



Early Irish Population-Groups: Their Nomenclature, Classification, and Chronology

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Source: *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature*, 1911/1912, Vol. 29 (1911/1912), pp. 59-114

Published by: Royal Irish Academy

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25502794>

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IV.

EARLY IRISH POPULATION-GROUPS: THEIR NOMENCLATURE,
CLASSIFICATION, AND CHRONOLOGY.

By JOHN MAC NEILL.

Read JANUARY 23, 1911. Published APRIL 28, 1911.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE		PAGE
i. Plural Names, ...	59	iv. The Tuath, ...	88
ii. Collective Names, . . .	64	v. The Tricha Cét = Thirty Hundreds, . . .	102
iii. Sept Names, ...	82		

I. PLURAL NAMES.

1. AMONG the continental Celts, each distinct population-group bore a plural name, e.g. Haedui. The singular form denoted an individual member of the community, e.g. Haeduus. This system of nomenclature, very general in ancient Europe, might be expected to exist in the oldest Irish traditions. In Ptolemy's description of Ireland, the sixteen peoples named all bear names of this order.

2. Most of the names given by Ptolemy lack identification in the native Irish tradition. The absence of these from Irish writings may be accounted for in more than one way. Some of the names may have been inaccurately recorded by Ptolemy. Some may have been corrupted beyond recognition by his copyists. Some may have designated peoples whose identity became forgotten through conquest and dispersion, for there is ample evidence that the period between Ptolemy's time (c. A.D. 150) and the beginning of contemporary records in Ireland was marked by great commotion, involving widespread changes in distribution and relative status of the older elements of the population.

3. The Ogham inscriptions, as I have shown in an article on the word *Moccu* (Ogham *muccí*) in *Ériu*, vol. iii., part i., sometimes record names not only

of persons but of peoples. The people-names, however, chiefly belong not to the class discussed above, but to a subordinate class, as will be seen. It is therefore unnecessary here to consider the question of the earliest date of the extant Oghams. Between Ptolemy and the oldest probable manuscript records in Ireland there is a gap of at least three centuries. The names Scotti and Atecotti, known through Latin writings of the fourth century, are probably of a general application, not designative of special groups. Orosius gives one people-name not mentioned by Ptolemy, the Luceni, whom he places on the southern coast over against Spain; they have not been identified in Irish tradition. (Is Luceni a copyist's error for Iuerni?)

4. In Christian Ireland, from the fourth century onward, the plural formula for people-names exists only as a survival. The Ulidian tales, which are held to embody very ancient traditions, assign indeed a prominent part to peoples with plural names, the Ulaid, the Lagen, the Galeoin, the Érainn, but not a more prominent part than to the Connachta, whose name belongs to quite a different order. As the phrase *teora Connachta* shows, this name, though plural, is the plural not of a word denoting an individual, but of a collective noun. Already in the pre-Christian period such collective nouns have for the most part displaced the older formula, tending to obliterate it largely from traditional memory, since among the hundreds of collective names on record only a small proportion are known to originate from an earlier group bearing a plural name.

5. The obsolescence of the earlier order of names is further exemplified in the complete absence, so far as my observation goes, of any instance of the use of the singular to denote an individual. The only approach to such usage in my knowledge is the occurrence of a few names like Cormac Gaileng, Ailill Érann, Mugdorn Dub, etc., for persons who in the genealogical lore stand as eponymous ancestors to the Gailing, the Érainn, the Mugdoirn, etc.

6. In the Christian period, the surviving plural names (except in genealogical writings) tend more and more to become dissociated from population-groups, and to attach themselves in ordinary usage to geographical areas, e.g. Laigin, usually meaning the country Leinster, or the people of Leinster, of whom the original Laigin were only one section.

7. The following names from Irish ms. sources appear to belong to what may be called the first order, i.e. to the Haedui-type¹ :—

8. *Arai, dp. Araib. Mid. Ir. Ara Thíre, Ara Chliach.

¹ The lists of people-names assembled in this paper are of course drawn mainly from Hogan's *Onomasticon Goedelicum*, which may be consulted with regard to the territorial location and extent

9. *Coraind, *Corrind, dp. Corannaib, Correndaib, Windisch, Táin Bo Cuailngi, index. In the Boyne valley, corresponding to Ptolemy's Coriondi. Cp. Corcu Cuirnd, Cuirenrige.

10. Cruithni, gp. -ne, ap. -niu, but in composition Cruithen-tuath, Cruithen-chlár. MacFirBisigh, Book of Genealogies, R.I.A. copy, p. 54, quotes a poem on the aithechtuatha, with the couplet (eight and seven syllables):

Clann Chathraighe a ceriochaibh Cruithent
or chin Cairbre Cinn Cait cruaidh.

The correct reading is probably Cruithen, t from the familiar Cruithentuath being added by MacF. or some earlier scribe. The early stem should have been *Qretino-, *Qreteno-, and perhaps the Greek form Prettano- may have been influenced by Brittani. Cruithni, Cruithne, may represent an early secondary formation in -io-, or may be merely a late development like Érnai, Mugdornai. Such a development could arise from ap. Cruithniu, dp. Cruithnib, which would be common to both forms, and even a np. *Cruithin could easily become Cruithni in transcription.

11. Éli, gp. Éle.

12. Érainn, gp. Érann (not gs. as in Onom. Goed.), ap. Érna (= Érnú), dp. Érnaib, = Iēni, Iverni, "Hiberni." Probably a secondary formation from an older *Ivēri, whence *Ivēriu, Ériu, Iwerddon. In the Ulidian tales, the Érainn are frequently called Clanda Dedad, and in the genealogies they have, besides Ailill Erann, an eponymous ancestor Iar macc Dedad. The group of tales centring in Conaire Mór are the heroic legend of this race, and Conaire's father is called Eterscéal (also Eterscéle) moccu Iair. Macc Iair is a personal name, not an ordinary patronymic: hence the sept-name Ui Maicc Iair and the Ogham Maqi Iari. Windisch (T.B.C. index) cites Iarna as a duplicate form of Érna. We may suppose the double base *ér*, *iar*, to have arisen from a coexisting pair *īēr*-, *īvēr*-. Cp. Ierne, Ptolemy's Iernos potamos, Iernis polis, contemporary with Iuerna, Iuerna, Hibernia.

13. Féni, gp. Féne, as Meyer has shown (Fianaigeacht, p. viii), may be an ancient people-name, not the name of a class as has been supposed.

14. *Fothairt, gp. Fothart.

15. *Galing, gp. Galeng.

16. Galiúin, Galeoin, gp. Galian, Galion.

17. Lagin, gp. Lagen.

of the peoples and the inflexional and variant forms of the names. A small proportion of names are taken from material not found in Dr. Hogan's lexicon. While my lists cannot claim to be complete, it is hoped that they may form a basis for a more exhaustive collection and for the classification and study of the nomenclature.

[10*]

18. Manaig or Monaig, dp. Manachaib, but derivative Manchaig. Cp. Manapii.

19. Maugdoirn, Mugdoirn, gp. -dorn, ap. -dornu. Cp. Ptolemy's Darini.

20. Sogain, gp. Sogan. Cp. Sograige (?), Coreu Sogain, Coreu Suigin (Sogain here being gs. of the eponym, as in moccu Sogin, Ogham mucoi Sogini).

21. Ulaid, gp. Uloth, ap. Ultu. The earlier np. must have been Uluti or Oluti, and one may surmise that Ptolemy's Ouolountioi, whose location well corresponds to that of the Ulaid around Emain, is a scribal corruption of Oulouti = Uluti, perhaps through the influence of the Latin *voluntas*.

22. Vellabori (Ptolemy), Velabri (Orosius) seems to have left a trace in the place-name Luachair Fellubair (LL 23 a 17). This name occurs in a poem which aims at accounting for the distribution of the peoples said to be descendants of Fergus Mac Roig. Wherever Rudraige, the Ulidian king of Ireland, won a battle, his grandson Fergus planted a colony of his own race.

Cech rói reraig corruadchathaib cen chridenas
cotgab iar fir roslín Fergus dia fhinichas.

Of these colonies were Ciarraige Luachra (in North Kerry) and Ciarraige Cuirche (Kerrycurrihy barony, co. Cork), and the victories of Rudraige which led to them are thus recited :

Fich cath Curchu cath Luachra laechdu Fellubair
secht catha i Cliu intochtmad friu i nGlendamain.

Ptolemy clearly indicates the Vellabori as inhabiting the south-western corner of Ireland, and Orosius speaks of the Velabri as looking towards Spain. In the verse cited, we should expect gp. Fellabor = *Vellabron, but the word may be used eponymically in gs. like Dedad in Luachair Dedad, another name for the same district.

23. In the absence of examples of the singular, it seems likely that Aidni, Luaigni, Luigni, Uaithni belong to this order rather than to the collectives in -ne.

24. Dési is to be classed apart, being the plural of a common noun *déis* "ensemble de vassaux." *Aire désa*, lord of a vassal tenantry. See D'Arbois de Jubainville, Cours de Littérature Celtique, vol. viii, p. 204. In the story of the migration of the Dési (ed. Meyer, Ériu, iii., p. 141), the narrator is at pains to explain (ll. 215-219) that the derogatory term *dési* is not applicable properly to Dál Fiachach, the dominant people of Dési Muman :

25. Coica toirgi laisna Déisi. A cuic fichet dib tarthatar raind, a cuic fichet aile nach tarthatar ocus is dona toirgib [sin] is ainm Déisi. Ar itt e fil fo deisis ocus dligud ocus bodagas dona flathaib .i. do Dail Fiachach Suigde ocus ni hainm doib-side Déisi. "The Déisi had fifty migrations¹ (i.e. consisted of fifty migratory peoples). Twenty-five got a share (of the conquered land), another twenty-five got no share, and to these migratory peoples the name Déisi belongs. For it is they who are under (*deisis*) vassal-tribute² and law and *bodagas* to the rulers, i.e. to Dál Fiachach Suigdi, and Déisi is not a name for the latter."

26. The story professes to give a list of the migratory peoples who assisted Dál Fiachach in the campaign. The list names forty-seven peoples, not fifty. The first three are mentioned twice in immediate succession, and so may have been counted as six by the compiler of the list, who doubtless aimed at collecting fifty names and ceased to extend his list when it seemed to reach that number. These migratory bodies are described by a term (*loinges*, l. 103), indicating that they were already landless. The account of the *aithechtuatha*, BB 255a, has two lists, of which the first, ending on the line 18, contains 46 names. Most of these correspond to the names in the Déisi story, and the list was doubtless extracted from a version of the story. These premisses fully sustain the interpretation of *déis* given by D'Arbois de Jubainville.

27. *Airgéill is given by Hogan on the authority of the index to Stokes's Tripartite Life. The gp. is Airgiall, but the np. in Mid. Ir. texts, as noted by me, is only Airgialla. The name seems to be of comparatively late formation, and cannot be classed with the old order of plural people-names.

27a. Mac Fir Bhisigh (Geneal., p. 54) quotes a poem on the *aithechtuatha*, which include "Absdanaigh for iarthar Erenn, for Luachair Chairbrighe." Further it is stated that the Absdanaigh iarthair Erenn are of the Fir Bolg. See also Onom. Goed. Since Cairbrige is said to be an older name for Ciarraige Luachra (perhaps for the territory, from a people supposed to have anciently possessed it), the locality indicated is Luachair in western Munster.

28. As in Airgialla, so in several other plural names with O-stem, Middle Irish usage substitutes a strengthened nominative: Araid for *Arai, gp. Arad, ap. Arada; Érna, Érnai for Erain; Fotharta, Gailenga, Mugdorna, Mugdornai. The added syllable is occasionally maintained in gp., e.g. septem genera Gailinga. Cp. what has been said above on Cruithni, *Cruithin.

¹ *torche, toirge*. For the meaning cp. "Isead cheados fochand toirchi Chiarraidi . . . co Mumain," Lecan 253 b; "Cuis toirche Chorceo hOichi o Loch nEchach," ib. 271 a.

² For *deisis* Rawl. B 502 has *chis* = rent.

II. COLLECTIVE NAMES.

29. Already, before the earliest documentary period, a new formula has come into general use, that of collective singular names. Of such names there are five varieties :—

- (1) Dál followed by genitive eponym, e.g. Dál Cais.
- (2) Corcu followed by genitive eponym, e.g. Corcu Duibne.
- (3) Eponym compounded with -rige, e.g. Boonrige.
- (4) Eponym compounded with -ne, e.g. Cuirene.
- (5) Eponym compounded with -acht, e.g. Cianacht.

Lóigis (Mid. I. Laigis, modern I. Laoighis, English Leix), gs. Lóigse, may be a sixth variety.

30. Until the eighth century, this class of people-names, which I would call the second order, though long established, had not become stereotyped as in later usage. They were to some extent interchangeable. Korku Reti (Adamnan) = Dál Riatai. Corcu Sai (L. Arm.) = Sairige. Dál Musca = Muscraige. Dál nEogain, Dál Céin = Eoganacht, Cianacht. This interchangeable character shows that the different forms were felt to belong to one order or system of nomenclature, which is also proved by the applicability to all of the personal name-formula in moccu (Ogham mucoi, maqi mucoi), which becomes obsolete in the eighth century.

31. The eponym is occasionally feminine. From this and other indications, I have formed the opinion that the eponymous ancestor may be a divine or mythological personage. Many of the stories in which the genealogists relate the origin of these early groups bear a strong mythological character.

32. Dál is explained by Ven. Bede, in reference to the Dalreudini (i.e. Dál Réti, Dal Riata), as meaning *pars*, and this among various senses of the word seems best suited to its usage in people-names: Dál Réti, Réte's division or section of the Érainn. The eponym may be often, if not always, the name of a divine ancestor.

33. Corcu (later Corco, Corca) appears as an indeclinable noun.¹ A possible connexion with coirce is suggested to me by Professor Marstrander: cp. the use of Síl in later group-names, e.g. Síl Muiredaig.

The genealogists, ignoring the obvious fact that Corcu is a common generic term equivalent to Dál, supply an eponymous ancestor Core for several of the peoples named in this form.

¹ But a late dp. corcaib occurs in Book of Rights.

34. Dál is found before the following eponyms :—

Aengusa Musca	Connaig	Maic Cuirp	Mude
Airde	Conrach	Maic Néth	Mudine Indae
nAisci (Naisci ?)	Corb	Maigin	Mugaide
Araidi	Cormaig	Maigne	Mugaidithi
Auluim	Cualni	Maignen	Mugith
Oluim	Cuinn	Maignenn	Muigid
Uluim	Cuirb	Maithe	Muine
Baiscinn	Cuire	Maitti	Muindi
Bardeni	Cula	Mathar	Muisge
Bairdine	Dairine	Math ³ Lego	Muith
Becon	Dallain ²	Math ³ Lobha	Musca
Birnd	Damail	Mathra	Na Cethre nArad
Buachalla	Didil	Mathrach	Nat Corp
Buain	Ditil	Matrach	Niad Corb
Buinne	Druithne	Metrach	Niath Lega
Bundruini	Duach	Maugnae	[Niath Lobha]
Cabail	Duibne	Mechon	Nimde
Cabula	Duluim	Mochon	Nuidne
Cauala	Echach	Menda	Nuidine
Cairbri	Eogain	Meandach	Nuisce
Coirpri	Fiachach	Mendad	Nuiscidi
Cais	Fiatach	Mendato	nOich
Calathbuig	Foichidh	Mendet	Riatai
Cathula	Gabla	Mennaid	Riata
Cealtru	Gailline	Medruad	Riada
Ceata	Gella	Mendraide	Ruitne
Céin	Idnu	Messe Corb	Runtair
Céte	Imdae	Mas Corb	Runtir
Ceide	nIochair	Mes Corb	Sailni
Cethirn	Luigne	Messin Corb	Seille
Codaíd	Luigni	Mos Corp	Tidil
Conchubuir	Luiseni	Mocoirp	Tidilli
Condad ¹	Luiscein	Mo Dala	Tri Conall
Condaíd	Macon	Mo Dola	nUlad
Condaith	Meacon	Mo Dula	nUlaim
Confinn	Mecon	Moga	Uoig
Congaile	Maic Con	Moga Ruith	Urcon
Conluain	Mic Con	Muaigh	

¹ Connad = Ogham CUNANETAS.
Goed. s.v. Dál Condaith.

² Dál nDallain (recte Dál Dálann = Coreu D.), Onom.

³ Probably a scribal error for *Niath*.

35. Corcu is found before the following eponyms :—

Achland	Ce ⁵	Druithne	Inmend
Achlann	Cede	Duib ⁸	Inomain
Athchlann	Chéin	Duibe	Itha
Achrach	Cluain	Duibne	Laege
Acrach	Choemne ⁶	Duibindi	Láige
Adain	Coilgenn	Duibne	Loegde
Adaim	Comne	Duichne	Laegde
Aengusa	Condlaigen	Duin ⁹	Laigde
hAibligh ¹	Concluain	Duithne	Luigde
Ainge	Chroissine	Dula	Luachra
Airtbe	Croisin	Echlann	Luigdech
Airtbind	Cuilend	Echrach	Luigne
Airtgein	Cuirn	Ela	Ma
Aland ²	Chuirnd	Ele ^{9a}	Maigh
Andsae	Culla	Ethrach	Maighe
Aola	Dain ⁷	Echach	Maige Locha
Arad	Dálann	Ethach	Maigen
Athrach	Dallan	Eoluim	Maigne
Ethrach	De	Faimnia	Maradh
Auloim	Deala	Fásaigh	Mogha
Auniche ^{2a}	Dega	Feraí	Moda
Bairdni	Dene	Fiachach	Moncho
Baiscinn	Díne	Fiachrach	Mu Druad
Bibuir	Dimoena	Fir Tri ⁹	'Mdruid
Bili	Doine	Irtri	'Mruid
Birn	Dome	Foche = Oche	Muichet
Bruidhi ³	Din	Foduib ¹⁰	Muichi
Caela ⁴	Ditha	Fuindeche	Muinche
Chaelraigi	Dithechtai	Gaola	Muinchi
Caullain	Condithechtai	Iche	Nechtae

¹ See *hUiblig*. ² = *Dálann*? ³ Perhaps *Corbraige* (*Cor.* read as *Corcu*). ⁴ Perhaps *Corea Ela* read as *Cor. Caela*. ⁵ Perhaps *Corco Oche*. ⁶ Perhaps *Corco Emne* cp. *Eminrige*. ⁷ Perhaps *C. Adain*. ⁸ *Corcu Duib* = *Dubraige*, *Onom. Goed.* ⁹ *Aduin*? ⁹ Also written *Corcorthri*, *Corcothri*, etc. ¹⁰ Cp. VODDUV in *Macalister*, no. 40, ACURCITí aVI VODDUV ANGAC (= **Vodubi Angaci*, and with the last word cp. *Ui Angain*, BB 156 b 28, a sept of *Ciarraige*, *U Aingeda*, maic *Aingeda*, 156 a 27, 28). The initial A may perhaps not properly belong to the inscription.

^{2a} *Auniche*, *Fuindeche*, *Muichi*, *Muinche*, *Muinchi* all seem to be scribal variants of (*Corco*) *hUiniche* (do *Gallaib*), *Ériu* III, p. 139.

^{9a} Not in *Onom. Goed.* "*Ate andso na tuatha tuctha i n-eraic Fergus a Scandail i. Corco Ele 7 Corco Thenead 7 Corcamruad Alla*," *Lecan* 450. For the allusion, cp. *Book of Rights*, p. 88 note, which shows that the three *tuatha* must have been in eastern Munster.

Ochland	Rinn	Sechlaind ³	Thened
Oiche	Rinne	Selcind	Tethba
Oche	Roeda	Sochlend	Timine
Oirce	Roide	Sogain	Tine
Oircthe	Raeda	Suigin	Toilgenn
Oirchen	Raeidhe	Sodhain	Uais
Oirothen	Raide	Soileind	hUiblig
Olchind ¹	Raighe	Thede = Dál Céte	hUiniche
Reti	Roeda	Themne	Ulad
Riada	Ruaid	Temrach	Ulum ⁴
Righe ²	Ruisen	Tened	

36. *-rige* has dative singular *rigiu*. Though I have no instance establishing the gender as neuter, still the ending is to be identified with the neuter noun *rige* ‘kingship.’ Hence it would appear that groups of this order originally formed petty states each under its king. Historically, some of these groups are large enough to form several petty kingdoms, while others must have been mere village communities.

37. In these compounds *rigion* = *rige* becomes⁵ *-rige*. If the eponym retains a second syllable ending in a vowel, *-rige* suffers syncope, e.g. *Nechtarge* (epon. in *moccu Nechtac*), *Osseirge*, later by metathesis or analogy, *Nechtraige* *Osraige*. The close correspondence between the territory of *Osraige* (diocese of Ossory, but anciently also extending much farther westward) and the place assigned by Ptolemy to the *Ousdiai* makes it likely that the names also are closely associated (*Osse-rige* = **Osdia-rigion*? Should we not expect *Uisserge*?). When the eponymic element ends in *r* preceded by a consonant, only one *r* appears in writing: *Gabraige* = **Gabrorigion* (eponym *Fir Dá Gabar*), *Bibraige* = *Corcu Bibuir*, *Odraige* also *Odorrige*. This arises from a usage in spelling, cp. *gobann*, *Goibniu*.

38. In Middle Irish, there is an increasing tendency to substitute *-raige* for *rige*, and the later MSS. show a strong preference for *-raide*. In the following list add *-rige*, *-raige*, where the hyphen appears:

Ai-?	Airb- ⁶	Allt-	Arb-
Aib-	Alt-	Aman- ⁷	Art-

¹ *Olchind*, *Selcind*, *Sochlend*, *Soileind*, *Toilgenn* appear to be variants of one name. = *Róede*.

² Perhaps

³ Cp. *Echlann*, *Achland*.

⁴ = *Auloim*, *Eoluim*.

⁵ Holder, *Altceit. Sps.*, gives *Icorigium*, *vicani Segorigienses*, both from the Prussian Rhine Province, and *Carbantorig[i]on* from southern Scotland. With the last cp. *Corbetrige*.

⁶ “*Ar slicht Nothar meic meic Fir Airbeir do Ernaib ita Aibride*,” Lecan 453. Read *Airbrige*?

⁷ *Amanrige*, *Emenrige*, will be found in *Onom. Goed.* under *tuath*, and the topographical references show that these are identical with *Amanchaire*, *Emenchairi*. In the latter we have probably one more form of collective people-name, formed with the word *corio-*, *cuire*. Cp. *banchuire*, *Coriondi*, Gaulish *Coriosolites*, *Petrucorii*.

Au-	Caen-	Coth-	Grac-
Baen-	Cae-	Crec-	Grag-
Belt-	Cai-	Creg-	Graic-
Bend-	Cailt-	Crech-	Gran-
Benn-	Cairb-	Crobert-	Grec-
Bent-	Cair-	Crot-	Greg-
Bendt-	Calb-	Cuart-	Gregi-
Bennt-	Cal-	Cuilen-	Gruth-
Bib-	Call-	Cuin-	Gub-
Biurraidh ?	Carb-	Cuir-	Gubt-
Bidb-	Cas-	Cuiren-	Inninn-
Bid-	Cath-	Culindt-	Ladh-
Blad-	Cat-	Cup-	Lagh-
Blath-	Catt-	Cu-	Lam-
Blae-	Cecht-	Cur-	Lath-
Blai-	Cel-	Curand-	Lat-
Blod-	Cell-	Cuth-	Latt-
Blodh-	Cerd-	Dart-	Luad
Boend-	Cer-	Dub-	Lubart-
Boand-	Ciar-	E- ?	Lubu[t]-
Boind-	Clom-	Eigin-	Luch-
Bocc-	Cloth	Em-	Lud-
Bodb-	Cnam-	Emen-	Luid-
Bolg-	Co- ¹	Eoch-	Luff-
Bonand-	Coc-	Erc-	Lug-
Bond-	Coil-	Herc-	Luig-
Bonn-	Coen-	Fed-	Lus-
Bon-	Coin-	Forb-	Man-
Boon-	Coirp-	Frad- ²	Mann-
Borb-	Coith-	Gab- ³	Mas-
Brecc-	Cond-	Gael-	Masc-
Bresc-	Con-	Gail-	Maugin-
Broceann-	Corb-	Gaman-	Mughan-
Brod-	Corbet-	Garb-	Med-
Brug-	Core-	Geg-	Meg-
Bru-	Corp-	Glas-	Men-
Bruì-	Cort-	Glunn-	Mend-
Cael-	Cosc-	Grafimin-	Menn-

¹ "Aimirgen Gluingeal a quo Coraidi (= Corco Raidi?) 7 Orbraidi 7 Corco Athrach Ele, Lecan 456.

² Read *Trad-* ?

³ *Aengus Fear da Gabar mac Conairi Moir meic Eterseeoil a quo Garbraidi*, Lecan 450. *Oengus Fer Gabra mac Conairi maic Meissi Buachalla diatat Gabrige*, *Ériu* iii., p. 139.

Molt-	Odor-	Sai-	Sort-
Musc-	Od-	Saith-	Sorth-
Naind-	Orb-	Sciath-	Suob-
Necht-	Osse-	Scorb-	Tac- ¹
Nechta-	Ossa-	Scot-	Taec-
Nos-	Os-	Sed-	Tec-
Nois-	Pap-	Sem-	Teoc-
Noth-	Pab-	Semon-	Teoch-
Nud-	Part-	Snob-	Torc-
Nudh-	Rath-	Sob-	Trat-
Nuidh-	Rech-	Sub-	Trad-
Nut-	Ros-	Sogh-	Tread-
Nuth-	Roith-	Sord-	Treg-
			U-

39. The suffix -ne, ds. -niu, points to a collective ending -inion. In Middle Irish, when the preceding consonant resists palatalisation, -ne becomes -na. In the following list, doubtless, many names are included which do not denote population-groups, since the suffix has a much wider application.

The instances which are known to be people-names are indicated by the mark †.

Mag Aibne	Brefne	Ath Coirthine	Cuairne
Aidne	Brebne	Coirtene	Cuerne
Ailbine	Brestine	Dún Coistinne	Mag Cualgerne
Loch Aillinne	Loch Bricerne	†Conaille	Áth Cuillne
Loch Aindinne	Bruachairne	Aes Conchinne	†Cuirene
Cluain Airdne	†Buaígni	Mag Conchinne	Ros Cuissine
Airene	Buichne	†Conchuburne	Tráig Culcinne
Cúl Aisne	Cabcenne	Coningne	Daimine
Mag Argarni	Cluain Caichne	†Conmaicne	Dáimne
Belach mBarnini	Cascene	Creidne	†Dáirine
Bechlarna	Cúl Caissine	†Cremthanna	Damhairne
Beltine	Mag Cargamni	Cremthinne	Es Danainne
†Blaitine	Cattene	Ard Crimne	†Delbna
Blaittine	Cerne	Crinna	Delmne
Blárna	Dún Cermna	Ard Cróinne	Delna
Bogaine	Mag Cétni	†Tuath Cruadhluinde	Deoninne

¹ Tacraige, etc., a subdivision of the Arai. The variants suggest an original Toecrige, Tóicc-, cp. MUCOI TOICACI. The people was one of the four sub-divisions of the Arai, and the eponym appears as Toeca in the following (Lecan 450):—*Ceithri meic Laider in arad .i. Dula 7 Toeca 7 Nena 7 Arta.*

Dergne	†Gailine	Tír Marceini	Scédni
Dún Detchine	Gailinne	Metine	Sceinni
Detnae	Gebtine	Muscraige Mitaine	Segene
Cúl Dreimne	Gobnine	Midbine	†Semaine
Drebne	Goistine	Cluain Moescnae	Semoni
Drebine	Gratine	†Tuath Mochtaine	Semuine
Dún Dreimne	Greftine	„ Mochthuinne	Semne
Mag Drithne	Gruitini	Dún Muairne ?	Cúl Siblinne
Duichni	Domnach Iarlainne	Ailech Muirinne	Cúl Sibrinne
Sliab Eblinne	Áth Inroine	Nemeni	Dún Sraibtine
Edne	Inber Labrainne	Glenn Nemthinne	„ Sraiftine
Eilne	Loch Labrainne	Ochaine	„ Sraiptine
Eilbine	†Lathairne	Oichene	Taelcoine
Cúl Emni	Latharna	†Ochmaine	Taiblène
Loch Érne	†Ligmuine	Oiene	Mag Taideni
Ernine	Locharna	Caill Oichni	Talcainne
Etarbainne	†Luaigni	Oinmine	Talindi
Fertene	†Luguirne ¹	Ollbine	Cluain Tibrinne
Findine	†Luigni	†Plaitine	†Tretherne
Benn Foibne	Mag Luidni	Raigne	Tuath Uindsinde
Ros Foichne	†Mairtine	Raimhne	Mag Uaidni
Foidne	Áth CliathMairgene	Saidni	†Uaithni
Fuaithniu	Áth Liac Margini	Saimni	
Ard Gabreni	Cuan Manainne	†Saithni	

40. Interchange of formulae :—

Dál Aengusa Musca = Dál Musca = Muscraige

Dál Auluim = Corcu Auloim

Dál Bardeni = Corcu Bairdni

Dál Baiscinn = Corcu Baiscinn

Dál Birnd² = Corcu Birn = Osraige

Dál Buain = Boonrige

Dál Céin = Corcu Chéin = Cianacht

Dál Céte, cp. Corcu Cede

Dál Conchubuir = Conchubuirne³

Dál Conluain = Corcu Conluain

Dál Cormaic = Corcu Cormaic Lagen

Dál Cuinn = Connachta

Dál Cuirb, cp. Corbraige

Dál Cuirc, cp. Cuirene

¹ Luguirne, LI. 134 b, last line, not in Onom. Goed.² “ Genelach Dail Birn .i. Osairge,” Rawl. B 502, 128 b 25.³ See note on *moccu Conchubuir* below.

Dál Druithne = Corcu Druithne
 Dál Duibne, cp. Corcu Duibne
 Dál Echach, cp. Corcu Echach
 Dál Eogain = Eoganacht
 Dál Fiachach = Corcu Fiachach
 Dál Luigne = Corcu Luigne
 Dál Maigen, cp. Corcu Maigen
 Dál Maigne, cp. Corcu Maigne
 Dál Maugnae, cp. Mauginrige
 Dál Me Druad = Corcu Mu Druad, Corcumruad
 Dál Mo Dula, cp. Corcu Dula
 Dál Moga, cp. Corcu Moga
 Dál Riatai = Korku Reti, Corcu Riada
 Dál Ulad, cp. Corcu Ulad
 Corcu Bibuir, cp. Bibraige
 Corcu Cuirn, cp. Cuirenrige
 Corcu Dálann = Dál Dálann
 Corcu Duib = Dubrige
 Corcu Loegde, also named Dáirine
 Corcu Och(a)e, cp. Ochaine
 Corcu Luachra = Orbraige Droma Imnocht
 Corcu Nechtæ, cp. Nechtarge, Nechtraige
 Corcu Ruisen = Tuath Ruisen
 Corcu Sai = Sairige
 Corcu Themne = Temenrige
 Saithrige, cp. Saithne
 Semraige, Semonrige = Semaine, Semoni, Tuath Semon

41. Of collective names in -acht, I have only three certain instances, all very prominent in history, Cianacht, Connachta, Eoganacht. The plurals Cianachta, Eoganachta are also frequent, especially when more than one subdivision of these groups is in question. Of the singular Connacht I have no example; but the phrase teora Connachta shows that here, too, we have a collective noun. These instances may be added to Bibracte cited by Thurneysen (Altir. Gram. § 262) in support of his view that the abstract nouns in -acht were originally collectives. Other possible examples are Ailech Esrachtae, Ard Cánachta, Cluain Cuallachta, Crích Cugennachte.

42. In my paper on the *Moccu*-formula (Ériu, vol. III), I brought together a number of instances to show that this formula, which was used as a kind of surname until the eighth century, had relation to the people-name, the eponym in the latter being extracted, so to speak, and its genitive preceded by *moccu* being used to form the surname or gens-name of the individual. I

also showed that *moccu* in Old Irish was represented by *mucoi* or *maqi mucoi* in the Ogham inscriptions, and that the corresponding people-name, where it could be identified, belonged to the class of collective names which I have ventured in this paper to designate as the second order. With a view to testing these deductions more fully, I have brought together all the examples of *mucoi* and *moccu* which since then I have been able to collect. The result has been to confirm the deductions of my paper in Ériu. I have found no conflicting instance. In many cases, the corresponding people-name has not yet been discovered; but since it appears fairly certain that the formula always testifies to the existence of an ancient population-group whose name must have embodied the eponym found after *mucoi* or *moccu*, I give here the whole list of examples.

43. If I am correct in referring *moccu Elich* to Éli, and *moccu Echach* (*Echdach*) to Dál Echach = Fothairt, these instances, together with *moccu Baird*, appear to indicate that the formula was also applicable in the case of people-names of the first order. The rarity of the instances is a matter of course, considering that but few names of the first order were preserved, and that of these few a number, like Érainn, Láginn, comprised subdivisions of the second order. It is even probable, as Coreu Sogin beside Sogin suggests, that the collective formula could be applied to the older names treated as eponyms.

44. Eponyms following MUCOI and its variants in Ogham inscriptions:—

1. ANADO
69. ALLATO cp. Altraige²
76. BIDANI
- 1902 p. 5. BRECI cp. Brecceraige
162. CALLITTI cp. Cailtrige
183. CORIBIRI cp. Dál Coirpri³
126. CUNAVA[LI] cp. Conaille⁴
229. CUNIA
246. DON_mI
13. DOVVINIAS Coreu Duibne⁵

¹ The numbers are those of Macalister's collection; the years and pages refer to the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.

² This identification is hardly doubtful. The inscription belongs to the barony of Trughanacmy, Co. Kerry. The Altraige were a subdivision of the Ciarraige, their eponymous ancestors being (gs.) Alta, a descendant of Ciara, also named Mug Taeth, eponymous ancestor of the Ciarraige, according to the genealogists. The Altraige inhabited part of the lands of Ciarraige Luachra and Coreu Duibne.

³ Dál Coirpri, one of the four primary divisions (*cethri prímsloinnite*) of the Láginn. They seem to have been situated in East Munster, of which a large part had once, it was believed, belonged to Leinster. Of Dál Coirpri were the families of Ua Riain (Ryan) and Ua Duibidir (Dwyer), noted East Munster surnames. The inscription, however, belongs to East Muskerry barony, Co. Cork.

⁴ Conaille (cp. *Conalneos fines*, L. Arm.) = *Cunovalinion. The Conaille of Muirthemne may be regarded as neighbours of the Isle of Man, where the inscription is found.

⁵ This and the three following inscriptions are from the barony of Corcaiguiny = Coreu Duibne.

- 20. DOV.....
- 31. DOVINIA
- 32. DOVINIA
- 189. GLUNLEGGET
- 211. IVODACCA
- 214. LITOS
- 212. LUGA
- 247. LUGUNI cp. Dál Luigni¹
- 1899 p. 427. LUGUNI Luigne²
- 1895 p. 359. MACORA
- 213. MACORBO cp. Dal Mocoirp.³
- 223. MaCoRBo
- 196. MAQI EURI⁴
- 3. MAQI MEQ[o . . .
- 220. MEDALO cp. Dál Mo Dala.
- 1898 p. 397. M^{OU}_{EU}TINI
- 208. NETA SEGAMONAS⁵
- 225. NETA SEGAMONAS
- 231. NETA [SEGAM]ONAS
- 237. ODARREA cp. Odrige, Odorrige.⁶

¹ The inscription is from Co. Waterford. Dál Luigni were among the Déisi allies (Ériu iii., p. 149).

² Inscription from neighbourhood of Kells. The Luigne of Meath inhabited this neighbourhood, not the barony of Lune, which takes its name from the Luaigni.

³ "Dál Niacorp" (a daerthuath of Cashel, therefore distinct from Dál Niath Corb, of which was the Leinster dynasty) Onom. Goed. is probably for Dál Macorp = Maic Corbb.

⁴ For *Iari*?

⁵ The three inscriptions bearing this eponym are found within a small area, the district of Dungarvan and Ardmore on the south coast. The eponym may be translated "Segomo's champion." Apart from this name, so far as I am aware, no trace of Segomo has been discovered in Irish tradition. He was known, on the other hand, to the Gauls as a war-god, "Mars Segomo." We should look for a *tuath* bearing some such name as *Dál Niath Segamon in the district mentioned, but no instance of such a name has been found. The name Segomo, however, and the locality are strongly suggestive of a late settlement of Gauls on the southern coast. The story of the Déisi settlement (Ériu iii., p. 139) names among the Déisi allies *Coreo h'Uiniche do Galluib*, and Dál Maignenn, descendants of Maigniu Gall. We can only identify the descendants of Segomo's Champion with the Eoganachta, who claimed Nia Segamon as their ancestor. In Corcu Loegde, = Dáirine, we find another instance of a *tuath* owning two distinct eponyms. The occupation of Cashel by the Eoganachta cannot well be disconnected from the Déisi settlement. (1) The whole territory east of the Suir and within the later Munster belonged traditionally to the Osseirge (Osraige), who were akin to the Lagen. (2) Airmuma, "East Munster," is specifically the name of a territory *west* of the Suir, now the barony of Upper Ormond. Oenach Airmuman = Nenagh. (3) The baronies of Kilnemanagh Upper and Lower were held by Dál Coirpri, one of the *cethri prímsloinnte Lagen*, "the four chief denominations of the Lagen." (4) Cashel, according to the legend (Keating, *Forus Feasa*, book i, sec. 3), was first "found" in the time of Core son of Luguid, and had not previously been a residence of the kings of Munster. Oengus, grandson of Core, was king of Munster in St. Patrick's time, and Core was said to have reigned in the time of Niall Noigiallach. The traditional occupation of Cashel then by the Eoganachta may be placed about A.D. 400. (5) As the seat of the Eoganacht dynasty, the place bore a name of Latin origin, *caissel* = *castellum*. For the tradition of its older names see Keating, l. c.

⁶ Cp. *Coica do maccaib Odra di h'Ulaib diata Odrige* (Ériu iii., p. 138). These take part in the Déisi invasion, and the inscription is from the Déisi district.

- 79. QERAI Cerrige, later Ciarraige.¹
- 160. QRITTI cp. Crothraige.
- 218. ROTTAIS cp. Rothraige, Roithrige.²
- 198. SOGINI cp. Sogain, Coreu Sogain, Coreu Suigin.
- 88. TOICAXI
- 89. TOICACI
- 91. TOICAC
- 149. TORIANI
- 1908 p. 76. TREnAluGGo
- 1896 p. 129. TRENAQITI
- 109. TUCACAC³
- 107. UDDAMI
- 242. VALUVI
- 189. VIRAGNI
- 248. VIRI QORB

45. As applied to contemporaries, the quasi-surnames in *moccu* become obsolete in the eighth century. The latest instance I have found is that of Lucreth *moccu* Ciara, the author of a poem commencing *Cú-cen-máthair maith in chland*, which is found with the Eoganacht genealogy in the Books of Ballymote and Lecan and in Rawlinson B 502. From internal evidence this poem appears to have been composed early in the eighth century. In the Book of Leinster and later documents *moccu* is misunderstood as an equivalent of *macc hui, filius nepotis*, and commonly represented by *mc. h., m. h., macc ua*, etc. Abbreviations in the following list : MD (with date in calendar) = Martyrology of Donegal ; LL, BB (with page of facsimile) = Book of Leinster, Book of Ballymote ; Ad = Adamnan's Vita Columbae, Reeves, index ; Onom = Hogan's Onomasticon Goedelicum ; Arm = Hogan's Glossary to Book of Armagh ; AU (with year of annal) = Annals of Ulster ; SL = Stokes's Lives of the Saints from Book of Lismore, index.

46. Eponyms following *Moccu* :—

LL	868	Ultan m. h. Aignich	see Eignich below
„	„	Mo Boe m. h. Aldae ⁴	
BB	212	Mo Bhi qui dicitur mc. h. Alla	
„	225	Brenaind mc. h. Alta ⁵	Altraige

¹ The inscription is from Magunihy barony, adjoining Ciarraige Luachra.

² From a Déisi inscription. The Roithrige take part in the Déisi invasion.

³ Macalister's suggested reading of the inscription, which is defaced. Perhaps it was originally TOICAC as in no. 91.

⁴ See pedigree of Mo Baedan from Fiachra Allae, BB 218 g.

⁵ See note on ALLATO above. *Alti* postulates a different stem. The pedigree of St. Brendan has "*macc Findloga maice Olchon maice Altai vel aliter macc Findloga m. Olchon m. Gossa m. Gabli m. Eeni m. Altae . . . do Chiarraige Luachra do Altraige Cind Bera ocus do Chorcú Duibni*," LL 349 a ; "*macc Findloga m. Elchon m. Aeltai do Chiarraigi Luachra do Altraige Chaille*," LL 371 a.

Ad.		Brendenus mocu Alti	Altraige
LL	367	Colman macc Cuansi	cp. Corcu Andsae
	368	Odran mc. h. Araide	Dál Araidi
BB	228	Odran mc. h. Araide	„
Ad		Comgellus mocu Aridi ¹	„
MD	Jun. 7	Mo Cholmocc mac ua Arta	Artraige
BB	225	Colum mc. h. Arte	„
LL	359	Nechtan m. h. in Baird ²	Longo-Bardi
MD	Apl. 22	Neachtain mac ua Baird	„
	, Aug. 30	Usaille mac ua Baird ²	„
Ériu	iv. p. 75	Sechnall macc ui Baird ²	„
BB	226	Colman mc. h. Bairdine ³	Dál Bardeni
LL	367	Colman m. h. Bairddeni	„
	„ 356	Mo Cholmoc m. h. Beona	
	„ 373	Nem m. h. Birn	Dál (or Corcu) Birn ⁴
MD	Jun. 14	Nem mac ua Birn	„
Onom,	p. 197	Cell macu Birn	„
LL	368	Setna Dromna m. h. Blai	Blairige
Onom		Druim mic ua Blae	„
Ad		Lugbeus mocu Blai	„
Arm		Miliucc maccu Booin	Boonrige, Dál Buain
BB	226	Caindech mc. h. Buachalla	Dál Buachalla
LL	367	Cainnech m. h. Buachalla	„
	„ 368	Oidrine m. h. Buachalla	„
Onom,	p. 197	Cell maccu Buadain	
MD	Oct. 4	Fionocc maccu Cha	cp. Cairige, Caraige
LL	356	Ecca m. h. Chae	„
BB	227	Mo Laisi mc. h. Caidi	cp. Catrige
LL	368	Mo Lasse m. h. Câte	„
	„ „	Mo Beoc m. h. Cati	„
BB	227	Mo Beoc mc. h. Chaiti	„
	„ „	Mo Laisi mc. h. Carraigi	
LL	368	Mo Lasse m. h. Caisrige	
	„ 367	Colman mc. h. Chais ⁵	Dál Cais

¹ Pedigree from Fiachra Araide, epon. anc. of Dál A. LL 348 d.

² Nechtan or Nechtain, Ausaille = Auxilius, and Sechnall = Secundinus were three of the seven sons of "Lupait sister of Patrick" by Restitutus of the Longobardi, LL 355 a, 372 a. We have here in *moccu Baird* a curious extension of the formula to a foreign people. In LL 372 a, Lupais is called "máthair macc há Baird." See Anscombe, *The Longobardic Origin of St. Sechnall*, Ériu iv., p. 74.

³ "Colman maccu Barrdini, do Dal Barrdainne a chenél," Onom. Goed. p. 331.

⁴ Dál Birn was a synonym for Osseirge, Osraige, who are called Síl mBirn, LL 339 a 1, from an ancestor Loegaire Birn Buadach.

⁵ Colum Epscop of Tír Da Glas has a pedigree from Dál Cais, BB 221 f.

BB	226	Colman mc. h. Chais	Dál Cais
Ad		Mater virorum mocu Cein	Cianachta
„		Chonrii mocu Cein	„
„		avia To Cummi mocu Cein	„
LL	368	Mo Chummae m. h. Chein	„
BB	227	Mo Chuma mc. h. Chen	„
„	226	Comgall mc. h. Cein	„
LL	327	Comgall m. h. Chéin	„
„	„	Findlug m. h. Chéin	„
BB	227	Fintan mc. h. Chen ¹	„
„	228	Mo Gobboe m. h. Chein	„
LL	368	Mo Gobboe m. h. Chein	„
Ad		To Channu mocu Fir Cetea	Dál Cete
BB	173	Lucreth macu Ciara	Ciarraige
LL	357	Lucill m. h. Chiara	„
MD Jan. 31		Caindeach mac ui Chil	Celrige
BB	227	Fintan mc. h. Cind—	
LL	290	Díl mc. h. Chreega	Creccraige
„	367	Colman mc. h. Coirtged ²	
BB	226	Colman mc. h. Coirtged ²	
LL	355	Cilline m. h. Colla	ep. Coreu Culla
	362	Ultan m. h. Conchobuir ³	Dál Conchobuir
AU	656	Obitus Ultain moceu Choncobair	„
	662	Ultan moceu Chonchobair quievit	„
BB	228	Ultan mc. h. Conchubair	„
LL	368	Mo Lasse m. h. Chonna	ep. Dál Condad
Arm		Ad insolas Maccu Chor	ep. Cuirrige
LL	367	Mo Chua mc. h. Choraig	
BB	227	Mo Chua mc. h. Choraig	
MD Mar. 16		Abban mac ua Corbmaic ⁴	Dál Cormaic
BB	123	Aban maccua Cormaic	„
LL	357	Abbain m. h. Chormaic	„
„	364	Abban m. h. Chormaic	„
MD Dec. 27		Fiacha mac ua Chorbmaic	„
AU	663	Baetan moceu Cormaice	„
AU	690	Cronan moceu Chualne	Dál Cualni

¹ S. Fintan Find of Druimm Ing, Cianacht pedigree, BB 221 a, 232 b 48.

² See Forgtech, Fortgech, and ep. Coreu Oirethe, C. Oirethen.

³ “Ar ba do D. C. dosom,” Onom. Goed., p. 332. In the Book of Armagh he is called *episcopus Conchuburnensium*, *episcopo Conchuburnensi*, indicating the alternative form Conchuburne = Dál Conchubuir.

⁴ Pedigree from Cormac, son of Cú Corb, and epon. anc. of Dál Cormaic, one of the *cethri prim-sloinnnte Iagen*. “Is díb Aban maccua Cormaic,” BB 123 b 26. His pedigree, BB 222 e, f.

MD Feb. 7	Mellan mac ui Cuinn	Dál Cuinn ¹
Sep. 10	Seighin mac ui Chuinn	"
Oct. 9	Aedhan mac ui Chuind	"
LL 862	Aedan m. h. Cuind	"
BB 226	Colman m. h. Cuind	"
LL 867	Colman m. h. Cuind	"
BB 227	Mo Chua mc. h. Chuind	"
LL 867	Findlug m. h. Chuind	"
FM	Ultan mac hui Cunga	
AU 664	Ultan mac Caunga	
Onom	moccu Daiméne	cp. Daimine
Ad	Cainnechus mocu Dalon ²	Corcu Dalann
BB 226	Caindech mc. h. Dalann	"
" 227	Mo Laisi mc. h. Dartada	cp. Dartraige
LL 868	Mo Lasse m. h. Dartada	"
MD May 21	Inis mac ua Dartadha	"
AU 658	Colman epscop moccu Delduib ³	
LL 867	Colman m. h. Dulduil ³	
Ad	Ercus ⁴ mocu Druidi	
LL 862	Neman m. h. Duib	Dubrige, Corcu Duib.
MD Sep. 18	Naomhán mac ua Duibh	"
" Apl. 8	Aedhan mac ua Dhuibhne	Corcu Duibne
LL 858	Aedan m. h. Duibni	"
MD Feb. 20	Colgu mac ua Duineachda	
AU 602	Quies Finntain filii nepotis Echdach ⁵	cp. Dál Echach
Onom 589	Fintan maccu Ectach	"
" "	(Fintan) moccu Edagur	"
BB 228	Ultan mc. h. Eignich	cp. Eiginrige
MD Apl. 9	Aedhac mac ua Elich	cp. Éli
LL 858	Aedach m. h. Elich	"
" 862	Finnio m. h. Fiatach ⁶	Dál Fiatach
AU 578	Quies Vinniani episcopi mc. nepotis	"
	Fiatach	

¹ The numerous pedigrees of the saints of Dál Cuinn (= Uí Néill, Uí Britín, Airgialla, etc.) include Espoc Aed, Aed Coel, Aedan, Aeidgen, Maedog, and at least four Colmáns. "*Seigine m. Fiachna m. Feradaig m. Nindeada m. Fergus m. Conaill m. Neill*," Lecan 93.

² "*Dal nDallain a quo Caindeach*," Onom. Goed. s.v. Dál Condaith.

³ See Telduib below. ⁴ Apparently a native of the Hebrides.

⁵ S. Fintan of Cluain Eidnech was of the Fothairt, whose epon. anc. in the genealogies is Eochu Find Fuath nAirt, so that Dál Echach may be a synonym of Fothairt.

*Fintan Cluana Eidneach uill · mac Garbain mc. Corcraín cuirr
mc. Eachach mc. Breasail ain · mc. Den mc. Condlai comlain
mc. Airt Cirp mc. Cairpri Niad · mc. Cormaic mair co mormiad*

(l. 45) *mc. Aengusa moir miad ngart · mc. Eachach Finn Fuath le hArt.* BB 231 a.

⁶ Pedigree from "*Fiatu Find a quo Dál Fiatach*," LL 349 c.

BB	226	Findbarr mc. h. Fiatach	Dal Fiatach
LL	367	Findbarr mc. h. Fiatach	„
MD Jan. 11		Suibne maccu Ir Tri	Corcu Fir Tri
BB	226	Colman m. h. Forgtech ¹	
LL	367	Colman m. h. Fortgech ¹	
LL	364	Mo Cholmoc m. h. Gualae <i>no</i> h. Gáili ²	Gailine
„	367	Mo Lua mc. h. Gaili	„
BB	227	Mo Lua mc. h. Gaili	„
„	„	Mo Chuma mc. h. Gaili	„
LL	368	Mo Chummae m. h. Gaili	„
„	„	Mo Shenóc m. h. Gairb	Garbraige ⁴
MD Oct. 21		Siollán mac ua Ghairbh	„
LL	364	Mc. h. Gairb <i>abbaid</i> Maigi Bili. Sillan Magistír	„
Onom, p. 197		Cell maccu Geridáin	
LL	356	Mc. h. Greccae	Greccraige
„	367	Colman m. h. Guaili ³	
BB	226	Colman mc. h. Guaili ³	
Lecan	455	Eterscel Mor macu Iair ⁵	Érainn
BB	227	Mo Laisi mc. h. Imdae	Dál Imde
LL	368	Mo Lasse m. h. Imda	„
AU	638	Do Laissi maccu Imde	„
BB	227	Mo Chua mc. h. Lapae	
LL	367	Mo Chua m. h. Loppae	
„	368	Mo Gobhoc mc. h. Laime	cp. Lámraige
BB	227	Mo Gobhoc m. h. Laime	„
AU	637	Cronan moccu Loegdae	Corcu Loegde
LL	367	Mo Chua m. h. Laigde	„
BB	227	Mo Chua mc. h. Laidgi	„
„	228	Mo Rioc mc. h. Laigdi	„
LL	368	Mo-Rióc m. h. Laigde	„
? Ad		Columbanus mocu Loigse ⁶	Lóigis
MD May 16		Colman mac ua Laoighse	„
LL	360	Colman m. h. Laigsi	„
„	356	Oenu m. h. Laigsi ⁶	„
„	367	Oenu m. h. Laigsi	„

¹ Coirgtech above.² “*Di Gáilinní di Ulltaib do,*” LL 364, last column. This Mo Cholmóc may be identified with Colmán moccu Guaili. Perhaps the scribal variants Gual-, Guail-, Gáil-, Gail- may be traced to an earlier spelling Góil- (*ói* diphthong.).³ See foregoing note.⁴ Cp. *Donnach maccu Garba*, Onom. Goed.⁵ See § 12⁶ Pedigrees of Oenu and Colmán from Lugaid Laigsech, epon. anc. of Lóigis, BB 219 c.

SL	275	Enna maccu Laigsi	Lóigis
LL	368	Mo Shinu mc. h. Lugair	Luguirne
BB	228	Mo Shinu mc. h. Lugair	,,
,,	224	Mo Caemo mc. h. Lugair	,,
Arm		Dubthoch mc. h. Lugir	,,
AU	789	Comotatio reliquiarum Mo Chuae	
		moccu Luggedon	
Eriu iii.	138	Moccu Luigdech	cp. Corcu Luigdech
Arm		Muirchu maccu Machtheni	cp. Tuath Mochtaine ¹
MD	Jun. 8	Murchu mac ua Maichtene	,,
,,	,,	Meadhran mac ua Maichtene	,,
BB	227	Loman mc. h. Maigni	cp. Dál Maigin, Maigni
LL	367	Lonan m. h. Maigen	,,
,,	,,	Mo Chua m. h. Manche	
BB	227	Mo Chua mc. h. Manchi	
,,	226	Fintan mc. h. Milbae	
LL	367	Fintan m. h. Milbai	
Ad		Lugbeus mocu Min	cp. Menraige
,,		Lugneus mocu Min	,,
BB	228	Mo Shinu mc. h. Muind	,,
LL	368	Mo Sinu mc. h. Mind	,,
AU	cxxxiii	Mosinu Maccumin	,,
SL	335	Lugna maccu Moga Laim	
Ad		Laisranus mocu Moie	
BB	227	Mo Laisi mc. h. Naithre	
LL	368	Mo Lasse m. h. Naratha	
,,	356	Mo Lassi m. h. Nehti	Nechtarge, Corcu Nechtae
,,	,,	Mo Lasse m. h. Nehtai	,,
BB	227	Mo Laisi mc. h. Neachta	,,
MD	Jan. 19	Mo Laissi maccua Nechte	,,
Onom	540	Moccu Neethin	
Ériu iii.	138	Moccu Nemongin	
MD	Jun. 9	Cruimther mac ua Nesse	
Ad		Oisseneus mocu Neth Corb	Dál Niath Cor
AU	cxxxiii.	Mo Cuaroc maccu Neth Semon ¹	Semonrige, Semaine
,,	584	Abb Oluana moccu Nois	cp. Noisrige
LL	368	Mo Lóce m. h. Noise	,,
BB	228	Mo Locae mc. h. Noise	,,

¹ “*Tuath Mochtaine for Maig Macha*,” an aithechtuath in poem quoted by Mac Fir Bhisigh, *Genealogies*, R.I.A. copy, p. 55. “*Mochthuinde*” in *Onom. Goed.*, p. 652.

² “*Semaine na nDesi diata Mo Chuaróc*,” *Onom. Goed.*, p. 594.

BB	223	Colman mc. h. Nuadchon	
AU	608	Quies Lugdach moceu Ocha ¹	Corcu Oche
AU	677	Daircill moceu Retai	Dál Riatai
Ad		Mailodranus mocu Rin ²	cp. Corcu Rinn
„		Erneneus mocu Fir Roide	Corcu Roide
LL	365	Tua m. h. Roida	„
„	368	Tua m. h. Roda	„
„	„	Mo Gobboc mc. h. Ruain	
BB	228	Mo Gobboc mc. h. Ruain	
Ad.		Trenanus mocu Runtir	Dál Runtir
„		Colmanus mocu Sailni ³	Dál Sailni
„		Nemaidon (gen.) mocu Sogin	Sogin, Corcu S.
AU	548	Finnio moceu Telduib ⁴	
LL	367	Finnian m. h. Thelluib	
BB	226	Finna mc. h. Tellduib	
SL	335	Fidnian maccu Tellaig	
MD	Feb. 8	Colman mac ui Thealduibh	
„	Dec. 12	Colman mac ui Thelduibh	
BB	226	Colman mc. h. Tuilduib	
Ad		Luguid mocu Themne	Temenrige
AU	663	Comgan macu Teimne	„
MD	Feb. 27	Commán macua Theimhne	„
„	Apl. 8	Lughthighern macua Trato ⁵	Tratraige
LL	359	Luchthigern maccu Tratho	„

47. The collective names do not always appear to contain a personal or ancestral eponym. In Corcu Fásaig, Corcu Luachra, Corcu Maige Locha, Corcu Temrach, Corcu Tethba, the determining word is a place-name, so that these names are referable to a usage in which *corcu* is still a common noun in general use.

48. The eponyms which are found with *moceu* prove that the eponyms supplied by the genealogists cannot always be accepted as representing an

¹ *Mo Lua Cluana Ferta m. Cartaigh m. Daigri m. Urchocho m. Fergusa Fogo. Mo Lua cr. mc. Daigri m. Ere m. Imhada m. Laimhe Fola m. Cliataire m. Focha m. Dubthaig Duinn.* (BB 218 c.) “*Fergus Oiche qui et Fogai*,” was epon. anc. of Corcu Oche, BB 169 b 44.

² Variant *moceu Curin*, cp. Cuirenrige.

³ “*Colman Elo i. Mac Ui Selli*,” Onom. Goed. s.v. Dál Sailne. The eponym does not occur in his pedigree, BB 223 b, c, LL 352 f.

⁴ See *Delduib* above. The obit here is that of S. Finnian of Cluain Iraird, whose pedigree is given thus:—“*Finden Cluana Iraird m. Findloga m. Findtain m. Concrúind m. Daircealla m. Seanaigh m. Diarmada m. Aedha m. Fergusa m. Oilella Duibh m. Cealtair m. Uideachair*,” BB 218 d, e. Similarly LL 348, last column. Ailill Dub is given as Ailill Telduib by Abp. Healy, *Ireland's Ancient Schools*, p. 194 (second edition). *Teldub, Tuldub*, cp. “*Genelach Síil Eogain. Tady m. Faelain . . . m. Faelchon Tulchotait i. etan cruaid boi oca*,” LL 317 a.

⁵ *Luchthigern . . . isé fil i Tuaim Findlocha i Tratraige*, LL 373 b 5.

accurate tradition. Thus the genealogists tell us that the Ciarraige are the descendants of Ciar, son of Fergus MacRoig, but the Ogham form *Mucoi Qerai* (ms. *Moccu Ciara*) shows that the true eponym should have been *Ciara* in Middle Irish. The *Artraige* are said to descend from a male ancestor *Art*, while the *moccu* formula has genitive *Arta*, *Arte*. That *Core Duibfind*, as ancestor of *Coreu Duibne*, is a mere fiction of the genealogists would be sufficiently obvious if we had not the Ogham examples of *Mucoi Dovinias* and the ms. *moccu Duibne*. *Láma*, son of *Conchobor macc Nessa*, is the genealogical ancestor of the *Lámraige*, but the lists of saints have *Mo Gobbóc moccu Laime*. *Laigsech Cennmór* is the genealogical head of the *Lóigse*; *Adamnanus* has *mocu Loigse*. *Neachtain . . . a quo Neachtraide*, *Lecan* 453; *Nemangein mac Neachtain do Uaithnib diata Neachtraidi*, ib.; but *moccu Nechti*, *Nechtai*, *Nechte*, *Neachta*, and *Corcu Nechtae*. *Fergus Oiche qui et Fogai*, *BB* 169 b, *Fergus Fogo*, *BB* 218 c, *Focha*, ib. is ancestor of *Coreu Oche* and of *S. Mo Lua* = *Luguid moccu Ocha*, *AU* 608. If the genealogists have not lost the genuine tradition, they must have deliberately substituted masculine for feminine eponyms.

49. *Adamnanus*, in *mocu Fir Cetea*, *mocu Fir Roide*, introduces *fer* ("husband of") before a feminine eponym. Cp. *Conall mac Fhir Cheiti meic Deda meic Sín a quo Dal Ceiti la Mumain*, *Lecan* 455.

50. Names in *-rige* appear sometimes to have the name of an animal for eponym. It is curious if *Bibraige* (cp. *Coreu Bibuir*) contains the name of the beaver (cp. *Bibracte*), for Dr. Scharff tells me that so far no remains of the beaver are known to have been found in Ireland, though it is known to have existed in Britain. Other instances are *Bocc-*, *Catt-*, *Con-*, *Dart-* (with *moccu Dartada*), *Gabr-*, *Gaman-*, *Luch-*, *Molt-*, *Torc-*. We cannot assert that the animal, even personified, was regarded as the ancestor, for the adoption of animal names (e.g. *Conall Cú*, *Ailill Molt*) was not rare. Moreover, as instances like *Ciarraige* show, the eponym may really have been a fuller form of the element which is retained in the people-name.

51. Some of the collective names appear to be based on the occupations of the people. Thus the *Semonrige*, *Tuath Semon*, or *Semmuine*, i.e. people of rivets, belonged to the coppermining district of the *Dési*, and the distinctive element in their name was not thought capable of forming an eponym; hence *moccu Neth Semon* = of the race of the Champion of the Rivets. In *Bérre*, *Béarra*, another mining district, were the *Cerdraige*. With this class of names we may perhaps connect *Tuatha Taiden* or *Fir Taiden*, people of mantles, and *Fir Bolg*, people of leathern bags. That *Fir Bolg*, commonly used as a name for the older subjugated race or races, was an extension of the genuine name of an historical people may be judged from the instances of *Bolgthuath*

and Bolgrai in Onom. Goed.¹ All these peoples with what seem to be occupation-names belonged to the *aithechtuatha*; and their vassal-rents may have been paid in the products of the industries indicated by their names. Cp. also Corbraige, Corbetrige, Sciathraige, Tuath Chathbarr.

III. SEPT-NAMES.

52. A third order, arising out of the second or it may be out of the first, and no doubt later in time, consists of sept-names in which the genitive of the eponym is preceded by the word Aui, Ui, "grandsons, descendants," e.g. Ui Néill, Ui Fidgente. Indeed that this class of name belongs to a later fashion of nomenclature than the collective names appears from the fact that, while all the collective names originate in a purely traditional period, the origin of at least a proportion of the early names in Ui can be assigned to the beginning of the documentary period.

53. In the genealogies, but not in general usage, there is a partial revival of sept-names in Ui, probably in the eleventh century, perhaps due to professional familiarity with the early nomenclature. In popular usage the only such instance at present known to me is Íbh Laoghaire, which seems to be the surname Ua Laoghaire, dative plural, belonging to a family of the western Muscraige. It is now the name of a district in the west of co. Cork. Surnames in Ua commence to be used in the tenth century: AU 914—Ua Maelsechnaill, 918 Ua Cléirig, 946 Ua Canannáin. As titles, without the fore-name, Ua Ciarda 953, Ua Ruairc 953, 964, 998. Over 40 other such surnames are found in this century. The statement adopted by O'Curry (Ms. Mat., p. 214) that this usage was established by an ordinance of Brian Boróimhe, apart from the fact that regal decrees of the kind are unknown in Ireland before the Norman Invasion, is thus shown to be without foundation.

54. As in the case of the collective names, so in the case of sept-names in Ui, the eponym is sometimes feminine. Cp. Ui Bairrche, Ui Brigte, Ui Duibne (cp. Corcu D.), Ui Ercae, Ui Ferba (beside Ui Fírb), Ui Ochrae, Ui Taisce.

55. In my paper on *the Irish Ogham Inscriptions*, R.I.A. Proceedings, vol. xxvii, p. 368, I adopted Barry's view that the Ogham *avi* points to the sept-ancestor. Of sixteen instances there collected, five appear to be followed by feminine names; in two others the gender is doubtful. Hence apparently the proportion of feminine eponyms for septs named in the Ui-formula was much larger in early times than in the later MS. record.

¹ Cp. note by Mac Fir Bhisigh on a poem at p. 55, Book of Genealogies (R.I.A.): *Dú i ndubhairt an duain nach d' Feraib Bolg Gaileoin na Domhnannaigh 7c. fir sin tra iarna slonmadh ghnethech. Gidhedh iarna slonmadh coitcheim, as ainm díles dona trí tuathaibh remraite Fír Bolg.*

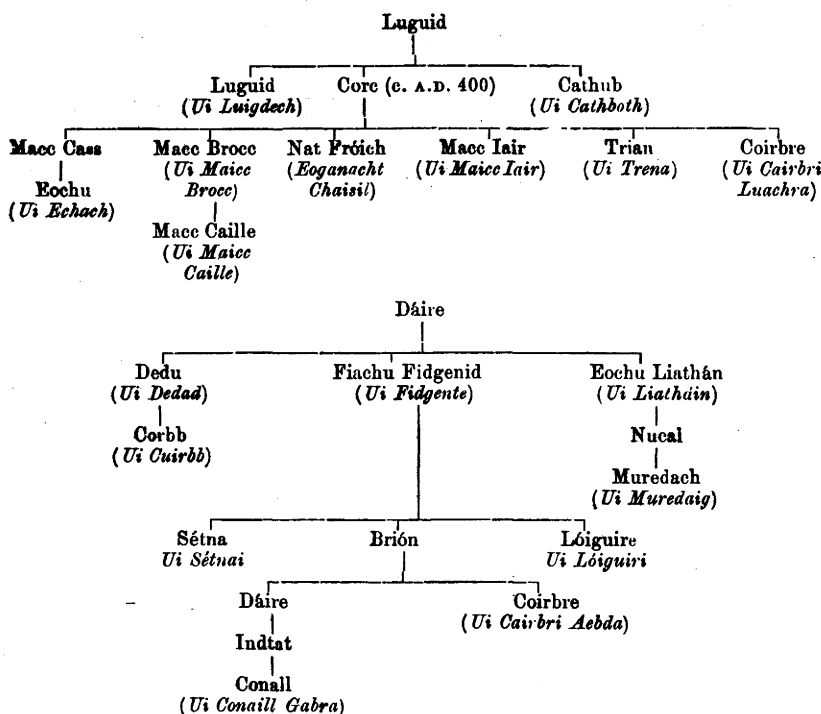
56. I know no instance of a sept-name derived from a female ancestor within the documentary period. Hence I think that the feminine sept-eponyms had a religious, not a genealogical, import. Cp. *Ui Brigte* and “*Brigit banfile ingen in Dagda*” (BB 34 b 30), *Ui Ercae* and the forenames *Macc Ercae* = *Maqi Ercias*, *Dar Erca*, *Ercavicas*.

57. In the same paper, p 369, I suggested that *Anavlamattias mucoi Maqi Eurí* [*Iari* ?] *avi Axeras* should be interpreted “Anblomaith of the tuath of *Macc Iair* and of the sept [thereof] *Aui Acher*.” The sept-name has since then turned up: *Ac Ailill Fland Beacc comraices Hi Aicher 7 Mec Carrthaich .i. rigda* [= *rig*] *Desmuman*, Lecan 454. “At Ailill Flann Becc [the pedigrees] of *Hui Aicher 7 the MacCarthaighs, Kings of Desmond, unite*.” The genitive *Aicher* = *Axeras* seems to indicate an Irish *r*-stem outside of the nouns importing the family relation.

58. In *Dál Niad Corb*, to which most of the Christian kings of Leinster belonged, the eponyms of the principal septs appear in the genealogies as sons of *Cathair Mór*: *Ros Fáilge* (*Ui Fáilge*) *Dáire Barrach* (*Ui Bairrche*), *Bresa Enechglas* (*Ui Enechglais*), *Cétach* (*Ui Cétaig*), *Fergus Luascán* (*Ui Luascáin*) *Crimthannán* (*Ui Crimthannáin*), *Eochaid Timine* (*Ui Timine*), *Fiachu Ba Aiccid* (*Ui Baicceda*), *Dercmossach* (*Ui Dercmossaig*), etc. The instance of *Ui Bairrche*, mentioned earlier, warns us that we do not stand here on any ground of solid strict historical tradition. Least of all need we expect to find even an approximately true chronology. In *Gilla Coemain*’s reckoning *Cathair Mór* should have been king of Ireland from A.D. 123 to 149. But in the Synchronism of 721, his reign requires to be placed quite a century later. Even this date appears too early, judged by genealogies.

59. The pedigree of *Crimthann*, king of Leinster in St. Patrick’s time (c. 450), is traced thus: 1, *Cathair*. 2, *Fiacchu Baiccid*. 3, *Bresal Belach*. 4, *Labraid*. 5, *Enda Cennselach*. 6, *Crimthann*. Allowing three generations to a century, the floruit of *Cathair* should thus be placed quite at the close of the third century. The Four Masters give 435 as the death-date of *Bresal Bélach* son of *Fiacha Aicidh* son of *Cathair Mór*. AU concurs. The most that can be said is that the majority of witnesses assign *Fiachu*, ancestor of *Ui Baicceda*, to the fourth century. In his line sept-names in *Ui* continue to be formed for several generations. From *Labraid* son of *Bresal Bélach* are named *Ui Labrada*; from *Dúnlaing* son of *Énda Nia* son of *Bresal*, *Ui Dúnlainge*; from *Énda Cennselach* son of *Labraid*, *Ui Cennselaig*. *Hui Maele Tuile*, from *Mael Tuile* son of *Ronan s. o. Colmán s. o. Coirpre s. o. Ailill s. o. Dúnlaing*, supply a late instance. *Mael Tuile* should have lived in the latter half of the sixth century. See LL 315 c.

60. The chief septs of the Eoganachta are traced to two sons of Ailill Flann Becc, Luguid and Dáire Cerba.



61. The Eoganacht of Cashel, the suzerain line, do not appear to have taken any sept-name in Ui. The pedigree of Oengus (killed in 489, AU) is given as follows: 1 Ailill Flann Becc, 2 Luguid, 3 Core, 4 Nat Frích, 5 Oengus. According to the genealogical account, Ui-names among the Eoganachta arise from ancestors two generations older than Oengus, and continue to arise until an ancestor is reached two generations later than Oengus. The eponyms would appear to date from about the beginning of the fifth until the middle of the sixth century. Of course it is to be borne in mind that a sept-name in Ui is at least two generations later than its eponym, so that with the Eoganachta, septs continued to be named afresh under this formula until the end of the sixth century.

62. In Dál Cuinn, the starting-point of all the septs is Cairbre Lifechar. From Fiachu Sraiftine son of Cairbre descend the Ui Néill and the Connacht septs Ui Briúin, Ui Fiachrach, Ui Aillello, and Ui Fergusso. From Eochu Doimlén son of Cairbre descend the Airgialla and Ui Mainne.

63. In the genealogies, Niall, Brian (Bríón), Fiachra, Ailill, and Fergus are sons of Eochu Mugmedóin. Their period is the close of the fourth

century and the beginning of the fifth. Lóiguire son of Niall was king of Ireland at St. Patrick's coming in 432, and died in 462 (AU). Eogan son of Niall died in 465 (AU), Conall Cremthainne son of Niall in 480. Nathi son of Fiachra succeeded Niall and preceded Lóiguire as king of Ireland.

64. The uncertainty of the genealogical tradition at this period is exemplified by the following counterstatements (Lecan 454):—

Sunt qui dicunt Fiachrach [read *Fiachra*] *Brian Maine tri meic Domnaill meic Fiachrach Sraiftini. Sunt qui dicunt tri meic Fiachrach Fir Da Giall meic Cairpri Lifeochair .i. na tri Cholla .i. Colla Uas 7 Colla Mend 7 Colla da Crich a n-anmand.*

65. The Ui Néill do not subdivide into further septs named in this formula. Under Ui Briún (BB 89) arise Hui Chanann from Cano son of Brión; Hui Du[i]b Dumach from Dub Dumach s. o. Annad s. o. Fothad, s. o. Conall s. o. Brión; Hui Baeithin from Baeithin s. o. Dui Galach s. o. Brión. Hui Cormaic from Cormac s. o. Fergus Cnoc s. o. Dui Galach. The eponyms in this line belong to the fifth and sixth centuries.

66. Under Ui Fiachrach (BB 107) arise Ui Amalgada (Amolngado) from Amolngid s. o. Fiachra; Ui Echach Muaide from Eachaid (recte Eochu) s. o. Nathí s. o. Fiachra; Ui Suanaig were a subsept of Ui Echach, but I have not found their pedigree. Excluding Suanach, the eponyms in this line belong to the fifth century. I have no account of subsepts named in the Ui-formula under Ui Ailello and Ui Fergusso.

67. Hence it appears, so far as has been investigated, that in the Connacht and Meath branches of Dál Cuinn, sept-names in Ui arise from eponyms referable generally to the fifth century.

68. Airgialla (BB 118): Ui Tuitre from Fiachra Tort s. o. Ere s. o. Colla Uais s. o. Eochu Doimlén. Hui Echach from Eochu s. o. Feidlimid s. o. Fiachra s. o. Colla Da Chrích. Hui Bresail from Bresal s. o. Feidlimid aforesaid. Hui Sinaig from Sinach, fifth in descent from Feidlimid. Hua Niallín from Niallín s. o. Fiace s. o. Feidlimid. Hui Cruind from Crond s. o. Feidlimid. Hui Méith from Muredach Méith s. o. Imchad s. o. Colla Da Chrích. Hui Fiachrach from Fiachra s. o. Ere s. o. Eochu s. o. Colla Uais. Hui Segain from Segán s. o. Tuathal s. o. Feidlimid. Hui Maice Cairthinn from Macc Cairthinn s. o. Eichen s. o. Fiachra Tort. Hui Maine from Maine Mór s. o. Eochu Fer Da Giall s. o. Domnall s. o. Imchad s. o. Colla Foerich (= Da Crích). Ui Cormaic Maenmaige from Cormac s. o. Bresal s. o. Maine. Hui Duach from Duach (Dui, Dauí) s. o. Dallán s. o. Bresal s. o. Maine.

69. At 513 (AU) is recorded the death of Cairpre Daim Argit, king of the Airgialla, s. o. Eochu s. o. Crimthann s. o. Fiac s. o. Daig Duirn s. o. Reochaid

[13*]

s. o. Colla Da Crích. Colla should have flourished about two centuries earlier, i.e. at the beginning of the fourth century, and this date accords with the time usually assigned for the conquest of Mid Ulster by the three Collas. The eponyms of Ui Sinaig and Ui Duach are two generations farther than Cairpre Daim Argit from the common ancestor, and should belong to the latter part of the sixth century.

70. The septs of Dál Cuinn, the Eoganachta, and Dál Niad Corb were predominant throughout nearly all Ireland from St. Patrick's time until the Norman Invasion. Hence one may suppose that their traditions were more minutely recorded in the early ms. period than the traditions of less prominent groups; also that, so far as chronological checks were available, they were more operative in the history of these dominant lines. But it is evident that, even in their case, no anterior limit can be placed to the use of the Ui-formula except to say that it appears to mark a later classification than the collective names.

71. The Ui-formula is succeeded by one in which cenél precedes the eponym. This is conspicuous and of early occurrence in the case of the Ui Néill.

72. Cenél Conaill, C. Cairpri, C. Loiguirí, C. nEogain, C. Fiachach, C. Máini, C. nÉndai, C. nOengusso take their names from sons of Niall, and their origin therefore from about the middle of the fifth century.

73. From sons of Eogan, C. Muredaig, C. mBindig, C. Fergusso, C. nOengusso, C. nDalláin, C. Cormaic, C. Feidlimthe, C. nAilello, C. nEichein, C. nIllainn, C. nEchach.

74. From sons of Muredach, C. Feradaig, C. Tigernaig, C. Moain. From Forggus s. o. Baetán s. o. Muirchertach s. o. Muredach, C. Fergusso. Muirchertach died about 530 (533 AU, 527 FM, 531 Chron. Scot.), Baetán in 571 (AU), and a son of "Fergus"¹ son of Baetán in 619 (AU). Hence we may regard the Cenél formula in the Ui Néill line as based on fifth, sixth, and seventh century eponyms.

75. In the Eoganacht line, the symmetrical numbers of 24 sons and 24 daughters are assigned to Oengus s. o. Nat Fróich, (BB 172 b). Eithne Uathach, the woman-chief of the Dési, was mother of three of the sons, and hence their posterity is called Cenél nEithne (*sic* l. 26). From Cennlán sixth in descent from Oengus, is C. Cennláin. Cenél Fíngéin from

¹ Hennessy, except in one instance, reads the name Forggus, Forgus, Forcus, as Fergus. It is correctly printed Forggus in the poem at 562, but incorrectly as Ferggus in the translation, and is not found in MacCarthy's index. In Fergus = *Virogustus, *g* is spirant; not so in Forggus = *Vorgustus, earlier *Vergustus.

Fíngen, of whose son Maenach, king of Munster, the death is recorded at 661 (AU). There, as in the genealogies (BB 175), Fíngen's pedigree represents him as fourth in descent from Oengus. Cenél Conaill (BB 176) from Conall eighth in descent from Oengus; and Cenél Caellaide (ib.) from Caellaide s. o. Conall. Cenél Cormaic (ib.), eponym fourth from Oengus. Cenel nDalláin (177), eponym third from Eochu Liathán. Cenél mBuiric (ib.), from a son of Eochu. Apparently the eponyms in this group range from the fourth to the eighth century.

76. The Cenél formula does not seem to have become customary in Dál Niad Corb. Two instances occur in the genealogy, BB 126 *a*, Cenél nAengusa and C. Croichni. Of C. nAengusa we learn only that they belonged to Hui Maenaig. At 127 *a* 36, it is stated that Cenél Cruaieini (= Cróichni) were of the Eoganacht.

77. *Cenél* in turn gives way to a number of terms, *cland*, *muintir*, *síl*, *slicht*, *teglach*, *tellach*, used contemporaneously.

78. In AU, the earliest contemporary instance of *Cland* is Cl. Chathail, 912. At the obit of Cathal, 734, "a quo Clann Cathail" is of course a late gloss. At 617, *muintir* (Blatini) and *síl* (Mescaín) are probably common nouns not fixed in the names. The next instances of *muintir* are M. Gerudain, 1159, M. Eolais, 1169. *Síl* Dluthaig 633; *Síl* Cathail, 815. *Tellach* Dunchadha, 1258; T. Echach, 1298 (both indexed under *Telach* = *Tulach*). Dúinchad's death, 822 AU. Eochu, his brother (BB 91, cols. 1, 2).

79. *Clann* and *muinntear* are still used to form sept-names from surnames e.g. Clann Chon Ceanainn, Muinntear Mheachair.

80. Although, then, there is considerable overlapping in date, there is a quite definite order of succession in the formulae, as exemplified in the following table:—

I. Plural names (origin prehistoric)	Lagin	(unknown)	(unk nown)
II. Collective names (origin prehistoric)	Dál Niad Corb	Eoganacht	Dál Cuinn
III. Sept-names in Ui (partly of historical origin)	Ui Cennselaig	Ui Liatháin	Ui Néill
IV. Cenél-names (from fifth century mainly)	Cenél nAengusa	C. nDalláin	C. Conaill
V. Cland, Muintir, etc. (from sixth century)	Clann Maelighra	C. Chárthaigh	C. Cholmáin (Colmán † 587)

IV. THE TUATH.

81. We find the term *tuath* variously handled by modern translators. In the Annals of Ulster, Dr. Mac Carthy regularly gives "territories" as the English of *tuatha*. Others render *tuath* by "tribe," a conveniently vague word which covers everything from an ancient subnation like the Ulaid to a comparatively modern sept like Clann Aodha Buidhe. It is true that by a familiar figure of speech, *tuath* is often used of a territorial area, just as Norfolk, which once meant the North-folk, came to mean the district they occupied. By a different transference of idea, *tuath* came to signify the laity in contradistinction to *eclais* the ecclesiastical body or *cliar* the clergy, and still retains that meaning side by side with the meaning of "the country" in contradistinction to the town. In both cases, *tuath* represents the ancient native tradition and the native order existing under the Irish civil law *dligid tuaithe*, whereas the Church lived under its own law, and the towns inherited in a modified form the municipal law of Rome.

82. Anciently *tuath* < **tōta*, *touta* (*teuta*) appears to have denoted a civil community, a people united under one government, a *civitas*. In Ireland and Britain such communities retained the early form of kingly rule in an almost patriarchal shape. The petty states of Gaul and Galatia, before their subjugation by Rome, appear to have been for the most part republics, each ruled by a senate. The Irish *tuath*, then, must at one time have been a petty kingdom, but at the beginning of the documentary period a new order has already widely spread. Powerful families, aristocratic septs, have entered on a career of conquest. The scope of their operations being practically limited to Ireland,—for the only known exceptions are the temporary Irish acquisitions in western Britain and permanent conquest of Scotland by the Dál Riada,—the consequence was the substitution of ascendant dynasties for the older petty states throughout the greater part of Ireland. Thus the dynastic septs of Dál Cuinn, comprising the Ui Néill, Ui Briúin, Ui Fiachrach, and Airgialla, have acquired permanent authority over nearly all the northern half of the island. In Munster, the Eoganacht septs, Ui Fidgente, Ui Liatháin, Ui Echach, etc., and in Leinster, the septs of Dál Niad Corb, especially the Ui Cennselaig, have achieved a like position. All these families have set up many new kingdoms or petty states. Beside these states, and in a position of inferiority marked by the payment of tribute and furnishing of armed forces to them, a considerable number of small peoples remained, enjoying internal freedom under the government of their own dynasties. This is the condition of things described in the Book of Rights, and it will be noted there that, except in the north-eastern province, where the old order was less disturbed,

nearly all the free, i.e., non-tributary, states are known by the names of septs or families, and nearly all the tributary states by collective names or the older plurals.

83. In Munster, the free states are Eoganacht Chaisil, Ui Liatháin, Raithliu = Ui Echach Muman, Eoganacht Locha Léin = Ui Coirpri Chruithnecháin, Ui Chonaill Gabra, Ui Coirpri Aebda, Eoganacht Glennamnach,¹ Dál Cais. The tributary states are Déisi Muman = Dál Fiachach, Muscraige, Dáirine or Corcu Loegde, Ciarraige, Corcu Baiseinn, Arai, Uaithni, Éli, Coreumruad, Corcu Duibne, Orbraige, the Sechtmad.

84. In Connacht the free states are: Ui Fiachrach, Ui Briúin, and their subdivisions. The tributary states are: Umall, Grecraige, Conmaicne, Ciarraige, Luigne, na Corca, Delbna, Ui Máine.

85. It is to the older groups especially that the term *tuath* is applied in early usage. Used with the name of a sept, e.g., Tuath Ua nAengusa, as the majority of the instances in Onomasticon Goedelicum clearly show, *tuath* denotes no longer a people, but a territory. In the list of vassal-communities *aithechtuatha* (BB 255 a Lecan 354), only two instances, Tuath Ua Cathbarr and Tuath Ua Carra, contain names of septs, and there are alternative readings which omit Ua, perhaps correctly, since Cathbarr seems to be genitive plural. In most of the rest, *tuath* is followed by a collective name, in some by a plural people-name.

86. In Gaul 44 *civitates* are named by Caesar. Subdivisions of these, or of certain of them, existed and are called by him *pagi*. He speaks of the *pagi* of the Helvetii, the Morini, and the Arverni. The Helvetii consisted of four *pagi*, of which Caesar names two, the *pagus Tigurinus* and the *pagus Verbigenus*. He also uses the plural *Tigurini* of the people of the *pagus*.

87. The fourfold subdivision of a Celtic people is also exemplified by the Galati of Asia Minor. Each of the three nations which formed the confederate republic of the Galati contained four subdivisions which the Greeks called τετραρχίαι, and each of these was separately administered under its own chief or tetrarch. Instances occur in Ireland. The Lagen comprise *cethri prímsloinnnte*, Dal Niad Corb, Dál Messe Corb, Dál Corbmaic, and Dál Coirbbri, the four eponymous ancestors being sons of Cú Corb.² The Arai comprise four divisions *na cethri hAraid í. Tratraidi* (recte *Toeccraige*) 7 *Artraidi* 7 *Descert Cliach* 7 *Hui Fidban*, Lecan 451a.

¹ Wrongly printed gleann Amhnach by O'Donovan. The nom. is Glennamain.

² Possibly there was but one ancestor commemorated under all five names. The various divisions of the Erainn descend from three ancestors all named Coirbbre; those of the Airgialla from three ancestors all named Connla (Colla).

88. The poem *Caisil atcondarc ane*, H. 3. 17, p. 724, has this quatrain :—

Ceithre Partraighe im Bri Ois,
ceithre Gailinga o cis Chais,
ceithre Cianacht cairde cneis,
ceithre Delbna dal chis Cais.

89. A smaller subdivision among the Gauls is known to us by the Latin name *vicus*. Caesar, who captured a written census among the spoils of the Helvetii, says that this people, numbering in all 368,000, comprised 400 *vici*, so that each *vicus* averaged 920 inhabitants. The phrase *vicani Segorigienses*, found in an inscription of the Prussian Rhine-Province, seems to point to a *vicus* named *Segorigion*. The Irish equivalent would be *Segr(a)ige*, which may be actually represented in the late Middle-Irish spelling *Sedraige*, one of the vassal-peoples named in the Book of Ballymote. Nevertheless, it is hardly likely that the Irish names in *-rige* and the other collective names of co-ordinate import originated as designations of a population so small as that of the Gaulish *vicus*. Rather it is fairly obvious that the continental *-rigion*, which must have once meant a people governed by a king, had degenerated in usage.

90. We may probably best regard the Irish group bearing a collective name as corresponding to the so-called *pagus* among the Gaulish peoples. There are sufficient indications that the collectively-named groups arose as subdivisions of nations bearing plural names. The instances of the Lagen and the Arai have already been noticed.

91. The Cruithni in Ireland included Dál Araidi, Conaille, Lóigis, and Sogain. *Do Chruithnibh Ereann do Dhál Araidhe na seacht Laighsi Laighen 7 seacht Soghain Ereann 7 gach Conuille fil in Erin* (Mac F. Genealogies unpagéd, evidently a quotation from some early writer).

92. The Érainn included Muscraige, Corcu Baiscinn, C. Duibne, Dál Riatai, etc.

93. The Galeoin comprised three *tuatha*, Tuath Fidga, Tuath Ochmaine, and Tuath Aithechda.

94. The Mugdoin included Dubraige or Corcu Duib, Papraige, Ciarraige, Sortraige, Artrige, Coreu Inomain, Suobraige. “*Seacht maic Mu[g]doirn Duib .i. Dubh a quo Dubhraidhi oc Imleach Corco Duib Papa a quo Papraighi la Creamthanna Ciara a quo Ciarraidhe Sort a quo Sortraige la Crimthanna a quibus Espoc Ibair mac Luighne Lasar ainm a mathar duna Deisib Art mac Mugdhoirn a quo Artrighe la Ullto Inomon a quo Corco Inomhain la Laighniu de quibus Lochene in sui irero drocaidh Sues dubh a quo Suobraidhe la Mugdornu a quibus Espoc Ethern i nDomnach Mor Maic Laifithi sed cuius filius Mugdorn Dub d’Ulltaib ignoratus (ignoratur).*” BB 110 a 38.

95. The Papraige here mentioned and the Partraige are the only known instances of peoples in Ireland whose name has P for initial. Note that the Mugdoinn were of unknown race. The Partraige, too, were regarded as aborigines. "*Dona Partraigib annso. Partraige in Loch a forsata Mag Thuireadh Cunga 7 Partraige Cheara 7 Partraige Clainde Fiachrach 7 Partraige Sleibhe .i. o Cruaith co Loch nOirbsen 7 Partraige Midhe forsambi Oilill 7 Meadhbh 7 do claind Genainn doib.*" H. 3.17, p. 724. A poem on the same page, already quoted, pretends that they were descended from Art son of Oengus, king of Cashel in the fifth century, but no son of the name is assigned to Oengus in the genealogies. "*Partraidi Cera, cid re Cloinn Diallyd (la Claind Fiachrach?), ni dib doib, acht is do Sen-Chondachtaib .i. do Chloind Genainn maic Deala maic Loith. Partraidi in Loch a, ait ita Mag Tuiread 7 Cunga, do Cloind Sreing maic Sengaind doib. Partraidi Sleib .i. o Cruaich co Loch nOirpsen, 7 do Cloind Conaill Airisin maic Briain doib. Genelach Partraidi annso. Radnall m. Aeda m. Mail Ruanada m. Conaill m. Echach m. Diarmada in Latha m. Domnaill na Tri Tuath .i. na tri Partraidi m. Setna otait Hi Setna .i. taisich Partraidi m. Conaill Oirisin m. Briain m. Echach Muidmedeoin.*" Lecan 458 a. This genealogy is not authentic. Brian (Brion), being a brother of Niall Noigiallach, must have lived about A.D. 400. Ragnall would accordingly have lived about A.D. 700; but since he bore a name adopted from the Norse, this date is out of the question. Accordingly it is natural to find that the Ui Briuin genealogies, though they mention Conall Oirisen, do not give the pedigree quoted above and do not include the Partraige or their chiefs among the Ui Briuin.

96. In the following passage the *tuath* is regarded as a chief subdivision of a people whose early name was remembered in the plural formula: "*Attiadso na tuatha asa fail an Gaileoin hi cuigiud Lagen Tuath-Gabair. Teora fodla foruib .i. Tuath Egdha ocus Tuath Ochmain ocus Tuath Aithechda.*" "These are the *tuatha* whereof the Gaileoin in the Fifth of Leinster North of Gabair consist, Tuath Fidga and Tuath Ochmain and Tuath Aithechda." (H. 3. 17, p. 740.)

97. For variants in the foregoing quotation see Duanaire Finn, Introduction, p. lvii. That Lagen Tuath-Gabair and Lagen Des-Gabair constituted two of the ancient "Five Fifths of Ireland" is clearly the ancient Ulidian tradition as told in *Cath Ruis na Ríg*, p. 22. The dividing locality was perhaps Gabair Lagen, which seems to be the valley between Sliab Mairge and the Wicklow Mountains, i.e. the southern part of Co. Kildare. Osraige, part of Lagen Des Gabair, anciently extended westward of the Suir. Airmuma, Ormond, i.e. *East* Munster, lay to the *west* of the Suir. Ancient Munster, bounded on the east by the Suir and on the north by the Shannon estuary, was much too small to have included two of the "Fifths," and the Dá

Chúigeadh Mumhan must belong to a comparatively late tradition. Hence no doubt the varying accounts of the twofold division of Munster. In one version the dividing line runs north and south, in another east and west. Neither version can be fitted into the story which makes Uisnech in the middle of Ireland the meeting-point of the five Fifths. A synonym for Cóiced Lagen Tuath-Gabair is Cóiced Coirpri Niath Fer. Coirpre is king of Tara and north Leinster in the Ulster cycle, his brother Find being king of south Leinster.

98. Keating (*Forus Feasa*, ed. Comyn, p. 214) says that *tuath* is equivalent to *tighearnas*, and the proverb "*is treise tuath ná tigherna*" shows that this interpretation is correct—at least as regards later usage. Keating also (*ib.*, p. 112) speaks of a *tuath* as smaller in extent than a *triocha céad*. The Glens of Antrim, i.e. the baronies of Upper Glenarm, Lower Glenarm, and Cary, are called *seacht dtuatha na nGlinne* in nearly modern documents. Each of these *tuatha* would occupy a square of about five or six miles. But I find no indication that the *tuath* in early usage at all corresponded to the population of such an area. It was in fact a division of people—not of land—and must have been very variable in extent.

99. That the whole population was regarded as made up of *tuatha* may be inferred from the words of "Fiacc's Hymn," "*tuatha adortaís side*," though again the same poem speaks of the Irish as one *tuath*, "*for tuaith Hérenn bai temel*." The former phrase may have reference to a particular worship in each *tuath*, and that each of them venerated special gods is evident from the oath-formula "*tongu na tongat mo thuath*," "*tongu do dia toinges mo thuath*." This formula also shows that the *tuath* was the chief population-group with which the individual felt himself to be associated. Further instances of the use of the term follow here.

100. *Corco Athrach ainm na tuaithi ara fuil Caisil ocus ise seo a fad .i. o Thibraid Foraind ac Mainistir Uachtair Lamand co Duma nDresa don taib bothuaid do Chnoc Grafand ocus do sil Aimirgin meic Miled Espaine di.* Lecan, p. 458. "Corcu Athrach is the name of the *tuath* on which Cashel is, and this is its extent, from Tipra Foraind at Holy Cross Abbey to Duma Dresa on the northern side of Cnoc Grafann, and it is of the race of Amergen son of Míl of Spain."

101. This is an important passage, confirming the tradition that Cashel was a comparatively late seat of the Eoganachta. Not only was the name of the *tuath* previously in possession remembered, but this *tuath* is spoken of as a contemporary people, whose ancestry has to be accounted for. Apparently the territory of this ancient people is still represented by the barony of Middlethird, of which the most northern point is at Holy Cross, and the most southern point near Cnoc Grafann about two miles north of Cahir. All this

territory anciently belonged to the Osseirge or Osraige, since their bounds also extended to Duma Dresa and to Grian = Pallasgreen, co. Limerick, and the story of the Dési settlement represents the Osseirge as having been driven eastward across the river Andobor ("Anner"). The plantation of the Dési may be regarded as a concomitant of the occupation of Cashel by the Eoganachta. The Dési were settled partly in the baronies of Slieve Ardagh and Iffa-and-Offa East, thus forming, as it were, a buffer-state between the Eoganacht of Cashel and the dispossessed Osseirge.

102. Three grades of *tuatha* can be distinguished in early documents: (1) *Soerthuatha*, not subject to tributes; (2) *Fortuatha*, retaining internal autonomy but tributary to an external overking; (3) *Aithechtuatha*, vassal communities paying rent to local chiefs of free race. Genealogically, the *fortuatha* were held to be outside of the kindred of the overking and his people, and therefore subject to them; the *aithechtuatha* were regarded as of unfree race, descended from the pre-Gaelic inhabitants.

103. The genealogical doctrine, however, must be taken as often expressing political status rather than racial origin. For this fact, which otherwise might be inferred from a study of the genealogies, we have the testimony of Gilla in Chomded Hua Cormaic, a twelfth-century poet (LL 144 a 24):—

*Failet se muid sain mebair · cummaiscit craeb ngenelaig
totinsma daerchland ic dul · i-lloc saerchland re slonnud
Torrechi mogad mod mebla · ocus dibad tigerna
serg na saerchland étig uath · la forbairt na n-aithechthuath
Miscribend do gné eolais · do lucht uile in aneolais
nó lucht ind eolais ni ferr · gntit ar miín miscribend.*

Six ways there are of special note that confound the tree of genealogy:

intrusion of base stocks usurping the place of free stocks by name;

migrations of serfs, a way of shame; and decay of lords;

withering of the free races, dreadful horror; with overgrowth of the vassal folks;

miswriting, in the guise of learning, by the unlearned of evil intent,

or the learned themselves, no whit better, who falsify the record for lucre.

104. The three discrepant origins—two importing free descent—assigned to the Partraige exhibit one instance, from many that could be cited, of this process of "confounding the tree of genealogy." By "migrations of serfs" we may understand that, in time of conquest, unfree populations were enlisted among the invading forces and were rewarded with the possession of lands under

[14*]

free tenure, thus themselves rising to free status. In the very ancient and as yet unprinted story of how Conaire Mór became king of Ireland (BB 139 b), a great army comes unexpectedly to Conaire, who leads them to Tara and is chosen king. Thereupon (140 a 1) *gab(h)air gabail lais dia slogaib* "he makes a settlement of lands for his forces." So Eithne, the woman leader of the Déisi, gathers a force of every landless people known to her in Ireland (*nach loinges rofitir Eithne hUathach la Heirind*) for the war of conquest against Ossory, and twenty-five of these peoples obtain a land settlement (*a cuic fichet dib tarthatar raind*) in the conquered territory (Ériu iii., p. 138, 140). The right of migration was denied to vassal peoples by their lords, as is indicated in the story of the migration of the Sons of Úmór.

105. The following passage (Lecan, 450) indicates a people *adscripti glebae*: *Catraidí ata fogal fuirri (= fodal forru) .i. ata fogail ar aroile dib [is] in Sechtmad aroile dib isna Deisib aroile dib i Cnamros ní lecar asuidi[u] sin ac rig Caisil do gres ised bid.* "The Cattraige are subdivided, i.e. some of them are distributed in the Sechtmad, others of them in the Déisi, others of them in Cnamros. They are not allowed [to depart] thence. With the king of Cashel always they remain."

106. The Sechtmad, "the Seventh," was a tributary state of east Munster, possibly better known by some other name. Its precise location has not been determined by O'Donovan in his edition of the Book of Rights or by Dr. Hogan in *Onom. Goed.* In LL 382, col. 6, Arbura is said to be the ancestor of the Sechtmad, and as he is also ancestor of the chief sept of Dál Coirpri, whose chiefs in later times bore the surname Ua Duibidir, "O'Dwyer," we may fairly identify the Sechtmad with O'Dwyer's country, the two baronies of Kilnahanagh, especially since this territory is not otherwise accounted for in the Book of Rights. See Hogan's *State of Ireland, Anno 1598*, p. 208, footnote, where a quotation erroneously speaks of "O'Duire, descended from the O'Briens." Dál Coirpri was one of the "four chief stocks of the Lagen," and its location, like the traditions of the Déisi settlement, bears evidence of the early predominance of the Lagen and Osseirge in the part of Munster now called Co. Tipperary. Cnamros is perhaps identical here with Cnámchoill near Tipperary town. The Cattraige are included among the allies of the Déisi in the war against Ossory.

107. *Atait da chenal deg soc[h]enelac[h] la Gaedealo a se dib a Leith Cuind .i. Dal Cuind Dal Cein Dail nAraide qui et Cruithnig Dal Fiatach qui et Ulaid Dal Riata Dal Nat Corp qui et Laigin A se aile a Leith Moga .i. Dal n[E]ogain Dal Fiachach Dal Fiatach Dal Ceide Dal mBardine Dal Cais., Ate sin saerthuatha Erend.* H. 3. 17, p. 790). "The Irish have twelve kindreds of noble race. Six of them in Conn's Half, viz. Dál Cuinn, Dál Céin,

Dál Araidi who are the Picts, Dál Fiatach who are the Ulaid, Dál Riatai, Dál Nat Corp who are the Lagen. Other six in Mug's Half, viz. Dál Eogain, Dál Fiachach, Dál Fiatach, Dál Céte, Dál Barddeni, Dál Cais. These are the free *tuatha* of Ireland."

108. The foregoing statement is of great antiquity. Apart from the spelling, which has changed in transcription, the few distinctive forms belong to the Old Irish period, and are consistent with even the oldest written usage. Compared with the tenth-century account of the free and tributary states in the Book of Rights, this is evidently much earlier.

109. Dál Céin = Cianachta. It may also possibly include Luigne, Gailing, and Saithne, all claiming descent from Tadg son of Cian. In the Book of Rights, these states are tributary to Dál Cuinn, i.e. to the Ui Neill and Ui Briuin, the superior states of Ailech, Meath, and Connacht. In this respect they are on a level with Umall, Grecraige, Conmaicne, Ciarraige Connacht, Delbna, Dési Breg, Cuircne. In the early annals, Cianachta Breg are evidently a very strong state, often hostile to the kings of Meath and Brega. Cp. AU 534, 776, 816, 849, 850.

110. The inclusion of Dál Nat Corp (Neth Corb, Niath Corb, Niad Corb) in Conn's Half reflects the traditional claim of Dál Cuinn to the Bórama tribute from Leinster. Dál Niad Corb was the ruling race over Leinster during most of the early documentary period. Leth Moga in the passage cited is synonymous with Munster alone.

111. Dál Eogain = Eoganachta. Dál Fiachach was the dynastic people of Dési Muman. I can find no Dál Fiatach in southern Ireland, and take it to be a mistake for Dál Fiachach Éle, also called Coreu Echach (i.e. Féchach) Éle. There is frequent confusion between the genitives *échach*, of Eochu, and [*f*] *échach*, of Fēchu, Fiachu, in genealogies, etc. The conventional writing of silent *f* is not customary before the ninth century. A twofold pedigree of Dál Fiachach Éle = Coreu Echach Éle (Lecan 457) illustrates this confusion:—

Genelach Ele Descirt annso. Duineochaich mac Echach Ele cuius frater Cellach m. Dungaile m. Beicci

<i>m. Cermada</i>	<i>m. Conaill</i>	Nó Conall
<i>m. Bleidíne</i>	<i>m. Nendtacair</i>	<i>meic Airt</i>
<i>m. Enna</i>	<i>m. Aililla</i>	<i>m. Fiacha[ch]</i>
<i>m. Bresail Milairi</i>	<i>m. Echach</i>	<i>m. Neill Naigiallaich</i>
<i>m. [Maic] Cairthinn</i>	<i>m. Feidlimid Rechtmair</i>	

112. The most interesting names in the list of the free *tuatha* of Ireland are Dál Céte and Dál Barddeni. Neither is even mentioned in the Book of Rights. Of the location of Dál Barddeni, we only learn that it was at

Dún Cermna, the Old Head of Kinsale, and there is no indication that this people held any considerable power or territory during the documentary period. Of the habitat of Dál Céte, Dr. Hogan has only been able to find that it was somewhere in Munster, and I am unable to supplement his information. The latest evidence of the contemporary existence of Dál Céte is the name of To Channu mocu Fir Cetea mentioned by St. Adamnan. All this tends to show that the list of twelve free *tuatha* is of great antiquity, probably not later than the eighth century, possibly even earlier.

113. Traditional corroboration of the early celebrity of these two peoples is afforded by the fact that, in the genealogies of the Érainn (the race of Conaire Mór BB 139), which occupy 10½ pages of the Book of Ballymote, the first place is given to the Érainn of Dún Cermna, Dál Barddeni, and Dál Céte. The pedigrees give only three or four generations of the descendants of "Cather by whom Dún Cermna was made." The accompanying legend says:—

En aicme dec do Dail Bairrdene .i. Sil Aengusa meic Echach meic Bairrdene meic Rigbaird ditat Martene iarna ndilgiund do Leith Cuind ar ba lethrann da Dal Cede 7 do Dal Bairrdene co sin ar is .x. catha ro mebaig re nErnaib for Ulltu 7 .xiii. catha fri hUlltu for Ernu. "Dál Bardeni (i.e. the race of Aengus son of Eochu s. o. Bairrdene s. o. Rígbard, from whom are the Martene) consisted of eleven septs after their extermination from (or by) Conn's Half, for until then it was an equal division (sc. of Ireland) between Dál Céte and Dál Barrddeni, for it is ten battles that the Érainn won over the Ulaid, and eight battles that the Ulaid won over the Érainn."

114. "*Dál Araidi qui et Cruithnig. Dál Fiatach qui et Ulaid.*" Cp. BB 170 b 15: "*... na hAirgialla, Dail nAraigi fri suide anair, ainm ele doib Cruthnich. Hulaith fri suide anair. Ind Ulaich seo tra asbertar Dal Fiatach indsin, do cloind Con Rai maic Daire maic Deadaid a Coiced Con Rai la Mumain, is as a mbunad in Dal Fiatach so qui et Ulaith hodie dicuntur. Is dib Aed Ronocus Fiachna.*" "The Airgialla; Dál Araidi to the east of these, another name for them is Cruthnich. The Ulaid to the east of these. These Ulaid, Dál Fiatach they are called, of the posterity of Cú Rúi son of Dáire son of Dedu from Cú Rúi's Fifth in Munster, thence is their origin, this Dál Fiatach qui et Ulaith hodie dicuntur. Of them are Aed Róin and Fiachna."

115. The foregoing passage is from a brief general description of the ruling races of northern Ireland, obviously written by a southern writer. It probably dates from a time not long subsequent to the reigns of Aed Roin and Fiachna his son, who were kings of the Ulaid, and whose pedigree is given under Dál Fiatach. Aed Róin fell in battle with the Uí Néill in 735. With him

was slain Conchad, king of Cuib, i.e. of Ui Echach Cobo, the most prominent sept of Dál Araidi. In *Fragments of Irish Annals*, an. 732, Conchad is called "king of the Cruithni." (AU 734, editor's note.) *Fiachnae mac Aedho Roen, rex Ulad, mortuus est*, AU 788.

116. The following "kings of the Cruithni" in AU are found in the pedigrees of Dál Araidi: Eochaid Iarlaithe †665, Cú Cuaran †707, Cathusach son of Ailill †748. The genealogist in BB (168 col. 1) makes this Cathusach father of Cú Cuaran who preceded him. The father of Cú Cuaran must have been Cathusach son of Mael Dúin and king of the Cruithni †681 (AU).

117. I do not find a genealogy of Dál Fiatach from Cú Rúi or from Dedu, but their descent is traced to Sen, father of Dedu, and thence by the same line as the Érainn, Cú Rúi's people, up to Oengus Tuirnech and the line of Éremon.

118. The passage above quoted from BB is followed by a comment of a contradictory character: *Ite fir-Ulaich immorro .i. Dál nAraide ota Mael Breasail mac Ailella hi Conall Cernach arisesedar oeus im Iriel Glunmair i ngenelaich Dal Araide*. "The true Ulaid, however, are Dál Araidi, of whom comes Mael Bressail son of Ailill. In Conall Cernach they originate, and in Iriel Glúnmar, in the genealogy of Dál Araidi."

119. *Mael Bresail mac Ailello Cobo, rex Dal Araide, moritur*, AU 824. The text of the passage in BB was probably written between the death of Aed Róin, 735, and the death of Fiachna, 789, or not long after the latter event; the comment during or soon after the reign of Mael Bressail. *arisesedar* = **araissetar*. The relative form *ara* of *air*, *ar* seems obsolescent in the Milan glosses (see Thurneysen, *Handbuch*, § 487, 4).

120. The Irish Cruithni of Dál Araidi are called Cruithni for the last time in AU at 773 (= 774). Half a century or so later, the claim is set up for them that they are not only Ulaid, descendants of Conall Cernach, but that they are "the true Ulaid," as if in protest against the belief that they are Picts. This claim was extended to all the leading branches of the Pictish race in Ireland (see § 91). Rather, I think, we can trace the claim as originating with another branch, the Conaille.

121. The chief section of the Conaille, forming the state of Conaille Muirthemne under their native kings, occupied a territory closely associated with the great hero of the Ulaid, "Cú Chulainn Muirthemne." It is not surprising that they sought to connect their own tradition with the epic tradition of the Ulaid. Accordingly we find in the genealogies, BB 152, under a section entitled in the margin, "*De peritia Conaille Murthemne*," two conflicting accounts of their descent. Their eponymous ancestor Conall Anglonnach is first described as a son of Dedu, and from the pedigree of their king Cinaed on

the next page it appears that this Dedu is the son of Sen, i.e. the same from whom the Érainn of Munster, Clanda Dedad, trace their descent. But in the first pedigree appended Conall Anglonnach becomes son of Fiacc son of Russ son of Fachtna son of Senchad of the Ulidian hero-group. At the end of the pedigrees of their kings (153, col. 1), many of whose names can be identified in the annals, comes the statement: *Do chloind Conaill Cernaich araili dib i. in rigraid*, "Of the posterity of Conall Cernach are some of them, i.e. the royal line," in contradiction of the pedigrees that precede. On p. 169 there is a further chapter headed, "*Genelach Conailli Murtheimni*," probably taken from another source. Here the eponymous ancestor is called Conall Casdamail, and he is made out to be seventh in descent from Conall Cernach. Thus, as Gilla in Chomded says, "the tree of genealogy is confounded." Conall Cernach supplied a tempting eponym to the Conaille, a Pictish race, and having been adopted by them was adopted by other Pictish kindreds, Dál Araidi, the Sogain, and the Lóigse of Leinster (BB 164 a 2).

122. Wherever the Ulaid are mentioned in vol. i. of the Annals of Ulster, they are the people of the Dál Fiatach dynasty, quite distinct from Dál Araidi and Conaille, often at war with one or the other. The Ulaid occupied the seaboard of Co. Down. The Picts of Dál Araidi occupied the interior of that county as well as a large part of Co. Antrim.

123. *Ag Conn tra fogailter (= fodailter) clanda Cuinn ocus it fortuatha Sil Cuind cach aen na berar genilvig [read genelach] co Conn eter naem ocus cleirech amail ata Lugaid [read Luigne] ocus Dealbna ocus Gailinde [read Gailing] ocus Cianachta. Ag Cathair didiu fogailter saero[h]landa Laijean ocus it fortuatha eoicid Cathair can [read cach] aen na berar co Cathair amail atait secht Laissi [read Lóigsi] ocus secht Fotharta. Ag Ailill Olom fogailter saero[h]landa Mumhan; can [read cach] aen na berar genelach go Ailill, it fortuatha Sil Bachach Mumo amail atait Éirna [read Érainn] ocus Ciarraige. (H. 3. 17, p. 774.)*

"At Conn the [pedigrees of] Clanda Cuinn are divided, and all [in Leth Cuinn] whose pedigree is not traced to Conn, not excluding even saint and cleric, are *fortuatha* of the race of Conn, for example the Luigne, Delbna, Gailing, and Cianachta. At Cathair [Mór] are divided the free races of Leinster; all who are not traced to Cathair are *fortuatha* of Cathair's Fifth, as are the seven Loigsi and the seven Fothairt. At Ailill Olom are divided the free races of Munster; all whose pedigree is not traced to Ailill are *fortuatha* of the race of Eochu Mumo, as are the Érainn and the Ciarraige."

124. The same statement occurs more briefly in the Book of Lecan, p. 459:—

Ag Cund Cetchathach mac Feidlimid Rechtmair fodailter saerclanna Leithi

Cuind ocus it forthuatha¹ Sil Cuind acht sin nama. Ac Cathair Mor mac Feidlimid Fhir Urglais fodlas saerclanda Laigen uili ocus it forthuatha Laigin acht sin nama beous. Ag Ailill Olum mac Moga Nuadad fodailter saerclanda na Muman ocus it forthuatha¹ acht sin.

125. In the lists of *aichechtuatha*,² by far the larger part of the names are collectives in Dál, etc. The remainder are in various forms, e.g., Tuath Raisen or Ruisen, Tuath Fer More, Tuath mac nUmoir. Two, T. Ua Cathbarr and T. Ua Carra, exhibit the later nomenclature of septs, but even these have variants omitting Ua.

126. Instances occur of the application of the term *tuath* to population-groups with plural names, not in a vague and general way like *tuath Hérenn* = the Irish, *tuath Dé* = God's people, the Israelites, but apparently as a customary and appropriated designation of local groups.

127. Bolgthuath: There are two groups so named. Bolgthuath Badbgna of Sliab Badbgna or Bodbgna ("Slieve Baune," co. Roscommon), and Bolgthuath Echtge of Sliab Echtge ("Sl. Aughty," co. Galway). Cp. Bolgraike, an *aithechtuath* in Tír Conaill. Mac Fir Bhisigh (Genealogies, p. 54) quotes among the branches of the Fir Bolg, besides "Bolgthuath Bagna for airther Connacht" and "Bolgraighe for criochaibh Conaill," "Fir Bolg for Mhagh Nia Benntraighe" and "Fir Bolg ar Mhagh Luirg." As all these names occur in what is evidently a consecutive list of the *aithechtuatha* of Connacht, the Magh Nia in question is the plain also called Mag Tuired Cunga, at Cong, co. Mayo. It is evident that Fir Bolg (= Bolgthuath, Bolgraike) was the name of a known historical population existing in various parts of Connacht and in north-western Ulster. Its location and its vassal status, importing early conquest, as well as the traditions of its existence in Ireland before the Góedil, show clearly that the Fir Bolg must not be equated with the historical Belgae. The name was extended in the Irish history-legend at an early period so as to denote the whole or main population of Ireland before the Góedil.³

128. Cruithentuath: This seems to be a general name for the Picts in Ireland and in Scotland. But it is also used as a special name for the Picts of Dál Araidi, "*Cú Chuaráin ri Ulad 7 Cruithentuaithe*," (Onom. Goed., p. 312; for Cú Cuaráin see § 116), and for Tuath Chruithnech, a Pictish vassal people "round Cruachain," the old capital of the Connachta. There was also a vassal people or rather a scattered population so named "in the country of the Ulaid and in Mag Cobo" and "between Sídán Slébe in Chairn and Loch Febal and between Bernas Tíre Aeda and the Bann" (Onom. Goed. 650), these four places

¹ Read *fortuatha*.

² *Lecan* 350, BB 255, 256, MacFir Bisigh, genealogies (R.I.A. copy) 54, etc.

³ See my account of "An Irish Historical Tract dated A.D. 721," *Proceedings R.I.A.*, vol. xxviii.

being merely the ancient extremities of the large territory of the Airgialla. Tuath Chruithnech is thus assigned to a region equal to modern Ulster except the counties of Donegal, Antrim, and Cavan.

129. Tuath Fer nDomnann or Tuath Domnann, a vassal people throughout Ui Fiachrach and Ui Amalgada in northern Connacht.

130. Tuath Fer Morec or Tuath Morec, a vassal people in Ui Conaill Gabra (in co. Limerick); "*i. fir mora batar immon Luachair nDedad thiar.*" (LL 269 a.)

131. Tuath Fer Ruisen or Tuath Ruisen (Resen, Raisen), in Cera (bar. Carra. co. Mayo) and from Ath Moga (Ballymoe = Bél Átha Moga, on the r. Suck) to the sea. Also Raissin separately, "cath Raissen in Connacht," Onom. Goed. s.v. raisse (*recte* Raissin). Cp. also Sliab Raissen or Rusen = Slieve Rushen,¹ bar. Knockninny, co. Fermanagh. Cp. Coreu Ruisen.

132. Tuath Sen-Érann, a vassal people at Sliab Luachra in west Munster. "*Sen-Erna mor* (read *Sen-Érainn Móir*?) *na Muman ar slicht Heir meic Eibir Find meic Miled Espaine.*" (Lecan 349.)

133. These instances, with Coreu Ulad, Dál Ulad, Coreu Sogain or Suigin, Coreu Ele, mucui Sogini, moeu Sogin, moccu Elich, seem to indicate that the various collective-formulae might be applied to ancient peoples named in the plural formula, perhaps chiefly when these had not subdivided into groups bearing collective names.

134. Tuatha Forc ocus Iboth: "*Na tri Fothaid i. Fothad Airc-teach Fothad Cairp-teach Fothad Canand. Tri maic Fainche ingene Nair maic Irmora d'Aruið Cliach. Berid Fainche eamnu ter (tri?) fermacu. D' Ibdachaib di Ulltaib a mbunad i. da mac Irel Glunmair Forc ocus Iboth. Dos-fagaib Rechtaig Rigderg i nAlbain oro (= coro) muigedar catha remhaib consealgadar cricha mara i nAlbain comdar fasa. Giallsat Fir Alban do Rechtaid Rigderg comba ri Erenn ocus Alban. Is de atait Tuatha Forc ocus Iboth allai do lodar iiii. l. fermacaib for longas tairis anall for gabail ro gabsat Cluchriu ocus ni fortad gabsat crich Maine ocus crich Fiachrach Aidhne gabsat Baisgind a comarbus a seanmathar Uaithne ingean Eachach maic Luchta. Tir ele ota Sinaind siar ocus Derc fo thuaid conadh de anmannair na mban dingarter a cenel ocus a ngenelaiche ar luidh indara nai go Caela Rigderg i. Eli conid de gairter Eli luid araile cu Fergus Foltlebur i. Uaithne conid de gairter Uaithne ocus robadar na ceatraimid² do claind Uaithne i. Uaitnia ocus Druithnia ocus Cainnia ocus Decnia. Tri braithri i. Uaithnia ocus Druithnia ocus Cainnnia. Sunt qui dicunt Macnia i. athair na mac i. na Fothad mac Cairbri maic Cormaic maic*

¹ So named in Phillips' County Atlas. Dr. Hogan gives Rushel and Russel as the anglicized equivalents.

² cethri niaid.

Mesi Suad maic Mesin Fuirc maic Mesin Fuircill maic Cairbri maic Iboth Alii dicunt tri Fot[h]aid .i. tri maic Feidlimthe maic Maic-Niat[h] [maic] Gnathail maic Erc maic Cairbri Niath Fer maic Feidlimthe Foltcaim. Is de ata Lecht Glind Erc is.de ata ro ced no orabi rig-domna bad mo Erc mac Feidlimte .i. i. loc ro baite. Huc usque de Salterio Caisil.

Aliter cland C[h]onaill C[h]ernaich .i. Eogan ocus Oilill ocus Fen Fer Tlachtga Caithnia ocus Druithnia [ocus] Uaithnia .i. Uaithni Thire ocus Uaithni Cliach quod fortasi uerius. (BB 164 b.)

"The Three Fothads, i.e. Fothad the Silvern, Fothad the Chariot-rider, and Fothad Canann, three sons of Fainche daughter of Nár son of (Fer Mora ?) of the Arai of Cliu. Fainche gives birth to three man-children at one birth. Of the Ibdaig of the Ulaid was their origin, i.e. Forc and Iboth were two sons of Irial Glúnmár. Rechtaid Red-arm leaves them in Alba and they won battles and utterly wasted great territories. The Men of Alba submitted to Rechtaid Red-arm, so that he became king of Ériu and Alba. Hence are the Tuatha Forc and Iboth (on the other side ?). They came with four times fifty manchildren on a voyage across from that side to settle on lands. They occupied Cluchri,¹ and they no longer dwell there. They occupied the country of (Ui) Maine and the country of (Ui) Fiachrach Aidne. They occupied (Coreu) Baiscinn in succession from their grandmother Uaithne daughter of Eochu son of Luchta. (They occupied) another territory westward from the Shannon and northward from (Loch) Derg. So that by the names of the women are distinguished their kindreds and their genealogies. For one of them went to Caela Red-arm, to wit Eli, and hence the Eli are named. Another went to Fergus Longhair, to wit Uaithne, and hence the Uaithni are named. And there were four champions (?) of the family of Uaithne, namely Uaithnia, Druithnia, Caínnia, and Decnia. Uaithnia, Druithnia, and Caínnia were three brothers. Sunt qui dicunt Macnia, father of the boys, i.e. of the Fothads, son of Cairbre s.o. Cormac s.o. Mes Suad s. o. Mes Fuirc s. o. Mes Fuircill s. o. Cairbre s. o. Iboth. Alii dicunt, the Three Fothads, three sons of Feidlimid s. o. Macnia s. o. Gnáthal s. o. Erc s. o. Cairbre Nia Fer and Fedelm Foltcoem.² Hence is [named] Lecht Glinn[e] Erc. Of him it was sung (?), 'there was no (?) prince of the royal line greater than Erc, Fedelm's son.' That is, where they were drowned (is the Grave of the Glen of Erc). Huc usque de Psalterio Caisil.

"Aliter the children of Conall Cernach, i. e. Eogan and Ailill and Fen Fer Tlachtga (or Fénfer 'Fian-man' of Tlachtga), (also named)

¹ Otherwise Cluithri, north of Long Cliach = Knocklong (co. Limerick) = Druim Dángaíre, Onom. Goed.

² Called Fedelm Noichruthach in Cath Ruis na Ríg, p. 54.

Cathnia, Druithnia and Uaithnia, i.e. (the ancestors of) Uaithni Thíre and Uaithni of Cliu, quod fortasse uerius (est)."

135. With Tuatha Forc cp. Insi Orc. Tuatha Iboth are doubtless the old traditional inhabitants of the Hebrides, Ebudae Insulae. Ibdag = *Ebudaci.¹ They are said here to be of the Ulaid. Iubdán (= *Ebudagnos) in the "Death of Fergus," Silva Gadelica, is king of an oversea country of dwarfs.

136. Uaithnia, Druithnia, and Cainnia appear to be artificial eponyms of the Uaithni (hence the baronies of "Owney" in Tipperary and Limerick), Dál Druithne in Ui Máine ("west of the Shannon and north of Loch Derg"), and Caenraige (hence "Kenry" barony, co. Limerick). These Irish Ibdag, like the Irish Picts, have Conall Cernach assigned to them as ancestor. Their traditional habitat (Kenry, Owney, Aidni, Ui Maine, Corcu Bascinn) seems to correspond with the position of the Auteni or Auteini (= Uaithni?) in Ptolemy's account.

V. THE TRICHA CÉT = THIRTY HUNDREDS.

137. The term 'tricha sét' in late usage denotes a certain measure of territory. Keating (*Forus Feasa*, ed. Comyn, p. 112) gives the extent of the provinces of Ireland in this measure as follows: Meath proper (an Mhidhe féin), 13; Breagha, 5; Cúigeadh Connacht, including Clare, 30; Cúigeadh Uladh, extending southward to the Boyne, (35 or) 36; Cúigeadh Laighean, 31; Cúigeadh Eochaidh (*sic*), i.e. eastern Munster, 35; Cúigeadh Con Raoi, i.e. western Munster, 35. Total 185.

138. Keating adds (p. 128) that Ulster at one time contained only 33, the other three having been ceded by Leinster in the time of the Pentarchy (aim-sear na gCúigeadhach), i.e. in the Ulidian heroic period. There is evidently a cross-division somewhere; and the total of 185 must be excessive. The Ulster and Leinster fifths meet at the Boyne, so that these provinces must include the five tricha-céts of Brega. Mide, too, i.e. central Ireland exclusive of Brega, is traditionally a province of late origin, and there must be an overlap in its case also.

139. The whole account suggests an ancient (perhaps theoretical) division of Ireland into five provincial kingdoms, each fifth (cóiced, cúigeadh) containing thirty-five tricha-céts.

140. The thirtieth part of a tricha-cét, says Keating, is a baile or baile

¹ For *Ui Dachua*, *Ui Dachaigh*, *Ui Daich*, in Onom. Goed., read *Ibdachu* (?), *Ibdachaibh*, *Ibdaich*. Cp. also *Inis Ibdan* (*Ibdone*, *Sibtdon*, *Sipont*, *Ubdain*), on the Shannon estuary, Onom. Goed. "*Garbraidi do Fearuib Eboth a quo Garbraidi, cona coibnesaib*," Lecan 451.

biataigh. Since *tricha cé* means "thirty hundreds," the *baile* must represent the hundred. This at once suggests the Germanic hundred and the Latin *centuria*, as divisions of the people. The original Roman *populus* contained thirty *curiae*. The principle of organization appears to have been at once genealogical and religious, each *curia* having its own rites presided over by a priest called *curio*. The thirty *curiones* formed a priestly college of the whole state. Traces of a similar unity of the genealogical and religious principles are also indicated in ancient Ireland (see § 56). The female eponyms in Ireland have their analogue too in the Roman *curiae*, some of which were said to have derived their names from the Sabine women who were the mothers of the Roman people.

141. The Roman centuries, forming the *comitia centuriata*, were a civil organization on a military basis. This, we shall see, was also the original character of the Irish *tricha cé*. It denoted not only the civil organization of the people, and the corresponding division of the territory, but also the armed levy of each state.

142. There are many ancient statements bearing on this point which still require to be collected. For the present, one passage in *Táin Bo Cuailngi* will serve as a *locus classicus*. It occurs at the episode in which Medb takes note of the smart discipline and warlike efficiency of one section of her allies, the Gaiians of Leinster. Their superiority to her own troops evokes in her mind only a jealous dismay, and she decides to order a treacherous massacre of the Gaiians. Her Ulster comrade, Fergus, resolutely opposes this design, and threatens to lead the allies against Medb if she persists in it. This argument prevails, and Medb contents herself with separating the Gaiians into small troops and distributing them throughout the army.

143. "'By the truth of my conscience,' said Fergus, 'no man shall do death to them but the man who will do death to me.'

"'Thou, Fergus, must not say that to me,' said Medb, 'for I am strong enough in numbers to slay and overwhelm thee with the thirty-hundred of the Gaiians around thee. For I have the seven Maines with their seven thirty-hundreds, and the Sons of Magu with their thirty hundred, and Ailill with his thirty-hundred, and I too have a like force. There we are, strong enough to slay and overwhelm thee with the thirty-hundred of the Gaiians around thee.'

"'It is not fitting to tell me so,' said Fergus. 'For I have here the seven petty kings of the Munstermen with their seven thirty-hundreds. There are here the thirty hundred of the best fighting men of Ulster. There are here the best of the fighting men of Ireland, the thirty-hundred of the Gaiians. I am their security, their guarantee, and their safeguard from the day they left

their own native territory, and by me they will stand on the day thou challengest.' ”

144. The allied forces under Medb thus consisted of nineteen separately organized bodies, each under a local king and each consisting of thirty hundred men. Thirty hundred, in fact, was the traditional complement of the army of a petty state.

145. The technical name of the whole levy of 3,000 men was *cath*. Where the Annals of Ulster (1222) have the entry: *ro thinolsat Gaill Erenn cethri catha fichet co Delgain, co táinic Aedh O Neill ocus Mac in Uga cethri catha na n-aghaidh*, the D text says: *numerati 24 completa bella, qui faciunt Hibernica numeratione 72 millia armatorum . . . 12 millibus armatorum, numeratione suprascripta*.

146. The Irish *cath* or *tricha cét* has its exact counterpart in the *legio*, originally the whole army or normal military levy of the Roman state. The Roman tradition was that under Romulus, i.e. in the earliest times, Rome had but one legion, and this legion numbered 3,000 men, i.e. 100 men from each of the thirty tribes.

147. The Romans divided their fighting population into two classes, *juniores* and *seniores*. It seems clear that they originally regarded the younger men as forming the normal fighting strength of the population, and the older men as forming a reserve which might be called out to meet an emergency. *Juventus* is an habitual term for the folk of age to serve in arms. Precisely the same usage is found in Irish. In the passage cited above from Táin Bó Cuailngi, the word which I have twice translated “fighting men” is *óic* = (juvenci) *juvenes*, *juniores*, *juventus*, and numerous examples of this usage could easily be collected.

148. As the Romans grew into a great military power, they did not abandon the ancient constitution of their army, but retained and developed it. Instead of expanding their army indefinitely with the growth of their state, they could only think of forming additional bodies on the model of their primitive army of 3,000, and this they continued to do even under the Caesars.

149. In the Spartan army, we can trace the same tradition. The army consisted of six *μόραι*, and the *μόρα* at one period numbered 500 men, giving a total of 3,000 men. Each of the three Dorian tribes of Sparta before Cleomenes contained ten *ώβαι*, making thirty *ώβαι* in all. In Athens, in the age of Theseus, each *φρατρία* contained thirty *γένη*.

150. “The phalanx soldiers in the army of Alexander amounted to 18,000 and were divided . . . into six divisions, each named after a Macedonian province from which it was to derive its recruits.”¹ Each province would thus

¹ Smith's *Smaller Dict. of Antiquities*, p. 163.

correspond to the Irish *tricha cé* and the army of each province to the Irish *cath* of 3,000 men.

151. The century remained the theoretical basis of the Irish military organization until the final overthrow of the Celtic system at the battle of Kinsale, Christmas Eve, 1601. In the proclamation issued in that year by O'Neill, it is ordered that "the constable of the hundred shall have eighty-four men on the strength, allowing an abatement of sixteen men, and this abatement shall be expended as follows: the constable of the hundred shall have the wage of ten men thereof, and the marshal of the territory shall have the pay of five men, and the lord's galloglach shall have the pay of one man."¹

152. The facts here brought together appear to establish that the Irish *tricha cé*, its thirtieth part the *baile*, and the Irish military organization embodied a tradition common to many peoples of ancient Europe, and going back to a time when these peoples formed one community or a group of neighbouring communities. I trust that this superficial examination may lead to a more thorough investigation at competent hands into the earliest traditional form of the civil and military organization among the various branches of the Indo-European race.

153. Keating says that, "according to the ancient record (*do réir an tseanchusa*), the *baile* contained 12 *seisreacha*, and the *seisreach* 120 acres." The word for "acre," *acra*, is not of Irish origin, and must have replaced some older term. Later on, Keating says that "the acre of Irish measure is twice or thrice greater than the acre of the present foreign measure." "The acre of the present foreign measure" probably means the Irish "Plantation acre," which is greater than the statute acre in the ratio 196:121. Ireland is said to contain 20,819,928 statute acres, equivalent to 12,853,114 Plantation acres. According to Keating's statement, the 185 *tricha-cés* should be equal to 7,992,000 acres of (the older) Irish measure. But since his total of 185 is too much by at least 5, probably by more than 5, his total of acres must also be reduced. Moreover, by the statement "twice or thrice greater" we are to suppose, not that Keating was unable or neglected to give a more exact ratio, but that in fact the Irish measure varied according to the nature of the land. The Irish tradition of land-measurement, still by no means obsolete, was based on the quantity of live stock that a given area could support.

¹ "D' fhiachaibh ar an chonsabal céid beith ceathrar is ceithre fichid ar a geosaibh agus d' fholmhughadh sé fir déag, agus is é ceal a dtéid an folmhughadh sin, cuid deichneabhair ag consabal an chéid de, agus cuid cúigir ag marasgal an tíre féin agus cuid fir ag galloglach tighearna." The whole of this interesting document will be found in "An Léightheoir Gaedhealach" (Gaelic League publications), p. 85, printed from the facsimile in Gilbert's National MSS. of Ireland. The Roman *centuria* also in actual service suffered a customary abatement, and contained only sixty men.

Hence no doubt the extent of the tricha cé^t was variable according to the fertility and population of the district.

154. The rise of the great septs, about the commencement of the Christian period in Ireland, must have greatly changed the older political subdivision of the country, sometimes dividing and sometimes combining the more ancient petty states. In some instances the tricha cé^t appears to have survived as a petty state. In others, it is divided between two distinct political organisations. In others as many as ten tricha cé^ts form the kingdom of a single sept. There may well have been instances in which the early territorial state was split into fragments, though there is a visible tendency down to the seventeenth century, when the baronies of the English regime were marked out, to adhere to remotely ancient territorial delimitations. The following passage (Lecan, 460), describing the territories possessed by Dál Cuinn, is instructive:—

155. *Cland Chuind andso fo Erind .i. Fir Breg ocus Fir Midi ocus Fir Thulach ocus Corco Roeada a n-ingnais a buil do deoradaib acu. Is iadso iadside .i. Luigne-ocus Gailenga ocus na Saidne ocus Hui Aeda Odba ocus na seacht nDealbna ocus leth-tricha cé^t Cuircne ocus leth-tricha chet Teallaig Modaran ocus tricha chet Fear mBile. Cland Chuind .i. fiche baili na Coleman ocus tricha chid¹ Fini Gall ocus Airgialla² imorro seacht tricha chet dec indt³ ocus deich tricha Ceniuil Eogain ocus deich tricha Ceniuil Conaill ocus leith-tricha Ceniuil nEnda ocus leith-tricha Ceniuil nAengusa ocus leith-tricha Fer Tulach ocus deich trichaid cé^t Breifni ocus deich tricha Hua Maine acht tri tuatha nama .i. Sodain ocus Dal nDruithne ocus Muinte^r Mail Findain. Sil Muireadaig Muilleathain ocus Sil Briain meic Each[ach] Muigmedoin in each du itait ocus in da Chairpri .i. Cairpri Mor Droma Cliab la cloind Fiachrach meic Echach Muigmedoin ocus Cairpri O Ciarda la Fiu^r Midi. Sil Dathi o clad Chonachla co Codnaich Cloindi Puint. Muinte^r Murchada cona coibnesaib ocus Cland Coseraig. Fir Umaill cona ngablanaib.*

156. *Sil Fiachach Sui[g]di meic Feidlimid Rechtmair .i. Corcortri la Corand i Condachtaib dia mbai Diarmaid Hua Duibne ocus Hui Chuind cona fineadaib .i. uirrig Corcorthri cor dichuirsed cland Taide meic Cein meic Aililla Ulaim a Mumin ocus is do Corcortri Hui Dobailean seus Hui Duindchaichig ocus Hui Ailella dia roibi Mac Liag .i. in fili. Na Deisi imorro do cloind Fiachach Sui[g]di .i. deich tricha cet intib cona fochenelaib i n-egmais Semaine .i. leith-tricha cet ita ar slicht Semaine meic Cechaing meic Celtair nó Semaine meic Cealte[h]air meic Uitheochair dia ndeachaid ar cend Cealtchair diaid marbtha*

¹ Read *ché^t*. The writing, which had become dim, has been inked in at this place by a later hand.

² Here ends a page. The leaves have been misplaced in binding, and the continuation is found at 349 a 1. The particulars of Clann Chuind in Onom. Goed. are to be amended accordingly.

³ Read *intib*.

*Blai Brugaid do Ccaltchair tre et na dun ocus na Deisi Breg cen airem andsin. Fir Bili ocus Fir Asail is do cloind Fiacha[*ch*] Suí[*g*]li atat.*

157. *Fotharta dochodur co Laigniu do chloind Echach Find Fuath nAirt meic Feidlimid Rechtmar .i. na xiii. Fotharta in each baili itait.*

158. "The following are Conn's race throughout Ireland: Fir Breg and Fir Midi (the men of Brega and Meath), and Fir Thulach and Coreu Roide, apart from what they have of immigrants. The latter are these: Luigni and Gailing and the Saithni and Ui Aeda of Odba and the seven Delbnai and the half tricha cé^t of Cuircene and the half tricha cé^t of Tellach Modaran and the tricha cé^t of Fir Bili.¹ The race of Conn, [to resume]: the twenty townlands (hundreds) of the Colamain, and the tricha cé^t of Fine Gall, and the Airgialla moreover, containing seventeen tricha cé^ts, and the ten tricha cé^ts of Cenél nEogain, and the ten tricha cé^ts of Cenél Conaill, and the half tricha cé^t of Cenél nÉndai, and the half tricha cé^t of Cenél nAengusa, and the half tricha cé^t of Fir Tulach,² and the ten tricha cé^ts of Breifne, and the ten tricha cé^ts of Ui Maini, except three tuatha, namely Sogain and Dál Druithne and Muintir Mail Findáin. The race of Muiredach Muillethan and the race of Brian son of Eochu Muigmedóin wheresoever they are, and the Cairbres, namely Cairbre Mór of Druim Cliab belonging to the Ui Fiachrach maic Echach Muigmedóin and Cairbre Ua Ciarda belonging to the Men of Meath. The race of Dathi³ from Clad Conachla to Codnach of Cland Puint. Muintir Murchada with their kinsfolk, and Cland Choscraig. The Men of Umall with their branches.

159. "The race of Fiachu Suigde son of Feidlimid Rechtmar, namely: Corcu Fir Tri at Corann in Connacht, of whom was Diarmaid Ua Duibne, and the Ui Chuinn with their families, [formerly] petty kings of Corcu Fir Tri until the race of Tadg son of Cian son of Ailill Aulom from Munster dispossessed [them]; and of Corcu Fir Tri are the Ui Dobailén and Ui Duinnchaichig and Ui Ailella, of whom was Mac Liag the poet. The Dési, moreover, are of the race of Fiachu Suigde; they, with their under-septs, contain ten tricha cé^ts, not reckoning the Semaine, i.e., a half tricha cé^t who are descended from Semuine son of Cechang son of Celtar or from Semaine son of Celtchar son of Uithechar^a when the consequence of slaying Blai Brugaid through jealousy in his fort went against Celtchar; and the Dési of Brega are not reckoned therein i.e. in the ten tricha cé^ts). Fir Bili and Fir Asail are of the race of Fiachu Suigde.

¹ This tricha cé^t appears to be the modern barony of Farbill in Westmeath (35,447 statute acres).

² Fartullagh barony in Westmeath contains 37,552 statute acres.

³ A genealogical fiction, since their traditional eponym was Nia Semon, see under *moccu Neth Semon*.

160. "The Fothairt who went to Leinster are of the race of Eochu Find Fuath nAirt, i.e. the seven Fothairt in every place where they are."¹

161. Compared with the account in Keating, the foregoing contemplates a much smaller extent of the tricha cé. Cenél Conaill, Cenél nEogain, and Airgialla comprise 37 tricha céts. These occupy much less than the modern Ulster, as they do not comprise the counties of Antrim, Down, and Cavan. The ancient Ulster of Keating's account, somewhat larger than the modern province, contains only thirty-six tricha céts.

162. We can assign a period to the Lecan statement. It is earlier than the Norman occupation of Meath at the close of the twelfth century, and later than the death of Mac Liag in 1016. It is likely that the tricha cé varied according to the population at different periods, and that Keating's account is referable to a time when the country was less populous than in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

163. Two modern baronies retain the name tricha, Trough (an Triúcha, Tricha Cét Cladaig), 37,377 statute acres, in co. Monaghan, and Trughanacmy (T. an Aicme), 195,282 statute acres, in Kerry.

164. Other instances from Onom. Goed. are:—

Tricha Baguine = baronies Boylagh and Banagh, co. Donegal.

„ Cairbri = bar. Carbury, co. Sligo.

Tricha cé Cera, apparently somewhat larger than bar. Carra, co. Mayo.

„ „ Cianachta = ancient kingdom of Cianacht Breg.

„ „ Cualnge, perhaps = kingdom of Conaille.

„ „ Énna mic Neill = tricha Énna = two bars. of Raphoe, co. Donegal.

„ „ Fer nArda = bars. of Corcomroe and Burren, co. Clare = ancient kingdom of Coreu Mu Druad.

„ „ Mugdorn, perhaps = bar. Cremorne (Crích M.), co. Monaghan.

„ „ na nOilén = bar. Islands, co. Clare.

„ „ na Soillse = bar. Lecale, co. Down.

Tricha Eogain = two bars. Inishowen, co. Donegal.

„ Luigdech = bar. Kilmacrenan, co. Donegal.

„ Medónach = bar. Barryroe, or part thereof, co. Cork.

165. O'Donovan's Suppl. to O'Reilly's Dict. has: "*Rig: 'rí rig,' rex regulorum*, a chief whose authority was recognized by seven petty chieftains.

¹ This is a frequent phrase with reference to peoples scattered apart in various territories.

H. 3. 18, p. 14." *Rí rig* here seems to be an etymological gloss on *ruiri* = *ro* + *rí*. For "chief" and "chieftains," read "king" and "kings."

166. The tradition that suzerainty over seven petty kings conferred a special grade is elsewhere exemplified. Cp. §143, above, where, besides the sons of Magu who were chiefs of the vassal Fir Domnann, the seven Máines of Connacht are subject to Medb, and in Munster also there are seven *wirrig*. The earlier and lesser Munster of the Érainn is here implied. In the defeat of the Irish Picts by Uí Néill at Móin Daire Lothair (an. 562 AU), when the Picts lost their territory west of the Bann, their king Aed Brecc is spoken of as leading seven other Pictish kings. In the Book of Rights, Ireland is divided into seven chief kingdoms, whose kings have no suzerain except the king of Ireland. This division seems to represent an ideal rather than an actuality, for as far as one can judge from other evidences, the kings of Osraige, Tuadmuma, Breifne, and Cenél Conaill, perhaps also the kings of Iarmuma (Eoganacht Locha Léin) and Brega, were quite as independent as the seven chief kings in the Book of Rights. In O'Maelconaire's Munster Annals (R. I. A. copy), the kings of Cashel are usually called kings of Cashel and Desmond, indicating that they were not suzerains of west and north Munster. From an early period in the ninth century the Airgialla seem to have admitted the suzerainty of Cenél nEogain: *Airgialla .i. daergialla .i. Cenél nEogain rocuirsead fo dairchis iad o cath Leithe Caim amach* (BB 249 b 15, H. 3. 18, page 580, and see AU 826). Hence perhaps the absence of any statement of tributes due to the king of Airgialla in the Book of Rights. Flann Mainistrech, in his poem quoted by me (R. I. A. Proceedings, xxvii, C. 6, p. 138), names seven chief kings in his time. Six of these accord with the Book of Rights. For the seventh he omits Airgialla and substitutes Brega. Cuán O Lothcháin, referring to the alleged contents of the "Psalter of Tara," says that it tells of "seven chief kings of Ireland," who are "the five kings of the Fifths, the king of Ireland and her high king (subking)" BB 351 b 3 (*orrig* is a marginal amendment of *airdri*). Perhaps the peculiar designation, in *Sechtmad*, 'the Seventh,' applied to one of the petty kingdoms of Munster, had its origin in this way (see § 106).

INDEX.

The numbers refer to the sections. Footnotes are indicated by “*n*.”

- Absdanaig 27 *a*
 acht 41
 Aicher, *genitive sing.* 57
 Aidni 23
 Airbrige 38
 Airgialla 27, 28, 62, 64, 68, 69, 114, 128, 155
 Airmuma 44 *n*
 aithechtuatha 10, 26, 51, 85, 102, 103, 125, 127
 Altraige 44 *n*, 46 *n*
 Amanchaire 38 *n*
 *Arai, Araid 8, 28, 38 *n*, 83, 87
 Artr(a)ige 46, 48, 87, 94
Atecotti 3
Auteni 136
 aui, avi *in sept-names* 52
 avi *in oghams* 55, 56
 Avi Axeras 57
- baile (biataig) 140
 Benntraige 127
Bibraete 41, 50
 Bibraige 37, 40, 50
 Blairige 46
 bodagas 25
 Bolgraige 51, 127
 Bolgthuath 51, 127
 Boonrige 40, 46
 Breccraige 44
 Breifne 155
Brittani 10
- Caenraige 136
 Cailtrige 44
 Cairbrige 27 *a*
 Cairige 46
 Cánachta 41
 Caraige 46
Cashel, early history, 44 *n*, 101
 Cath==3000 men 145
 Cathraige 10
- Cattraige 46, 105
 Celrige 46
 cenél *in sept-names* 71 etc.
 Cerdraige 51
 Cerrige = Ciarraige 44
 Cianacht 40, 41, 46 *n*, 88, 109, 123
 Ciarraige 22, 27 *a*, 44 *n*, 46, 48, 83, 84, 94, 123
civitates in Gaul 86
 cland *in sept-names* 77 etc.
 Clanda Dedad 12
 Colamain 155
 Conaille 44 *n*, 91, 120, 121
 Conchubuirne 40, 46 *n*
 Conmaicne 84
 Connachta 4, 40, 41
 *Coraind 9
 Corbetrige 51
 Corbraige 40, 51
 Corcaib 84
 coreu 29, 33
Coreu (alphabetic list) 35
- Andsae 46
 Athrach 100
 Auloim 40
 Bairdni 40
 Baiscinn 40, 83, 92
 Bibuir 37, 40, 50
 Birn 40, 46 *n*
 Cede 40
 Chéin 40
 Condluain 40
 Cormaic Lagen 40
 Cuirn(d) 9, 40
 Culla 46
 Dálann 40, 46 *n*
 Druithne 40
 Duib 40, 46, 94
 Duibne 40, 44 *n*, 46, 48, 83, 92
 Dula 40
 Echach 40

- Coreu Echach Ele 111
 Ele 133
 Fásaig 47
 Fiachach 40
 Fir Tri 46, 156
 Inomain 94
 Loegde 40, 44 *n*, 46, 83
 Luachra 40, 47
 Luigdech 46
 Luigne 40
 Maige Locha 47
 Maigen 40
 Mogu 40
 Mu Druad (Coreumruad) 40, 83
 Nechtae 40, 46, 48
 Oche 40, 46 *n*, 48
 Oirethe(n) 46 *n*
 Riada 40
 Rinn 46
 Roide 46, 155
 Ruisen 40
 Sai 40
 Sogain (Suigin) 20. 43 133
 Themne 40
 Temrach 47
 Thenead
 Tethba 47
 hUiniche 44 *n*
 Ulad 40, 133
 corio 38 *n*
 Coriondi 9
 *Corrind 9
 Creccraige 46
 Crothraige 44
 Cruithenchlár 10
 Cruithentuath 10, 128
 Cruithni 10, 28, 91, 107, 114, 115, 116, 120,
 121, 122, 128
 Cuallachta 41
 Cugennachte 41
 Cuirene 40, 155
 cuire 38 *n*
 Cuirenrige 9, 40, 46 *n*
 Cuirrige 46

 Daimine 46
 Dáirine 40, 44 *n*, 83
 dál 29, 32
 Dál (*alphabetical list*) 34
 Aengusa Musca 40
- Dál Áraidi 46 *n*, 91, 107, 114, 115, 116, 118,
 119, 120, 122
 Auluim 40
 Baiscinn 40
 Bardeni 40, 46 *n*, 107, 112, 113
 Birn(d) 40, 46 *n*
 Buachalla 46
 Buain 40, 46
 Cais 46 *n*, 83, 107
 Céin 40, 107, 109
 Cête 40, 46, 49, 107, 112, 113
 Coirpri 44 *n* (*bis*), 87, 106
 Conchubuir 40, 46 *n*
 Condad 46
 Conluain 40
 Cormaic 40, 46 *n*, 87
 Cualni 46
 Cuinn 40, 46 *n*, 64, 70, 107, 155
 Cuirb 40
 Cuire 40
 Dálann (Dalláin) 40, 46 *n*
 Duibne 40
 Druithne 40
 Echach 40, 46 *n*
 Eogain 40, 107, 111
 Fiachach 24, 25, 26, 40, 83, 107, 111, 156
 Fiachach Éile 111
 Fiatach 46 *n*, 107, 111, 114, 115, 117, 122
 Imde 46
 Luigni 40, 44 *n*
 Macorp 44 *n*
 Maigen, Maigin 40, 46
 Maigne, Maigni 40, 46
 Maignenn, 44 *n*
 Maignae 40
 Me Druad 40
 Messe Corb 87
 Mocoirp 44 *n*
 Mo Dala 44
 Mo Dula 40
 Moga 40
 Musca 40
 Nat (= Niad) Corp 107, 110
 Niacorp? 44 *n*
 Niad (Niath) Corb 47, 58, 70, 76, 87
 Réti, Riata(i), Riada 32, 40, 46, 92, 107
 Runtir 46
 Sailni 46 *n*
 Ulad 40, 133
 Darini 19

- Dartraige 46
 Deda 12, 22
 déis, déisi[u]s, 24, 25, 26
 Delbna, 84, 88, 123, 155
 Descert Cliach 87
 Dési 24, 25, 26, 44 *n*, 83, 101, 104, 105, 106, 156
divine ancestry 31
 Dubrige 40, 46, 94
 Eboth 135 *n*
Ebudæ Insulæ 135
 Eiginrige 46
 Éli 11, 46, 83, 111, 134
 Emenchairi 38 *n*
 Eoganacht 40, 44, 44 *n*, 60, 70, 75, 76, 101, 111
 Chaisil 61, 83
 Glennamnach 83
 Locha Léin 83
 Raithlenn 83
eponyms, animal 50
 feminine 31, 48, 49, 54, 55, 56
 from occupations 51
 spurious 48
 Érainn 4, 5, 12, 28, 46, 92, 113, 117, 123
 Ériu 12
 Érna = Érainn
 Esruchtæ 41

feminine eponyms 31, 48, 49, 54, 55, 56
 Féni 13
 Fine Gall 155
 Fir Asail 156
 Bili 155, 156
 Bolg 51 *n*, 127
 Breg 155
 Domnann 129
 Morcc 130
 Ruisen 131
 Taiden 51
 Tulach 155
 Umail 155
 "Five Fifths of Ireland" 97
 fortuatha 102, 123, 124
 Fothairt 14, 28, 43, 46 *n*, 123, 157
fourfold division of peoples 87, 88
free states 82, 83, 84

 Gabraige 37
 Gáilin(n)e 46 *n*
Galati, subdivisions of 87

 Galing 5, 15, 28, 88, 123, 155
 Galiáin, Galeóin 4, 16, 93, 96
 Garbraige 46 *n*
Gaul, states of 86, *pagi, vici*
Gaulish immigration 44 *n*
Genealogical uncertainty 64
Genealogies, spurious 95, 103
 Greccraige 46, 84

Hiberni, Hibernia 12

 Iar, Iair, Iari 12, 44 *n*, 46
 Iarna 12
 Ibdaig 134, 135
 Ibh Laoghaire 53
Ierni, Iernis, Iernos 12
-inion 39
interchange of collective names 40
Iuerna 12
**Iveri, Iveriu* 12
Iverni 12
Iwerddon 12

 Korku Reti 46

 Lagin 4, 6, 17, 44 *n*, 87, 107, 123, 124
 Des Gabra 97
 Tuath Gabuir 96, 97
 Lámráige 46, 48
land measure, ancient Irish 153
legion = cath 146
Leth Cuinn included Leinster 110
Leth Moga = Munster 110
 Lóigis 29, 46 *n*, 48, 91, 121, 123
 loinges 26
Lombardi 46 *n*
 Luachair Fellubair 22
 Luaigni 23, 44 *n*
Luceni 3
 Luguirne 46
 Luigne 23, 44 *n*, 84, 123, 155
Lune, barony of 44 *n*

Macedonia, Irish analogy with 150
 Maic Umoir 125
 Manaig 18
Manapii 18
 Maugdoirn = Mugdoirn
 Mauginrige 40

- Menraige 46
 Moccu 30, 42, 43, 45
 Moccu (*alphabetical list*) 46
 Ciara 48
 Duibne 48
 Ech(d)ach 43
 Elich, 143, 133
 Fir Cetea 49
 Fir Roide 49
 Iair 12
 Laimé 48
 Nechte 48
 Neth Semon 51
 Ochae 48
 Sogin 20, 133
 Mochtaine, Mochthuinde, 46 *n*
 Monaig 18
 mucoi 30, 42
 (*alphabetical list*) 44
 Dovinnias 48
 Qerai 48
 Sogini 20, 133
 Mugdoirn 5, 19, 28, 94, 95
 muintir in *sept names* 77 etc.
Munster, ancient extent of, 44 *n*
 Muscraige 40, 83

 -ne 29, (*alphabetical list*) 39
 Nechtarge, Nechttraige 37, 40, 46, 48
 Nia Segamon 44 *n*
 No(i)srige 46

 Ochaine 40
 Od(or)rige 37, 44 *n*
Oghams, eponyms in, 3
 Orbraige 40, 83
Orosius 3
 Osseirge, Osraige 37, 44 *n*, 46 *n*, 97, 101, 104
Ouolountioi 21
Ousdiai 37
pagi in Gaul 86
 Papraige 94, 95
 Partraige 88, 95
Picts = Cruithni
Pretano 10
Ptolemy 1, 2
**Qretino-, *Qreteno-*, 10

R- stems 57
 Raissin, Resin, Ruisin 131

 -rige 29, 36, 37, 38
 (*alphabetical list*) 38
 rigion 37, 89
 Ro(i)thrige 44 *n*
Roman and Irish state and army originally similar 140 etc.

 Saírige 40
 Saithne, Saidne 40, 155
 Saithrige 40
 Sciathrige 51
Scotti 3
 Sechtmad 83, 105, 106
Segomo 44 *n*
Segorigienses, vicani, 89
 Sem(m)uine, Sem(on)rige 40, 46 *n*, 51, 156
 Sen-chonnachta 95
 Sen-Érainn 132
seven kings under a chief king 165, 166
 sil 33
 in *sept names* 77 etc.
 Cuinn 123, 124
 mBirn 46 *n*
 slicht in *sept-names* 77 etc.
 soerthuatha 102, 107, 123, 124
 Sogain 20, 43, 44, 46, 91, 121, 155
 Sograige 20
 Sortraige 94
Sparta, Irish analogy with, 149
 Suobraige 94
surnames as titles 53
 in ua 53

 teglach in *sept-names* 77 etc.
 tellach in *sept-names* 77 etc.
 Temenrige 40, 46
tetrarchies in Galatia 87
 Toecraige 87
 torche, toirge 26
 Tratraige 46 *n*, 87
tributary states 82, 83, 84
 tricha cé 137 etc.
 tuath, *grades of* 102
 extent of 98, etc.
 meanings of 81, etc.
 special gods of 99
 Tuath Aithechda 93, 96
 Cathbarr 51, 85
 Chruithnech 128
 Domnann 129

Tuath Egdha (=Fidga) 96	Tuath Ua Cathbarr 85
Fer nDomnann 129	Tuatha Forc 134, 135
Fer More 125, 130	Iboth 134, 135
Fer Ruisen 131	Taiden 51
Fidga 93, 96	
Mac nUmoir 125	Uaithni 23, 83; 134, 136
Mochtaine, Mochthuinde 46 <i>n</i>	ui in <i>sept-names</i> , 52 <i>etc.</i> , <i>period of</i> 59, 61
Morec 125, 130	Ulaid 4, 21, 107, 113, 114, 115, 118, 120, 121,
Ochmain(e) 93, 96	122
Raisen, Resen, Ruisen 40, 125, 131	Umall 84
Semon 40, 51	
Sen-Érann 132	<i>Vellabovi, Velabri</i> 22
Ua Carra 85	<i>vicus, the Gaulish</i> 89