a lin is fair ro toglastar Cyir mc. Dair Babiloin 7 ro marbastar Ball. Ise Cyr ro leicestair in mbrait do Iarusalem iar mbeith doib .lxx. b. i ndoiri Flaithius Pers tra a ndiaidh na Medh xii ri dib hi flaithius xxx. bl. 7 cc. doib. Sil dano Elaim mc. Sem mc. Noi iat 7 Elamite dogairdis dib co Persius mc nIoib. Pers ohsoin amach. Ba se in cetri dib Cyr mc. Dair .xxx. bl. do. co torehair la Scithecdaib co tri cetaib mile uimi. Ise thucc in l. mile do brait Ierusalem o Baibiloin .i. u. m lestar n-oir 7 ilmile lestar n-argait. Campases mc. Cyr iar sin .iiii. bl. co ro marbsat a druidi fein 7 Eochaid mc. Eirce hirrigi .H. intan sin. Is iat sin na uii. mbl. xxx^{at}. ro batar Fir Boleg inH. O.c. bl. fl. Cir mc. Dair eusin uii^{ad}. bl. tancatar Tuath. D.D. inherinn 7 doratsat cath Muighi Tured do Feraib Boleg 7 ro marbsat Eochaid macc Eirce.

VI. (BB 36 a 12.)

Comaimseardacht righ in domain re .t.d.d. and seo sis. Persa ro bhadar i righe in tan tangadar t.d.d. a nErinn isin bliadain deidenaigh flaithiusa Campaseis mc. Cir mc. Dair tangadar no na ochtmadh bliadain tangadar. [Here follows a list of the Persian kings, with the length of their reigns, without reference to Ireland.] (36 a 29) Et Dairius mor mc. Arsabi .ui. bl. ISe tiughlaith na Pers 7 ise thug tri catha do Alaxandir mc. Pilip 7 ro thuit sium la hAlaxandair isin chath fo dheoidh. ISe Alaxandair ro thaffaínd Forand

R.I.A. PROC., VOL. XXVIII., SECT. C.

The following is the synchronizing of the kings of the world with the Tuatha Da Danann. The Persians were ruling when the T. D. D. came into Ireland; in the last year of the reign of Cambyses son of Cyrus son of Darius they came, or in his eighth year they came. . . . And Darius the Great, son of Arsames, 6 years. He is the last ruler of the Persians, and it was he who fought three battles with Alexander son of Philip, and he fell by Alexander in the final battle. It was Alexander that drove Pharaoh Nectanebis from the

[20]

Nechtinebhus a righi Egipte is do sidhen ro bo cliamain Milidh .i. Goladh a ainm. Tainig sein a hEgipt o ro haithrighadh Forand .i. Milidh 7 a bhean .i. Scota ingean Foraind 7 tainig co Heaspain 7 ro chosain Easpain ar eigin. ISe Forand Neachteinibus .in. u^{ad}. righ .xl^{ad}. no .xxx. iar Forand Cingciris ro baidheadh imMuir Ruaidh. .iiii. b. deg 7 ix. c. fat a flaithiusa na Forand o Fhorand Cingciris co Forann Neachtenibus. Ro raindeadh tra flaithius Alaxandair a tri randaibh .xxx. dia eis 7 ro dhearrsnaigh ceathrar dib uile. Potolameus mc. Lairghi i nEighibht 7 imMaigidondaibh Pilip no a mc. a nAssia Bhig Antigone im mBabiloin Brutus Siliucus microin Potolameus a ndiaidh Alaxandair .xl. b. A ndeireadh fhlaithiusa Alaxandair tangadar mc. Mileadh a nErind .i. bl. iar marbad Dair do 7 i tosach a innsaighe 7 a righi tainig Milidh dochum nEaspaine .u. bl. dAlaxandair i righi in tan tangadar mc. Miled a nErinn 7 doradadh cath Tailtlean andorcradar t. d. d. cona rignaibh. Coig bliadna dErimhon i righi in tan adbath Alaxandair im mBaibiloin 7 isiat sin na dha .c. bl. ro badar t. d. d. a nErinn. On bl. deighenaigh flaithiusa Campeses mc. Cir co forbha fhlaithiusa Dair aenbliadain Campases Tairpeis .u. bla. xxx^{ad}. Serseis xx. bliadan. Artarserses xl. bliadan. Xerxes. da mis. Sodogenos .uii. misa. Et Dairius xix. b. Asferus. xl. Artarserses Ochi. tricha. Arius Ochi .iiii. bl. Dairius mor .ui. bl. ISiad sin na da .c. b. acht tri bl. nan-easbaig ro badar t. d. d. a nErinn. Gaidhil a nErinn 7 Greic i n-airdrigi in doman.

kingship of Egypt—it was to him [Pharaoh] that Míl was son-in-law, whose [proper] name was Goladh. The latter came away from Egypt when Pharaoh was dethroned, i.e. Míl, and his wife, i.e. Scota daughter of Pharaoh, and came to Spain and conquered Spain by force. Pharaoh Nectanebis was the 45th or 35th king after Pharaoh Cingciris, who was drowned in the Red Sea; 914 years was the duration of the empire of the Pharaohs from Pharaoh Cingciris to Pharaoh Nectanebis. Alexander's empire was divided into 33 portions after him, and four men of [the rulers of] these excelled them all: Ptolemy son of Lagus in Egypt and in Macedonia, Philip or his son in Asia Minor, Antigonus in Babylon, Brutus Seleucus Nicanor (?). Ptolemy, in succession to Alexander, 40 years. At the close of Alexander's reign the sons of Míl came to Ireland; i.e. a year after he slew Darius, and in the beginning of his invasion and of his kingship, Míl came to Spain. Alexander had reigned 5 years when the sons of Míl came to Ireland, and the battle of Tailtiu was fought, in which fell the T.D.D. with their queens. Erimon had reigned 5 years when Alexander died in Babylon. And these are the 200 years the T.D.D. were in Ireland, from the last year of the reign of Cambyses son of Cyrus to the end of the reign of Darius:¹ Cambyses, 1 year: [Darius son of Hystaspes, 35 years; Xerxes, 20 years; Artaxerxes, 40 years; Xerxes, 2 months; Sogdianus, 7 months; and Darius, 19 years; Assuerus, 40; Artaxerxes Ochus, 30; Darius Ochus, 4 years; Darius the Great, 6 years. Those are the 200

¹ "Their three kings and their three queens," Lecan.

years all but three that the T.D.D. were in Ireland. The Goidil in Ireland and the Greeks in the high-kingship of the world.

Lec. 26 α , β . Comainsiradh righ in domain fri Tuaith. D.D. annso sis. Perssa robatar in airdrighi in domain intan tancatar Tuath α D.D. inH. isin bl. dedenaigh flatha Campases mc. Cir mc. Dair tancatar. [List here as in BB.] Dairius Magnus mc. Arsabei .ui. bli. ise tiugf $\bar{r}$ na Pers ise thuice na tri catha do Alax $\bar{r}$. mc. Philip 7 ro marb Alax $\bar{r}$. esseomh isin cath deigdenach. Ise Alax $\bar{r}$. ro thafaind Forann arrighi Eigipte is do ro bo cliamain Galom .i. Milid $\bar{r}$ a ainm 7 tanic side a hEgipt 7 a ben Scotta ingen Nectanibus co Hespain 7 ro chossain ar h $\bar{m}$. Et ise Forann Nectenibus in xlu. ri iar Forunn Cineris ro baidhedh imMuir Ruaidh .xiii. bl. 7 ix. .c. fott a flatha o Forunn Cineris co Forunn Nechtanibus. Rorannad fls. Alax $\bar{r}$. i trib rannaib xxx^{at}. dia eis ro derseaidh iiii ur dib uili .i. Ptolomeus mc. Lairce in Egipt. Ardiachius Pilippus imMaicidhondaib. Antighonus i mBabiloin. Bruttus Siliuceus isin Aissia Bhic. Ptolomeus indiaidh Alax. xl. bl. Indeiredh flatha Alax tancatar mc. Miled $\bar{r}$ inh $\bar{r}$. .i. da bl. iar marbad Dair do 7 hitossach a indsaighthi 7 a rige tanic Milid $\bar{r}$ dochum nEspa $\bar{n}$ e. Cuic bl. do Alax $\bar{r}$. arrigi in tan tancatar mc. Miled $\bar{r}$ inh $\bar{r}$. 7 doradad cath Tailltin hi toreratar Tuath D. D. immo trib rigaib 7 immoa teora rignaib. Coic bl. do Herimon irrigi in tan adbath Alax $\bar{r}$. i mBabiloin conid iat sin in .cc. b. robatar t. d. d. inh $\bar{r}$. On bli. deidhenaigh fl. Campases mc. Cir co forba flatha Assar 7 Dair Aenbl $\bar{r}$. Campases. Tarpess xxxui .bl. Serses. xx. b. Artarserses .xl. b. Xerxes .u. mis. Soghodianus .iiii. mis. Dairius .xix. b. Asferus .lx. b. Artarserses Occus .xxx. Airius .iiii. b. Dairius Magnus .ui. b. Isiat sin in .cc. bl. acht na .iii. bl. robatar. t. d. d. inh $\bar{r}$. Gaidil in h $\bar{r}$. 7 Greic in airdrighi in domain 7 ar na huilib gabalaib rogab Eirin o thossach co deridh. Finit.

VII. (BB 44 α 49.)

A cind x. mbliadan iar m $\bar{b}$ as Alaxandair mc. Pilip atbath Erimon. Ag toiseachaib Alaxandair ro bai in t-ard-flaithius andsein.¹

"At the end of 10 years after the death of Alexander son of Philip, Erimon died. Alexander's generals held the supreme rule at that time."

VIII. (Lecan 27 β .)

Cs. cade tairthud² fir mc. Mil $\bar{r}$. n $\bar{r}$. Cenel fil i sleib Armenia .i. Hiberi a sloindiud Boi ri amra occo .i. Milidh mc. Bile mc. Nema. Bui side hicosnum flaithiusa fria brathair athar fri Refelair mc. Nema 7 doluidh lucht .iiii. mbarec for longas 7 .ii. lanomna dec cech bairece

Question, what is the true origin of the Sons of Mil? It is not difficult. A race there is in the mountain of Armenia, Hiberi they are named. They had a famous king, M $\bar{r}$ l son of Bile son of Nem. He was contesting the sovereignty with his father's brother, Refel-

¹ The remainder of the synchronism falls within a lacuna of several missing pages of BB, and the continuation is taken from the Book of Lecan. It will be noted that there is no break in the sequence.

² Prof. K. Meyer supplies *twirthed* .i. *adbar*.

7 amus forcraidech cen mnai. Da thuiscech amraocco .i. Ucc 7 Occe Lotar for muir Chaisp amach for in oician imechtrach 7 dolotar timchull na hAissia sairdes co hinis Deprephane. iii. mis doib innti iii. mis aile for fairrce co riachtatar co Egipt fo deoig Hi cind uii. mbl. 1.st ar ccc. ar mile iar c. gabail Er. do Pharthalon. Hi cind immorro xiiii. mbl. ar decce iar mbadhuadh Foraind a Muir. R. rosiacht[at]ar Egipt. Pharo Nectanabus ba ri Egipte in tan sin 7 ise sin in u. eadh ri. xl. iar Forand Cinceriss ro baidhedh im Muir Ruaid. [Here follows a list of the Pharaohs.]

air son of Nem, and he went into exile with the manning of four barks, and twelve married couples to each bark, and a soldier over and above without wife. Two famous chiefs they had, Ucc and Occe. They went upon the Caspian Sea, out on the outer ocean, and came round Asia southeastward to the island of Taprobana. They were three months there and three months more on the sea, till at length they reached Egypt, at the end of 1357 years after the first taking of Ireland by Partholon, at the end too of 914 years after Pharaoh's drowning in the Red Sea they reached Egypt. Pharaoh Nectanebis was then king of Egypt, and he is the 45th king after Pharaoh Cineris, who was drowned in the Red Sea. . . .

IX. (Lecan 27 β, 28 a.)

Nectanebis Pharaoh xuiii. b. ise ba ri Egipte ar cind Miled mc. Bile cona longais 7 fuair failte occa fri re .uiii. mbl. 7 dobeir a ingin .i. S[c]ota do. Et ba si sin aimsir laidh Alaxandair Mor mc. Pil. isind Aissia 7 ro thairbir in Egipt fo reir 7 ro indarb Pharo Nectanebus a hEgipt inn Ethiop 7 ro dichuir Artarserses ar tus. fecht aile in Egipt Cumdaithir iarum cai[t]hir rig in Egipt la hAlaxandair Alexandria a hainm. Et discailter flaithius dilis ind Egipt annsin. 7 gabait Greig fortamlus innte 7 is hic Grec[aib] Alaxandria ro bui flaithius o sin amach. Conid annsin tainic Miled a hEgipt dochum a cheneoil fein. Finit.

Nectanebis Pharaoh, 18 years. It is he that was king of Egypt on the arrival there of [*lit.* in front of] Míl son of Bile, with his fleet [or party of exiles]; and [Míl] was hospitably kept by him for eight years, and [Pharaoh] gives his daughter Scota to him. And that was the time when Alexander the Great, son of Philip, went into Asia, and brought Egypt to submission and banished Pharaoh Nectanebis from Egypt into Ethiopia, and he first dethroned Artaxerxes at another time in Egypt. Afterwards, a city of kings in Egypt is built by Alexander, Alexandria its name. And the native sovereignty of Egypt is then broken up, and the Greeks take headship there, and the Greeks of Alexandria held the sovereignty thenceforward. So it was then that Míl came from Egypt to his own kindred.¹ Finit.

¹ Perhaps the Iberi of Spain are taken here to be akin to the Iberi of the Caucasus.

X. (Lecan 34 a 1.)

Comaimsirad rig Herind fri rigaib in domain moir annso. Herimon tra in oenbl. ro gab rigi 7 Alaxandair airdrigi in domain 7 ro marb Dairius Mor mc. Arsabi. i cinn .u. mbl. iar sin bas Alax. 7 r[o] gabsat a thoisig in domun da eis xl. b. Deich mbl. iar mbas Alax. atbath Herimon. uiii. b. iar sin Muimne 7 Luigne 7 Laigne .x. b. iar sin do Hiriel mc. Herimoin. Isindara bli. dec flatha Eithireoil mc. Hireoil .f. mc. Herimoin atbath in toisech dedenach di muintir Alax. i. Ptolomeus mc. Large. Xuiii. b. tra ro bui Eithirel hi comfl. 7 Philadelphus. xxxuiii. b. 7 is chuice tucadh in septuaginta ro chettindtae in chanoir a hebra i ngreice lxxx hebraide lin a scriptore.¹ Fichi b. ro bui Philadelphus hi comrige 7 Conmael mc. [sic] xxx. b. do Chonmael post hirrighi 7 euergites .xiii. b. i comflaithius friss Conmael post xiii. b. Philopator .xiii.² b. in coicedh ri do Greccaib hi comflaithius fri Conmael 7 a .u. hi comfl. fri Tigernmus Ise Philopator tra ro marbstar .lxx. mile do Iudaigib ind aimsir Tigernmais. Finit.

This is the synchronism of the kings of Ireland with the kings of the great world. In the same year Herimon³ took the kingship and Alexander the high-kingship of the world, having slain Darius the Great, son of Arsames. At the end of five years thereafter, Alexander's death; and his generals took [the sovereignty of] the world after him for 40 years. Ten years after Alexander's death, Herimon died. Eight years after that, Muimne and Luigne and Laigne. Ten years after that [were spent in kingship] by Hiriel son of Herimon. In the twelfth year of the reign of Eithirel son of Hírel Fáith son of Herimon, died the last general of Alexander's people, Ptolemy son of Lagos. Eithirel was 18 years in co-sovereignty with Philadelphus [who reigned] 38 years, and to him were brought the seventy who first translated the Canonical Scriptures from Hebrew to Greek. Seventy(?) Hebrews(?) was the number of its writers. Twenty years was Philadelphus in co-kingship with Conmael son of . . . ; 30 years for Conmael afterwards in kingship, and Euergetes 17 years in co-sovereignty with him. Conmael afterwards, 13 years. Philopator, 13 years, the fifth king of the Greeks, in co-sovereignty with Tigernmas. It was Philopator who slew 70,000 of the Jews in the time of Tigernmas. Finit.

XI. (Lecan 41 a 17.)

Comaimseradh rig in domain 7 gabal nErenn ro scribus a tosach in libair ota flaith Nin mc. Peil ro gab rigi in domain

"The synchronism of the kings of the world and of the conquests of Ireland I have written in the beginning of the

¹ Read lxx. hebra lin a scriptore.

² Read xiii.

³ Here the passage containing the statement about the battle of Taltiu is contradicted.

ar tus cusin coicedh ri do Greccaib 7 o
 Parrtholon mc. Sera dno ro gab Erind
 ar tus iar ndilind cusin coiced blia. flatha
 Tigernmuis mc. Follaig ro gab rigi
 nErenn co cenn .c. blia. ut alii aiunt. Is
 ferr dunn dno co sgribam comamserad
 nacin for leith annso.

book, from the reign of Ninus son of
 Belus who first took the kingship of the
 world to the fifth king of the Greeks,
 and from Partholon son of Seir also who
 first took Ireland after the Flood to the
 fifth year of the reign of Tigernmas son
 of Follach who took the kingship of
 Ireland till the end of [i.e. throughout]
 100 years *ut alii aiunt*. It is better for
 us now that we write the synchronism
 on a separate sheet here."

The succession of the "Greek" rulers is then resumed at Philopator (see end of VIII) and continued to the time of Julius Caesar. From him the Roman "kings of the world" are continuously enumerated down to the reign of Leo III, who is declared to be contemporary with Fergal son of Mael Dúin, king of Ireland.

Then the writer returns to the synchronization of the Roman emperors with the kings of Ireland, but on a different plan from the preceding section. Instead of taking the dynasties reign by reign, he takes them by centuries, naming the emperors and the Irish kings in each century. The centuries are reckoned from the accession of Julius Caesar (i.e. from the battle of Pharsalia), 48 B.C., until the mission of St. Patrick is reached. From this event the reckoning by centuries begins anew. The periods are:—

1.	To the 12th year of Claudius	A.D. 52
2.	" 14th " Antoninus Pius,	151
3.	" 1st " Claudius II,	268
4.	" 18th " Constantius II,	354
5.	" last " Theodosius I,	450

Theodosius I is confused with Theodosius II, who died in 450. Here a fresh start is made in the reckoning, leading—

6.	To the 1st year of Patrick in Ireland,	A.D. 432
7.	" 5th " Justinian,	531
8.	" 20th " Heraclius,	629

Last comes a period of 84 years, calculated to the date of writing of the original tract.

¹ The end of the third century is miscalculated. Perhaps the writer unwittingly substituted the first year of Claudius, 268, for the first of Valerian, 253. The other and smaller errors may be due to variations in chronography or to a misreading of the Roman numerals. The A.D. reckoning does not appear in the tract. A.D. dating appears not to have displaced the older methods in Ireland until the ninth century (Mac Carthy, Introduction to *Annals of Ulster*, vol. iv., p. xciv).

The closing passage is as follows (43 a):—

Ceithri bl. lxxx. on xx b. fl. Heracli
co forba fl. Leomain 7 ix.¹ r. frisin re sin
.i. Hercolonas Constantin fls. Heracli
Constantius fls. Constantini Iustinianus
Minor Leofus Tiberius Iustinianus Minor
iterum Pillipicus Anastasius filius
Teoth. Tercii² Leo Tertius. Ceithri bl.
lxxx. on. x. bl. fl. Domnaill cosin tres bl.
Fergail mc. Maili Duin 7 x. r. for Erinn
frisin re sin .i. Domnall Conall Cellach
Blathmac Diarmait Sechnusach Cenn
Failad Loingsech Congal Fergal fodesin.
Oenbl. ar xxx⁴. ar ccccc³. insin .o. c. bl.
fl. Iuil co forbo fl. Leonis Tercii. Ceithri
ri. lxxx. for Romanchaib frisin re sin.
Noi .lx. immorro for Herind frisin re sin
co fl. Fergail mc. Maili Duin ri Er. 7
Murchada mc. Find⁴ .r. Laigen 7 Cathail
mc. Finnguine .r. Mumun.

84 years from the 20th year of the
reign of Heraclius to the end of the
reign of Leo, and 9 (11) kings during
that time, viz. [Heraclius,]³ Heracleonas,
Constantinus filius Heraclii, Constans
filius Constantini, [Constantinus filius
Constantis,]⁵ Justinianus Minor, Leontius,
Tiberius, Justinianus Minor iterum,
Philippicus, Anastasius, Theodosius
Tertius, Leo Tertius. 84 years from
the 10th year of the reign of Domnall
to the 3rd⁶ year of Fergal son of Mael
Dúin, and 10 kings over Ireland in that
time, viz. Domnall, Conall, Cellach,
Blathmac, Diarmait, Sechnusach, Cenn
Faelad, Loingsech, Congal, Fergal him-
self. That is 631 (771?) years from the
first year of the reign of Julius to the
end of the reign of Leo III. 84 kings
over the Romans during that time. 69
over Ireland during that time till the
reign of Fergal, son of Mael Dúin, king
of Ireland, and of Murchad Maen (?) king
of Leinster, and of Cathal, son of Finn-
guine, king of Munster.

3. THE MIDDLE-IRISH REDACTOR OF Z.

Here follows immediately a very lengthy poem of Flann Mainistrech, headed "Do *flathaib* in domain moir annso," "This is of the Rulers of the Great World." The opening quatrain is—

Reidig damh a De do *nimh* . co hemigh a n-innissin
uair nach co felgnim iar fuin . seancus degrig in domhain.⁷

The poem is a metrical list of "the kings of the world," commencing like

¹ Read xi.
as "dexxi."

² Some corruption or omission occurs here.

³ Probably "declxxi" misread

⁴ Probably "main," the epithet in Flann's poem, misread as "mācīn." The father of Murchad was Bran.

⁵ Omitted, owing to similarity of the adjacent names.

⁶ Probably "12th," xii, not iii.

⁷ Flann here borrows the opening words of a poem by Dublitr Ua Huathgaile LL 141 β (BB 7 β):

Redig dam a De do nim . co hemid ni indeithbir
éniud mo chésta is gnim glan . corop espa ollaman.

Z with the foundation of the Assyrian dynasty, and ending like Z with Leo III. In fact, Flann's list is taken direct from the synchronism, even to the extent of naming the Irish rulers contemporary with Leo.

The concluding quatrains are as follows (Lecan 48 β):—

On chetbliadain fuil ros gab· co cetriagail tres bliadan
 fiad gach sluagh co ndaithe a ndal· at cuadh flaithe na Roman.
 Co flaith fir ro gab Temraig²· do ruacht annalad amlaid
 is Murchadha maen² co mudh· is Cathail caim a Caissiul.
 Cach flaith failte os gairbri glain· fris raite airdri in domain
 o Nin co Leomain na clann³· ros rim int eolas⁴ aenflann.
 Flann feidbind rom ben brig breath· fer leigind min Mainistrech.
 ro gle triana gnim a guth· re cach rig do reidiugud. R.
 Concobur clannmin na cneadh· Aed Gairbith Diarmait Durgen
 Donnchad da Niall cen snimh sneidh· righ na re sin co ro reidh. R.

"From the first year that Julius took it [i.e. the worldkingship], with [his] first rule, a stress of years (?), in the presence of every multitude with the keenness (?) of their assemblies, I have recounted the rulers of the Romans.

"To the reign of the man who took Tara, the chronicling has thus arrived, and of Murchad Maen (?) with dignity, and of Cathal the comely in Cashel.

"Each ruler of gladness over clear . . . who was called high-king of the world, from Ninus to Leo of the weapons, Flann alone, the wise man, hath numbered them.

"Flann, sweet of word, the strength of judgments hath sounded⁵ him, the gentle lector of Monasterboice, his voice through his work hath made clear the explanation of each king's time.

"Conchobor, of gentle kin, of the wounds [in battle], Aed, Gairbith, Diarmait Durgen, Donnchad, two Nialls, without petty sadness, [are] clearly the kings of that time."⁶

Of the five concluding stanzas in Flann's poem, the second and third prove that Flann had a version of Z before him as he wrote. The language of Z is Middle-Irish, without any traces of transcription from an Old-Irish original. Flann became known traditionally as an author of synchronisms. He is one of the earliest writers of Middle-Irish. The spellings of unfamiliar names in his poem exhibit often the same errors as in Z. All these facts taken together point to Flann as the redactor of Z.⁷

¹ Read Co flaith Fergaile i Temraig (?) "to the reign of Fergal in Tara." ² Read Main (f) and so probably for mc. Find above, since his father was Bran. ³ Read lann (f). ⁴ Read eolaid.

⁵ I suppose benaim to be used as if the object were cloc "a bell." ⁶ Conchobor Ua Mael-Sechnaill, king of Meath, 1033-1073; Aed Ua Conchobuir, k. of Connacht, 1033-1067; Gairbith Ua Cathusaig, k. of Brega, 1045?-1061; Diarmait (son of Maelnambó), k. of Leinster, 1042-1072; Donnchad (son of Brian), k. of Munster, 1014-1065; Niall (son of Eochaid), k. of Ulaid, 1012-1062; Niall Ua Néill, k. of Ailech, 1036-1061. Flann died in 1056. The poem may be dated about 1050.

⁷ See note at the end of this paper.

4. THE DATE AND ORIGINAL OF Z.

Flann did not modernize Z from an Old-Irish original. Had he done so, he would have made no greater changes than would have been necessary to make the document intelligible to other Irishmen of learning in his time; and consequently many of the Old-Irish forms of the original would have been preserved. The tract therefore was originally written in Latin. Some of its Latin phrases are still preserved.

The date at which the original was compiled is very precisely indicated. The compiler believed himself to be writing in the ninety-fourth year from the accession of Domnall son of Aed, i.e. 721.

This date is confirmed by further criteria which the tract supplies. Its concluding portion names three kings reigning in Ireland. The king of Ireland was Fergal son of Mael Dúin, the king of Leinster was Murchad, and the king of Munster was Cathal son of Finngúine.¹

Fergal reigned from 710 to 722. In the latter year he was defeated and slain in the battle of Almain by Murchad king of Leinster.

Murchad reigned from 712 to 727.

Cathal reigned from 712 to 742.

The contemporary Byzantine emperor is named. He is Leo the Isaurian, who reigned from 718 to 741.

The only years common to the four reigns are 718–722.

There remain two textual difficulties:—(1) The final year, the date of writing, or a date previous to writing, is twice indicated as the end (*forba*) of the reign of Leo. (2) It is once indicated as the third of Fergal. With regard to the first difficulty, it is to be pointed out that the last year of Leo, 741, was (a) 112 years—not 84 years—later than the twentieth of Heraclius; (b) nineteen years later than the death of Fergal; (c) fourteen years later than the death of Murchad; (d) that, if the end of Leo's reign were really in the writer's mind, he would probably have named the succeeding emperor, and would almost certainly have named contemporary kings of Ireland and of Leinster. Hence there can be no doubt that the Middle-Irish translator misread his Latin original. The year 721, the ninety-fourth from Domnall's accession, was the fourth of Leo, and may have been written *iu^m*, and taken to indicate *mortem* or *ultimum*. It was the twelfth year of Fergal, and xii may have been read as iii. The Roman numerals are a continual source of misreadings in Irish MSS., and often

¹ Nowhere else in the tract are provincial kings named. This indicates that the kings of Munster and Leinster are named as contemporary with the writing of the tract. Flann imitates this method of dating in his poem, naming seven kings.

present great difficulties to the modern transcriber. The textual discrepancies, then, cannot be held to invalidate the common period of the four reigns, 718-722, as the utmost range of date for the composition of the synchronism.

Synchronism Z is thus shown to be an eleventh-century version of one of the oldest known documents of early Irish history and historical legend.

The particulars of the chronology and also of the reigns appear to have been tampered with in several places, doubtless with a view to bringing the account into closer accord with later teachings. But the achievement of such a design would have involved the reconstruction of almost the entire tract; and the meddler, having done some mischief, desisted without either undoing or completing it, and drew up B as a substitute for Z. (See concluding note.)

5. THE CHRONOLOGICAL BASIS OF Z.

The framing of Z is as follows:—

IRISH EVENT.	CONTEMPORARY WORLD-PERIOD.
Coming of Partholon, . . .	300 years after Deluge.
End of Partholon's race, . . .	850 " " "
Coming of Nemed, . . .	880 " " "
End of Nemed's colony, . . .	1110 " " "
Coming of Fir Bolg, . . .	Beginning of Persian Empire.
Coming of Tuatha Dé Danann, . .	Usurpation of the Magi.
Coming of the Gaedhil, . . .	Beginning of Alexander's Empire.

The last three pairs of contemporary events supply the clue to the method of the synchronist. He had before him the Eusebian world-history with its epochs. He had in his mind the traditional or legendary epochs of prehistoric Ireland. These latter had no chronology. No trace of a native Irish chronology has been anywhere discovered. The synchronist followed the simple plan of making the Irish periods coincide exactly with the world-periods.

It will appear that the Magian conspiracy, which raised the impostor Smerdis for a few months to the throne of Cambyzes, is a rather minor event against which to date the invasion of Ireland by the Tuatha Dé Danann. In my opinion, the inclusion of this pair of events in the scheme was an afterthought, a refinement. That the Tuatha Dé Danann in genuine Irish tradition, aside from the theorizings of the schools, were no race of mortals, but a race immortal and divine, inhabiting the Celtic Otherworld and ruled over by Celtic gods; that their conquest of the Fir Bolg or Irish

aborigines is but a duplication of their traditional victory over the hostile god-race of the Fomori; all this has been long established quite conclusively by the great antiquary and historian who, within these last few weeks, has ceased to live among us, except in his achievements and in his inspiration, D'Arbois de Jubainville.¹

Notwithstanding that the Tuatha Dé Danann were not a race of men, their story was intimately blended with the story of the Irish Celts. A place had to be found for them. They could not come later than the Gaedhil, their worshippers. They could not come earlier than the aborigines, for then they would be separated from the Gaedhil, and would appear to have been worsted by an alien people. They could only come between. The synchronist had already planned that the Fir Bolg period should coincide with the Persian world-kingdom. He looked down through the Persian dynasty for an appropriate break at which the Tuatha Dé Danann could be introduced. The only such break was the temporary usurpation of Smerdis, and it sufficed.

The artificial character of this arrangement is emphasized by its effect on the scheme. It assigns 37 years to the Fir Bolg, and 197 to the Tuatha Dé Danann—figures worth noting, as we shall afterwards see. Eight reigns of the Fir Bolg are compressed into the 37 years. The 197 of the Tuatha Dé Danann contain only seven reigns.

This disposition points to a yet older version of Z than Flann's original. Of the five invasions, there are two which still do not coincide with definite world-periods. We should have expected to find that coincidence in the oldest version; and we shall see whether any traces of it have been preserved elsewhere. Omitting the Tuatha Dé Danann, there are four great legendary invasions or settlements of Ireland. In the world-history of the synchronists, there are also four great world-kingdoms in continuous succession down to the Roman Empire—the Assyrian, the Median, the Persian, and the Greek. The last two are accounted for in Z as we have it. There should have been a document, older than Z, in which the coming of Partholon coincided with the foundation of the Assyrian Empire, and the coming of Nemed with the foundation of the Empire of the Medes.

6. Z COMPARED WITH OTHER SYNCHRONISTIC ACCOUNTS.

According to Synchronism B, Ninus, the founder, as was believed, of the Assyrian monarchy, began to reign 21 years before the birth of Abraham. Keating, relying on some Irish computation, not now in evidence, teaches that Partholon came to Ireland 22 years before the birth of Abraham. The

¹ For the silence of Nennius about the Tuatha D. D., see *Nennius Vindicatus*, pp. 221, 222.

[21*]

difference is that which frequently arises from a confusion of n years with the n^{th} year. Dr. MacCarthy, indeed, in his translation, has corrected the 21 of B to 22, in accordance with the Eusebian chronicle. Keating connects his date for Partholon's arrival with the doctrine that the event took place 300 years after the Flood, and this is precisely the unamended teaching of Z. There must, then, have been an early synchronism, akin to Z, which laid down that Partholon came to Ireland in the first year of the Assyrian world-kingdom.

It only remains to show that Nemed's colony was regarded as contemporaneous with the Median dynasty. According to Z (IV), Nemed came to Ireland 1562 years after the Flood. According to B, the Assyrian monarchy began 300 years after the Flood, and lasted 1240 years. Thus the Median world-kingdom should have begun 1540 years after the Flood. This brings Nemed's arrival within 22 years of the beginning of the Median period. This difference will be accounted for if we suppose that originally the Assyrian sovereignty was taken to have lasted 1240 years, not from its foundation, but from the birth of Abraham, or what is the same thing, from the beginning of "the Third Age of the World"; for Ninus founded the Assyrian kingdom 21 or 22 years before this epoch.

We have thus sufficient indications of the existence of an ancient synchronism arranged on this basis.

1. Coming of Partholon = beginning of Assyrian world-kingdom.
2. " " Nemed = " " Median "
3. " " Fir Bolg = " " Persian "
4. " " Gaedhil = " " Greek "

The most striking feature of this scheme is the late period assigned to the Gaelic conquest of Ireland. On that point Z does not waver. With many reiterations, the Gaelic immigration is timed against the world-sovereignty of Alexander the Great. In this respect, too, Z does not stand alone.

7. THE DOCTRINE OF A.

In the light of our analysis of Z, Dr. MacCarthy's synchronism A will repay inspection. Dr. MacCarthy regarded A as a very ancient document, as old as the sixth century. If this be so, and I see no reason to dispute it,¹ A, which is written in Middle-Irish, must also have had a Latin original. Indeed, like Z, but still more copiously, it preserves many phrases in the original Latin.

¹ MacCarthy's proper inference should be that A is founded in part on a very ancient document; and so also with regard to his finding that "the *Annals of Innisfallen* are the most ancient body of [Irish] chronicles we possess." Todd Lect. iii., p. 369.

In A's computation, Partholon came to Ireland 1002 years after the Flood, or in 1957 B.C. (this date, we have seen, was introduced as an emendation into Z). His people remained in Ireland 1000 years, until 957 B.C. Nemed came to Ireland in 925 B.C. We are not told how long his colony lasted, and there is no mention of the Fir Bolg or the Tuatha Dé Danann. In the Book of Invasions, Nemed is the ancestor of the Fir Bolg, the Irish aborigines. Possibly, then, the author of A identified the coming of Nemed with the coming of the Fir Bolg. Possibly, too, he saw no necessity for fixing the immortal race of the Tuatha Dé Danann in his chronological framework. At all events, he says nothing about an end of Nemed's colony or about any other invasion from their time until the time of the Gaedhil.

A next tells how the sons of Míl came to Ireland, 440 years after Exodus, i.e. in 1071 B.C., according to A's reckoning. This statement is an obvious interpolation, for it makes the Gaelic invasion not only earlier than the arrival of Nemed, 925 B.C., but even earlier than the end of Partholon's colony, 957 B.C.; and the text says that when Partholon's colony died out, Ireland was empty of inhabitants for 32 years.

Having mentioned "the taking of Ireland by the sons of Míl," the synchronism adds, "from the taking of Ireland to the sack of Troy, 328 years"; and, later on, "from the taking of Ireland to the time of Cimbaeth, 1202 years." When these dates are worked out, they show that, in each instance, "the taking of Ireland" has been substituted for "the passage of the Red Sea by the Israelites." Hence it follows that the sons of Míl have no proper place in A and should be eliminated.

Next among Irish events is the foundation of the Ulidian kingdom of Emain Macha. This event took place in 307 B.C. Then comes the ancient original of the well-known statement in Tigernach: "The tales and histories of the men of Ireland are not known and are not authentic till the time of Cimbaeth son of Fintan." The men of Ireland are the Gaedhil. According to A, then, the history of the Gaedhil begins with the foundation of the Ulidian kingdom. That being so, we can understand how the legend of Míl could find no place in A except by an inept interpolation.

Then follows a detailed account of the Ulidian dynasty from its foundation to the death of Conchobor mac Nessa, A.D. 24. No other dynasty is mentioned during this time. Perhaps the author held that Emain was the capital of Ireland in those days, and that the Ulidian kings ruled the island. At all events, he was certainly a partisan and adherent of the Ulidian tradition, which consistently ignores the legend of Míl and of the Irish monarchy vested in his earlier descendants.

The duration of the Ulidian dynasty is from 307 B.C. to A.D. 24—331 years. This at once suggests the date of Alexander's world-kingdom, 331 B.C. We conjecture that a shifting of 24 years has been made, perhaps by a redactor who had the doctrine of Z before him and desired to give the priority to the sons of Míl. There was some shifting of dates, certainly, for the foundation of Emain is first placed in the 18th year of Ptolemy, 24 years after Alexander became king of the world, and again "33 years from the beginning of the sovereignty of the Greeks." When we turn to B, we find our conjecture amply confirmed; B says: "Alexander, first king of the Greeks, 5 years, and Cimbaeth, son of Fintan, in his time."

A says that Conchobar reigned 60 years; but the terminal dates assigned, from the 15th year of Octavius to the 10th of Tiberius, allow only 50 or 51 years. Here is the same difference as in the foregoing paragraph, 9 years, indicating an emendation interpolated and not strictly carried out. A poem on the Ulidian dynasty (LL 21β) gives 50 B.C. as the date of Conchobar's accession:

Cethri chét bliadna brassa ad fét cach súi senchassa;
 fot a flatha na fer n̄gaeth ó Choncobur co Cimbáeth.
 Cethri chét coíca bliadna ad fét cach súi saerchialla
 cia nós fégaid fri gn̄im gaeth cor gēnair Críst iar Cimbaeth.

"Four hundred lively years each master of antiquity tells,
 the length of the wise men's rule from Conchobar [up] to Cimbaeth.
 Four hundred and fifty years every master of liberal mind tells,
 if ye look to a wise work, till Christ was born after Cimbaeth."

Thus there is good evidence of an early doctrine which made the Ulidian dynasty, from Cimbaeth to Conchobar, exactly fill up the 331 years from Alexander's conquest of the Persians to the commencement of the Christian era. Since A presents a much less developed legend than Z, I think it must be earlier in origin, and that in its original form it must have suggested the plan of equating world-periods with Irish periods, which Z preserves in a modified form. The original of A may therefore well have been drawn up in the sixth or early seventh century.

8. Z THE FOUNDATION OF LATER CHRONOLOGICAL SCHEMES.

Irish historians did not long remain content with the view that the Gaelic occupation of Ireland was no more ancient than 331 B.C. The dates assigned grew gradually more and more remote. Dr. MacCarthy quotes a number of them (p. 246): 544, 1066 (?), 1071, 1229, 1569. The Four Masters will have it that the Gaedhil reached Ireland as early as 1700 B.C. As a rule, the later the historian, the earlier his date for this event.

Notwithstanding these discrepancies, the later accounts of prehistoric Ireland find the source of their chronology in Z.

The redactor of the *Leabhar Gabhála* in the Book of Leinster assigns a much earlier period to the Gaelic conquest than Z, but preserves the Fir Bolg period of 37 years and the Tuatha Dé Danann period of 197 years, as in Z.

Synchronism B puts the Gaelic conquest at 1229 B.C.—nine centuries earlier than in Z—but has a Fir Bolg period of 35 years and a Tuatha Dé Danann period of 197 years.

Gilla Coemáin's chronological poem (MacCarthy, "Todd Lectures," pages 151–157) requires as early a date as 1545 B.C.—twelve centuries before Alexander—for the Gaelic conquest, but has a Fir Bolg period of 37 years and a Tuatha Dé Danann period of 197 years.

Keating (*Irish Texts Society*, vol. iv., pp. 196, 225) assigns 36 years to the Fir Bolg and 197 to the Tuatha Dé Danann.

Evidently, then, the Cyrus-Cambyses-Alexander chronology of Z lies at the root of the school-made histories of prehistoric Ireland. The Z version of the legend of Mil and his sons is thus the oldest version now known. One broad conclusion follows with certainty, Gilla Coemáin's long list of 136 monarchs of Ireland before St. Patrick's time is for the most part the product of medieval invention. The earlier section of the Irish genealogies, constructed in harmony with that list, must also be in the same degree artificial. Probably the materials in each case were collected largely from traditional sources; but the structure bears the same relation to genuine Irish tradition as a modern edifice built out of the stones of Clonmacnois might bear to the ancient monastery.

NOTES.

I. *Partholon*.—This is not a Gaelic name. It appears again in Flaithiusa Hérenn (BB 43 a 13), where the pedigree of Cruithne, eponymous ancestor of the Cruithni or Picts, is "Cruithne mc. Uige mc. Luchta mc. Parrtholon"; in the Irish Nennius (BB 203 a 13) "Cruithne mc. Cinge mc. Luchtai m. Parrthalan." In the same tract (206 a 34) the name is also Parthai, genitive of Partha. Even if we suppose the scribe to have substituted the more familiar name Partholón for Partha as ancestor of the Picts, we could not well disconnect the two names. The ending -lón may represent -launos or -vellaunos; but if so the long vowel would indicate that the Irish borrowed the name from Cymric with a Cymric pronunciation. Such a borrowing would also account for the initial P. Can Parth- be a Pictish equivalent of the Cymric Pret-, Irish Cruth- = *Qret-, Qrit- (Ogham Qritti, Lugu-qrit), whence Cruithni? It seems to recur as eponym of the

Part-ridge people who, though they inhabited an extreme western region in Ireland to the west of Loch Mask, retained the letter p in their speech and were, therefore, probably not of Gaelic origin. The neighbourhood of Tuam was inhabited by a Pictish race, the Sogain, until the ninth century; and some of the same race were subject to the rulers of Ui Maine long afterwards. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that the Partridge were Picts, that Partha, ancestor to the Picts, supplied their eponym, and that the story of Partholon is a legend of the Picts, symbolizing perhaps the antiquity of their race and its overthrow in Ireland. It will be observed that in Z (I.) the race of Partholon is destroyed, not by pestilence, but by a hostile race, the Conchinn or Hound-heads (perhaps High-heads, *i.e.* the tall folk, for con- = cuno- may give either meaning). The writer promises to tell more about this event. But in the tract as it now exists, the story of the pestilence is briefly substituted (II.). Here we have additional proof of late tampering.

IV. *Nemed*.—I have failed to discover any consistent reckoning among the various periods assigned to the beginning and end of Nemed's colony. At least two distinct accounts, based on different chronologies, are here combined in one; for it is twice stated that Nemed's arrival was 470 years before the end of the Assyrian Kingdom; it is twice stated that his colony lasted for 230 years; and it is twice implied that it overlapped the period of the Medes, who follow the Assyrians. The Irish quatrains quoted in this section show interpolation, since they cannot have belonged to the original of Z.

VIII. *Míl*.—We have here the oldest known version of the legend of Míl, and the vast difference between this and the later forms of the legend, which are typified in Keating's narrative, shows how the story of prehistoric Ireland developed in the early Christian period. There is little in the legend of Míl, early or late, that bears the semblance of Celtic tradition. In almost every detail it shows the work of the penman and the Latinist. The ancient Irish writers searched their Latin authors for names that would suggest an origin for the Irish.¹ The writer of this story hit upon the name Iberi, not the Iberi of western Europe, but the Iberi who dwelt south of the Caucasus, and with whom the Romans came in contact under Pompey and again under Trajan. The resemblance of this name to Hiberio and Hibernia was all that could be desired. Later writers substituted the Scythi for the Iberi because Scythi resembled Scotti.² They introduced Breogan from Irish tradition as

¹The map of "Orbis terrarum secundum Eratosthenem et Strabonem" in Spruner's *Atlas Antiquus* (Gothae, MDCCCL.) shows clearly the material on which the story of the migrations of the Gaedhil was founded.

²This substitution already appears at the end of the eighth century in Nennius.

a new grandfather for Míl, and seizing on a passage in Orosius they connected Breogan with Brigantia, and gave "ostium Scenae" an undefined location in Irish topography. Mag Breogain was a plain in east Munster, inhabited by the Muscraige Breogain. Except the Iberi, nearly all the features of the legend in Z are retained but differently placed in the later versions. The present version may have been already invented before the seventh century, for S. Columbanus of Bobbio, in two of his letters, uses Hiberi as a name for the Irish.

Comparison of the spellings of names in the Hieronymo-Eusebian chronicle (H) with the spellings in Z, B, and Flann's poem, Lecan 43β (F):—

H	Z	B	F
Armamithres	Armiteres	Armimentes	Armamenteres
Mamylus	Maiminitus	Maimintus	Mamitidus
Manchaleus	Macholius	Masailius	Machalius
Ascatades	Ascaidias	Ascaitias	Ascathias
Atossa	Athosa	Ahosa	Athoss
Semiramis	Saimiraimmis	Asaimiraimis	Samiramis
Balepares	Poilipoiris	Poilipoiris	Poliparis ¹
Sosares	Sosaires	Sossairses	Suspares ¹
Lampares	Lampades	Lampaires	Lampades
Panyas	Proeminias	Piamineas	Pannanias
Sosarmus	Soparrdis	Suffardus	Sophardus
Mithreus	Metralis	Metaralnius	Metralius
Tautamus	Tutanes	Tutanes	Tutanes
Teutaeus	Flethius	Flaithius	Fletius
Eupales	Calafares ²	Lapales	Lampaleis
Laosthenes	Lanteis	Lauistentes	Lustines
Peritiades	Perifianis	Peridioidis	Parathathis
Ophrataeus	Offrailus	Ofratolus	Affratulus
Tuonus	Tonus	Tomus	Tonus
Arbaces	Arbait	Aarbatus	Arpait
Sosarmus	Suffonus	Sogafanes	Susfonius
Mamycus	Madidus	Maidius	Madius
Cardaces	Cardicias	Cairdisis	Ardeichias
Deioces	Deochus	Diones	Teochus
Cyaxares	Ciratreas	Cirasserses	Ciraxerses

¹ In each of these words the syllable *par* is represented by a *p* with the stem crossed (= *per*) and with a overwritten (= *ar* or *ra*), so that it is possible to read *perar*.

² Here *xxx.* = *triginta* precedes, and probably the final *-ta* read as *-ca* has been added to the misread *Lapales* = *Eupales*. For the misread *l* see also *Mithreus*, *Teutaeus*, *Ophrataeus* in H.

These lists prove that the material of H passed through one and the same hand before it issued in Z, B, and F. Since Z is a Middle-Irish redaction of an eighth-century document, and since the conclusion of F is taken direct from Z, there can be no reasonable doubt that Flann of Monasterboice, reputed author of synchronisms and inscribed author of F, was also the Middle-Irish redactor (and part-corruptor) of Z. It is also highly probable that, having failed by interpolations, omissions, and alterations, to make Z conformable to the views of his school, Flann set to work afresh and produced B, using the Eusebian material which he found in Z as his warp, but weaving into it the Irish names and chronology accepted by his own school. The origin of some of the misspellings in Z, B, and F can be traced to misreadings of archaic Irish writing. In comparing these lists, due allowance must be made for the freedom or negligence of transcription after the time of Flann.

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