



## Gilla Cóemáin's Annálad anall uile 'All the annals heretofore . . .'

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Gilla Cóemáin's *Annálad anall uile*  
 'All the annals heretofore ...'

Peadar Mac Gabhann

*The following extract presents the opening and closing quatrains of the poem, based on my edition and translation in Smith 2007: 188–203 for which I hold the copyright; the full poem may be found there, along with detailed notes on the chronological calculations and correlations.*

*Dates added on the right-hand side: AM = Anno mundi, year of the world since Creation; AAb = Anno Abraham, year since Abraham; all other dates are CE.*

*Text: Opening and closing sequences of the poem*

Gilla Cóemáin cecinit:

1. Annálad anall uile  
ó thús betha barrbuide  
aisnéidfet-sa sunnda sain  
cosin n-aimsir ndédenaig.
2. Sé bliadna coícat, gním nglan,  
míle ar sé cétaib bliadan  
rímim, ar is rús cen ail,  
co Dílind ó Thús Domain.
3. Dá cét a dó nóchat nár  
ó Dílind co hAbrahám;  
ó Abrám nóí cét, ní scíth,  
cethracha a dó co Dauíd.
4. Ó Dauíd co Brait, ní bréc,  
sechtó a trí cethri chét;  
ó Brait co Críst, caín a blá,  
a nóí cóic cét ochtmoga.
5. Trí míle bliadan, ní bréc,  
dá bliadain coícat nóí cét  
co gein Meic Maire tall tair  
anall ó Thosach Domain.
6. A dó sechtmogat, séol nglan,  
acht is ar míle bliadan  
ó Gein Críst co bliadain mbáin  
sechtmaide uate Enáir.
7. A cethair fichet, fír dam,  
ocus cóic míle bliadan  
cosin mblíadain-se, is blad brass,  
ór delbad domun drechmas.
8. Dá cét mblíadan cosin mbúaid  
co Mesc Túir nóithig Nebrúaid  
ó Dílind acht deich mblíadna  
is derb duit cíá nos riagla.
9. A dó sescat, sáer in bríg,  
ó Mesc in Túir co flaith Nín;  
dá bliadain fichet ó shain  
co Abraám cosin n-athair.

## Translation

Gilla Cóemáin chanted:

All the annals heretofore  
from the beginning of the yellow-topped world  
I will relate herein  
until the most recent times.

Fifty-six years – a pure deed –  
one thousand and six hundred years,  
I compute – for it is a great knowledge without blemish –  
until the Flood from the Beginning of the World. **AM 1656**

Two hundred and two and noble ninety  
from the Flood till Abraham; **AM 1948**  
from Abraham nine hundred – it is no repose –  
[and] forty-two till David. **AM2890**

From David until the Captivity – it is no falsehood –  
four hundred and seventy-three; **AM 3363**  
from the Captivity until Christ – fair his cry –  
five hundred and eighty-nine. **AM 3952**

Three thousand years – it is no falsehood –  
fifty-two years [and] nine hundred  
until the Birth of the Son of Mary yonder in the East,  
since the Beginning of the World. **AM 3952**

Seventy-two years – a pure course –  
save that it is in addition to a thousand years  
from the Birth of Christ until this year [inclusively]  
on feria seven of January. **AD 1072**

Twenty-four – it is true for me – **AM 5024**  
and five thousand years  
until this year – it is a vigorous fame –  
since the beautiful-surfaced world was moulded.

Two hundred years until the victory,  
to the Confusion of Nimrod's famed Tower **AM 1466**  
from the Flood, save ten years, **AM 1656**  
it will be certain for you, even if you check them.

Sixty-two – noble the virtue –  
from the Confusion of the Tower until Ninus' reign;  
twenty-two years from then **AM 1528**  
until Abraham, until the father. **AM 1550**

10. Sesca blíadan cen nach mbrón  
ó Abrám co Partholón;  
día ragaib in n-inis find  
trí chét blíadan iar nDílind.
11. Ó gein Abrám, éol dam sain,  
co tarmthecht Mara Romair  
cóic bliadna cóic cét co cert  
día ro báded slúag Égept.
12. 'sind amsir-sin, rádit raind,  
ro toglad tíar Tor Conaind,  
ocus luid Srú sair for fecht  
dochum na Scithía a hÉgept.
13. Medón flatha Ascathías sain  
tarmthecht Mara rúaid Romair  
dá cét bliadain dara éis  
dered flatha Lampadéis.<sup>1</sup>
14. Hi flaith Lampadéis, léir blad,  
ruc Uesogés in slúagad  
ocus tánic slúag as lía  
'na degaid asin Scithía.
15. Isind amsir-sin ane  
tosach neirt na Cíchloscthe;  
'sind amsir-sin, cid ord bind,  
trebsat Fir Bolgg i nHérind.
16. Ochtmoga blíadan día és  
ba rí in talman Tutanés;  
is 'na ré ro gabsat tair  
Gáedil isna Gáethlaigib.
17. 'sind amsir-sin, cí at-ber,  
ro gníd Cath Maige Tured;  
'sind amsir-sin, cen goí ngá,  
ro toglad Troí Troíanna.
18. Thenías ba hé ainm ind rí  
boí i comaimsir do Dau-íd;  
is and luid i n-úir in rí  
i n-aimsir dúir Darcelli.
19. Darcellus ba flaith na fond  
dar thriall Solom a thempoll;  
i mmedón flatha ind fhir fhind  
táncatar Gáedil Hérind.

- Sixty years without any sorrow  
from Abraham until Partholón;  
when he took the fair island  
[it was] three hundred years after the Flood. **AM 1610**  
**AM 1956**
- From the birth of Abraham – that is known to me –  
until the crossing of the Red Sea  
five years [and] five hundred exactly  
[from] when the army of Egypt was drowned. **AAbr 505**
- In that time – quatrains say –  
the Tower of Conann was sacked in the West,  
and Srú went eastwards on an expedition  
to Scythia from Egypt.
- That [was] the middle of the reign of Ascatades,  
the crossing of the blood-stained Red Sea;  
two hundred years after it  
[was] the end of Lamparés' reign. **AAbr 498–537**  
**AAbr 505**
- In Lamparés' reign – clear the renown –  
Vesoze carried out the hosting  
and an army which was more numerous came  
after him out of Scythia. **AAbr 690–719**
- In that period, then,  
the beginning of the Amazons' domination;  
in that time – though it be a melodious sequence –  
the Fir Bolg dwelt in Ireland. **c. AAbr 810**
- Eighty years after it  
Tautanes was king of the world;  
it is in his era that  
the Goídil settled in the Maeotic Marshes in the East. **AAbr 811–842**
- [It is] in that period then – though I may say it –  
[that] the battle of Mag Tuired was fought;  
[it is] in that period – without false deception –  
[that] Trojan Troy was sacked. **AAbr 835**
- Thineus was the name of the king  
who was contemporaneous with David;  
it is then that the king went into the soil,  
in the austere time of Dercylus. **AAbr 883–912**  
**AAbr 941–980**  
**AAbr 913–952**
- Dercylus was lord of the territories  
when Solomon strove [to build] his temple;  
[it was] in the middle of the fair man's reign  
that the Goídil reached Ireland. **AAbr 913–952**  
**AAbr 984**  
**AAbr 981–1020**

20. Astiagés abb cen fhell  
dar airged Ierusalem;  
tiughflaith Med, maith ra molad,  
i comfhlaithis Nabcodon.
21. Darcellus, Solom na sleg  
comaimser is Mic Míled;  
cóic cét acht fiche d'ía n-és  
Nabcodon Astiagés.
22. Sírna rí Temra na tor  
i comfhlaithis Nabcodon;  
and-sin fechta, fáth ngaile,  
cath Móna truim Trógaide.
23. Trícha trí chét ó shain 'lle  
co tús flatha Úgaine;  
deired flatha Pers, blad nglicc,  
tossach flatha meic Pilip.
24. Sesca trí chét mblíadan mbil  
ó fhlaith aird Alaxandair  
cor génair Mac maith Maire  
ocus ó fhlaith Úgaine.

*Quatrains 25–33 continue aligning the pre-Christian history of Ireland with events from world history until the death of Christ; quatrains 34–58 move forward through Irish history from the arrival of Saint Patrick until the time of composition around the year 1072. Only the concluding quatrains are printed here; for the full edition and translation see Smith 2007.*

53. Cethri blíadna ó shen i-lle  
cor chuireadh cath na Craíbe  
ó chath na Craíbe 's a deich  
co bás Bríain meic Cennétich.
54. Noí mblíadna iar mbás Bríain  
éc meic Domnaill' na dáid;  
a dó cethrachat, céim nglan,  
ó shain bás Dondchaid Muman.
55. Dá blíadain, ní bréc, i ngliaid  
ó éc Dondchada meic Bríain,  
cath Saxan, séol co nglaine,  
i torchair rí Lochlainne.



Astyages [was] lord without treachery when Jerusalem was plundered; the last lord of the Medes – well was he praised – [was] in contemporary sovereignty with Nabuchodonosor.	<b>AAbr 1419–1456</b> <b>AAbr 1426</b> <b>d. AAbr 1445</b>
Dercylus [and] Solomon of the lances [were] the contemporaries of the Sons of Míl; five hundred years save twenty after them [were] Nabuchodonosor [and] Astyages.	<b>AAbr 981-1020</b> <b>AAbr 1419–1456</b>
Sírna, the king of Tara of the Towers, [was] in contemporary sovereignty with Nabuchodonosor; [it is] then [that] was fought – a cause of valour – the battle of grievous Móin Trógaide.	<b>d. AAbr 1445</b>
Three hundred and thirty [years] thenceforth until the beginning of the reign of Úgainé; the end of the sovereignty of the Persians, shrewd renown, [and] the beginning of the reign of Philip's son.	<b>AAbr 1681</b>
Three hundred and sixty fortunate years from the distinguished reign of Alexander until the goodly Son of Mary was born and from [the time of] the reign of Úgainé.	<b>AM 1681–1692</b>
Four years thenceforth until the battle of the Cráeb was engaged	<b>1004</b>
from the battle of the Cráeb and ten until the death of Brían son of Cennétech.	<b>1014</b>
Nine years after the death of Brían the death of the son of Domnall after it;	<b>1022</b>
forty-two – a pure step – thence until the death of Donnchad of Munster.	<b>1064</b>
Two years – it is no falsehood – in battle from the death of Donnchad son of Brían the battle of the Saxons – a pure course – in which fell the king of Norway.	<b>1066</b>

56. Cóic bliadna ó shen i-lle  
cosin mblíadain-se i táimne  
sechtmad úathaid, slicht sádal,  
for Enáir ra hannálad.  
Annálad.
57. A dó secht ndeich ar míle  
ó gein Críst, cía chomríme,  
cosin mblíadain-seo, cí at-ber,  
i torchair Díarmait dúrgen.
58. A Chríst, a grían os cach gurt,  
airchis dom'anmain im' churp,  
nírop sheng do thairbirt dam,  
bud irdairc lem th'annálad.  
Annálad.

Five years thenceforth  
until this present year in which we are  
the seventh feria – an easy division –  
upon January was recorded.  
Annals. 1072

Two [and] seven tens plus a thousand  
from the birth of Christ – howsoever you may compute [it] –  
until this year – though I may say it –  
in which resolute Díarmait fell. 1072

O Christ, O sun over every field,  
have compassion on my soul in my body,  
may your giving to me be not restricted,  
let your annals be famous because of me.  
Annals.

## Essay: The poetry of historical synchronisms

*Annálad anall uile* ('All the annals heretofore') belongs to the genre of historical poetry and the sub-genre of synchronistic poetry (see Smith 2002 for working definitions of these terms). F. J. E. Raby (1934: 259–60) evokes the wider European context from which Irish historical poetry emerged, citing such examples as the monumental *Annales de gestis Caroli magni imperatoris libri quinque* ('Annals of the Deeds of the Emperor Charles the Great in Five Books'), composed about 890 CE on the basis of pre-existing prose histories, which stands as one of the earliest known versifications of annalistic material from Continental Europe. Around the same time, Irish literature also first saw the emergence of long historical poems, a genre that would be practised throughout the Middle Irish period (for an early example of the genre see O'Brien 1955). While we have a large corpus of these poems, few of them bring together synchronisms and computations in a single work in the way that *Annálad anall uile* does.

The poem is written in a loose version of the syllabic metre called *deibide*; a more complex variety of the same metre is to be seen in Flann Mainistrech's poem presented in Chapter 5. Internal historical evidence dates the composition to no later than 1072, and possibly to as early as 1066, the date of the Battle of Stamford Bridge at which occurred the death of King Harald Hardradi of Norway (quatrain 55). The only indication of authorship is found in the Book of Leinster, which records the ascription 'Gilla coemain cecinit', 'Gilla Cóemáin sang [this]' (*Gill-coemaī .cē.*; see Best et al. 1954–83: 3.496, line 15407). Gilla Cóemáin composed four other historical poems: *Ériu ard inis na rríg* ('Noble Ireland, island of the kings'), 151 quatrains on the pre-Christian kings of Ireland (Smith 2007: 100–61); *At-tá sund forba fessa* ('Herein is the apex of knowledge'), 37 quatrains on the Christian kings until the death of Brian Bórama 'Brian Boru' (Smith 2007: 170–87); *Tigernmas mac Follaig aird* ('Tigernmas son of noble Follach'), 14 quatrains on Tigernmas, an eminent pre-Christian king of Ireland (Smith 2015); and *Góedel Glas ó tát Goídil* ('Góedel Glas whence the Irish'), 40 quatrains on the transmigration of the Irish from North Africa via the Black Sea, the Mediterranean and the Iberian Peninsula to Ireland (Lehmacher 1921; I am currently preparing a new edition of this poem). He is also credited with having translated from Latin into Irish the *Historia Brittonum*, a tenth-century account of the origins and ancestry of the peoples of Britain (Van Hamel 1932, xii, xxvi, 1).

In *Annálad*, quatrains 1–33 place the history of pre-Christian Ireland in its international context by synchronizing the dates of the reigns of Irish kings, and important Irish events, with reigns and events from Assyria, Israel, the Medes'

Empire, Persia and Macedonia (see Smith 2007: 188–211). Quatrain 33 marks Christ's age at the time of the Crucifixion, while quatrains 34–58 record the intervals of time between the deaths of various kings and significant battles from the arrival of St Patrick in 432 until the death in 1072 of Diarmait mac Maíl na mBó, King of Ireland 'with opposition' (Smith 2007: 200–11). These later quatrains occasionally synchronize events in Christian Ireland with events occurring elsewhere such as the death of Pope Gregory the Great in AD 604 (line 37d).

The overall chronological structure of the pre-Christian section is based on the framework of world history that was laid down by Eusebius of Caesarea (260/265–339) in Greek and mediated through Latin by his translators, including Jerome (c. 342/347–420) and Rufinus of Aquileia (c. 345–411; Schöne 1900; Grafton and Williams 2006). The first six quatrains of *Annálad* employ Bede's systematization of the Six Ages of the World.<sup>2</sup> The remainder of the pre-Christian section incorporates dates from Jerome's translation of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius.<sup>3</sup> Supplementary information comes from other texts including the *Historiae adversus Paganos* 'Histories against the Pagans' of Orosius (c. 380–416). Quatrain 14, for example, which mentions Vesozes, draws on Orosius 1.14, para 1.3. Quatrains 34–48 derive their information from a hitherto unidentified version of the post-Patrician Irish Annals that may have been associated with Clonmacnoise (Smith 2007: 88; Smith 2002: 339).

It is impossible to distinguish with any degree of certainty the instances in which the poet has drawn directly from the Latin writers, as opposed to those in which materials from Roman authors have come via compilations made by earlier Irish scholars (see further Smith 2002: 333, with Smith 2007: 88). It is possible that he took much or all that he required for quatrains 1–33 from the 'pre-Patrician' section of the Irish annals, whose chronology owes much to Rufinus of Aquileia (McCarthy 2008). He may have used an epitome of the chronological 'highlights' of the annals, similar to that preserved in fragmentary form in the so-called 'Laud Synchronisms' (Meyer 1913). The ultimate exemplar could in fact have been a Latin text of Eusebian materials based on the Greek original that has come down to us via the Armenian translation of the *Chronicle* (Karst 1911). Such a text might have functioned as a kind of 'timeline' that enabled historical authors to quickly cross-check regnal years and dates.

The author is a historian who could versify the record of the past with relative ease. It could be argued, however, that he lacked a robust sense of the poetic aesthetic. *Annálad* exhibits a comparatively low level of metrical ornamentation, with few examples of internal rhyme in the lines *c* and *d* of each quatrain (Smith 2007: 260). Internal rhyme in the first couplet of each quatrain (admittedly not a

formal requirement of *deibide*) is similarly a rarity. Had our author's obituary survived in the annals, he might have merited the epithet *suí senchusa* 'scholar of history', but not that of *suí filidechta* 'scholar of poetics'.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, the poem does much to show how history should be recorded and cultivated. By embedding significant meaning within chevilles – ornamental phrases at the ends of lines – and choosing words that hark back to his subject matter, the writer conveys his message with powerful effect. Chevilles in medieval Irish poetry have been conventionally perceived as bland, meaningless phrases whose function was to fulfil the syllable-count of any given line; the reality, however, is more complex.

Constant references to the marking of time illustrate that the provision of a chronological framework for the historical narrative was fundamental to the work of medieval Irish historians. Hence the word *aimser* – (a) 'point of time'; (b) 'period of time'; (c) 'age, period, epoch' – occurs repeatedly (lines 1d, 12a, 15a, 17a, 17c, 18d), with the related *comaimser* – (a) 'contemporaneity'; (b) 'synchronism' (18b, 21b). In the same semantic field is *ré* 'period, lapse of time' (16c).<sup>5</sup> From a different semantic field, but related in the context of this poem, are the words *flaith* 'lordship, sovereignty, rule' (13a, 14a, 19c, 24b) and *comfhlaithius* 'joint, equal sovereignty; contemporaneous sovereignty' (20d, 22b). Such allusions provide fundamental reference-points in the construction of the chronology. *Annálad* is defined as (a) 'the act of keeping annals; annal, record' and (b) 'computation'. The term connotes not only the end-product, 'the historical record', but the sustained elaboration of that artefact. Fundamental also to this act of historical record-keeping and historical elaboration is reciting or *recounting* the events of history in sequence to an informed audience. Hence we see the verb *aisnéidfetsa* 'I will recount' (1c), from the verb *as-indét* 'declares, tells, relates (about)'; with the cognate verbal noun *aisndis* 'recounting'.

All-pervasive in this poem is the view that historical scholarship should be founded on systematic methods, the most fundamental of which was the computation of dates. The keyword is *rím*: (a) 'the act of counting, enumerating'; (b) 'telling, relating'. Thus, the author declares: *rímim, ar is rús cen ail*, 'I compute – for it is a great knowledge without blemish' (2c). The word *riagal* – 'rule, authority, measure' – conveys the notion of an accepted chronology of events, a historical 'time-line': *is réil in riagail* 'the rule is clear' (46b). The related verb *riaglaid* ('regulates, orders, arranges') appears in *is derb duit cia nos riagla* – 'it is certain for you, even if you check them' (8d). Images of the poet casting his eye down a timeline are suggested by nominal chevilles like *séol nglan* 'a pure course' (6a), *cid ord bind* 'though it be a melodious sequence' (15c), *céim nglan* 'a pure leap' (39c), *séol co nglaine* 'a pure course' (55c).

Precise computation is vital. The computation of specific time-lapses dominates many quatrains (see e.g. quatrains 2–13; 16; 21; 23–48; and 50–7). Again, one must cross-check one's own historical account against those of other authors: *is derb duit, cíá nos ríagla* 'it is certain for you, even if you check them' (8d), *rádit raind* 'quatrains say' (12a). Compare *cíá chure ris nach cinte* 'even if you set it against something certain' (35b), *sin bládain sin rádit raind* 'in that year stanzas mention' (36c). This brings certainty: *derb lib* 'be you certain' (31c), *derb dait* 'you may be certain' (34a), *derbaig* 'verify [it]' (42a). Vital too is the guarantee of the veracity of the narrative and its rejection of falsehood: *ní bréc* 'it is no lie' (4a, 5a), *fír dam* 'it is true for me' (i.e. 'I am correct', 7a), *cen goí ngá* 'without false deception' (17c), *ní himmarbréc* 'It is no deception' (43b). History as an instrument for perpetuating the memories of the great personages of the past is seen in the frequent use of the words *blad*, 'fame, renown', *blá*, 'shout, cry': *caín a blá* 'fair his cry [fame]' (4c), *is blad brass* 'it is a vigorous fame' (7c), *léir blad* 'clear the renown' (14a), *blad nglicc* 'a shrewd renown' (23c), *borb a blad* 'fierce his fame' (26c); see also *ní blad bán* 'it is no pure renown' (44a). Colour is added by the linking of specific qualities to individuals with alliteration: Conn Cétchathach is *crúad* 'hard, severe' (28a), Colum Cille is *céolach* 'melodious' (46d), and Flaithbertach is *fial* 'generous' (49b).

At the heart of the medieval Irish historians' work was a fascination with the measurement of time, a concern rooted in their predecessors' preoccupation with the field of computistics as early as the sixth and seventh centuries CE (see Warntjes 2011). By applying a chronological framework to a pre-Patrician Irish past constructed on the basis of synchronizing Irish events and reigns with widely accepted dates in 'world history', Irish historians firmly grounded post-Patrician Irish historiography on pillars of scholarship which exuded authority, authenticity and veracity. Embodiment of that material in verse form granted it canonical status and made it easily transmissible in a classroom setting.

Glimpses of the poem's chronological methods can be found, perhaps ironically, in synchronisms that turn out to be problematic or erroneous. Quatrains 23–4 synchronize the beginning of the reign of Alexander the Great, after the slaying of Darius of Persia, with the beginning of the reign of the Irish king Úgaine Mór, and calculate 360 years from Alexander and Úgaine to the birth of Christ. However, since Alexander's twelve-year reign ended according to the same reckoning in 321 BCE (*recte* 323), the figures are irreconcilable. At points like this we see the challenge of reconciling Irish dynastic records with Eusebian chronology, especially in relation to the Incarnation and (by extension) the *anno domini* dating of the poet's own time, which he fixes so precisely in

quatrains 55–57: five years after the battle of Stamford Bridge, and in the year of the death of Díarmait mac Maíl na mBó. In the present example it is probably significant that the traditions about the dating of Úgaine Mór found in other sources, including the *Lebor Gabála*, are themselves fluctuating and uncertain.

Behind Gilla Cóemáin's work is a protracted process involving the coordination of varying approaches to the measurement of time, as well as the interweaving of the literary strand of the tradition with that of historical calculation. An early stage in this process involved the incorporation of earlier Irish narrative materials into the Eusebian framework, with *scéla*, 'prose narratives', treated as a constituent element of *senchas* 'historical knowledge'. So it comes about, for example, that the mythological battle of Mag Tuired, between the Fomoiri and the Túatha Dé Danann, is synchronized with the sack of Troy (quatrain 17). The fall of Troy resonates with the Irish past here in a way comparable in spirit to that seen in the later poem *Clann Ollaman uaisle Emna* ('The noblemen of Emain Macha are the descendants of Ollam'), discussed by Michael Clarke in Chapter 24 of this volume. As more and more information of this sort was subsumed into the annals, many of the pivotal events (including, for example, the arrival of the Goídil in Ireland) were thrown out of sequence and thus into disharmony with related events. Considered in another light, as more information from the *scélshenchas* (learned narrative) strand of the tradition was incorporated into the annals, there was a greater 'computistic' imperative to push the arrival of the Goídil backward in time. In opposition to the 'computistic' imperative stood the literary imperative. Given the clash between the competing interests of literary parallelism and computistic synchronization, it is no wonder that some of the synchronisms in *Annálad anall uile* are problematic. Nevertheless, *Annálad anall uile* provides us with great insights into the worldview and methods of the medieval Irish historian, into the aesthetics of literary computation, and into both the place of ancient history within such works and the influence of late antique historiography on their content and structure.



## Notes

- 1 This mistake for *Lamparés*, genitive *Lamparéis*, is found in all extant witnesses to the manuscript tradition; see Smith 2007: 192–3, 237–8.
- 2 See 'Gruppe 1b: Bedasches Schema' in Tristram 1985: 37–42, with Bede at *De Temporum Ratione* 66.1 (Jones 1975–80: 2.463, translated at Wallis 1999: 157); and compare the 'Synchronisms from the Book of Ballymote' (Synchronisms B), Mac Carthy 1892: 239–40.
- 3 The standard edition is Helm 1913. In Smith 2007 I give detailed notes arising from a comparative study of *Annálad anall uile* and various other texts including the *Chronicle*.
- 4 The terms *suí filidechta* and *suí senchusa* occur frequently in the annalistic obits. *Suí* is defined as I (a) 'man of learning, scholar, wise man, sage', (b) more specifically 'head of a monastic or poetic school', and II 'expert, master'; see *eDIL* s.v. *suí*. The same dictionary defines *filidecht* (s.v.) as the 'art, office or practice of the *filí*; poetry'; more precise terminology would include 'poetics' as well as 'versification'.
- 5 Here and below, the definitions cited are from the online *eDIL*, consulted in October 2022.

