

The Rígdál at Terryglass (737 A.D.)

By Póilín Ní Chon Uladh

In the *Annals of Ulster* (A.U.) under the year 737 is an entry recording a meeting of two kings who came together at the monastery of Terryglass at the invitation of Abbot Cillíne to make peace. This sixth-century monastery is situated at the north-eastern shore of Lough Derg at Terryglass Bay, in a townland of the same name.¹

It is strange that A.U. alone have a record of this important meeting; "A meeting between Áed Allán and Cathal at Tír dá Glas" is followed immediately by "The Law of Patrick held Ireland".² But the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* (Ann. Clon.) include a reference under the year (s.a.) 734:

The Lawes and Constitutions made by St Patrick were caused to be put in execution by King Hugh Allan.

Conall Mageoghegan, seventeenth-century translator of *Ann. Clon.*, adds a footnote to this annal entry paraphrasing historian Geoffrey Keating (Seathrún Céitinn) which reads:

Lawes – about this time there was an interview between Hugh Allan, King of Ireland, and Cathal, King of Munster, at Tír dá Glass in Ormond where, among other debates, they consulted what methods should be used to advance the revenue of St. Patrick throughout the kingdom, and they established a particular law for that purpose.³

Of the two kings involved Áed Allán, who was king of Ailech from 722 to 743 and High-King of Tara from 736 to 743, belonged to the Cenél nEógain dynasty. His opponent, Cathal mac Finguine, was king of Munster from 721 to 742 and his royal seat was at Cashel.

He was a member of the Eóganacht Glendamnach dynasty (near Glanworth) and was the first of three kings of Munster to challenge the rising power of the Uí Néill, the others being Feidlimid mac Crimthainn, d. 847 and Cormac mac Cuillenáin, d. 908. Both protagonists were strong and able leaders in a period of chaos and frequent dynastic warfare.

The Rígdál

The assembly is one of the oldest of institutions. In medieval Ireland, two very important assemblies were the *airecht* and the *rígdál*. The *airecht* was an assembly where the legal business of the *tuath* (kingdom) was carried out in a formal manner and where kings, nobles, clergy and all freemen were eligible to attend. The *rígdál* or royal assembly was a meeting of dynasts to make peace or to establish their spheres of influence. Many of these royal conferences took place during the Viking incursions when alliances were formed between dynastic groupings as a bulwark against the raids.

Unfortunately, there is no record of the political outcome of these conferences; one is left to guess. But they were important enough to justify the presence of kings with their retinues, along with the abbots and bishops of leading monasteries which hosted these conferences. In

his edition of the eighth-century law-tract *Críth Gablach*, Professor D.A. Binchy provides explanatory notes regarding two terms which may be relevant in this connection; *dám*, which refers to a king's retinue, and *cáirde*, which points towards the aim of these meetings.

dám: company, suite, retinue ... The number of the *dám* varies with the rank of the person accompanied, ranging from one man for the *ócaire* (freeman), to thirty for the *Rí Ruirech* (overking).⁴

Taking into account the retinue of two kings at a royal conference, together with high-ranking clergy and their staffs, it is probable that a considerable number of persons was present on such important occasions. This would demonstrate the importance of the king's status. In most cases, the purpose of his presence at an assembly such as a *rígdál* was to make peace for his people – and to achieve a solemn compact or *cáirde*.

cáirde: lit. friendship, a solemn compact concluded on behalf of two or more *tuatha* by their respective kings, each of whom pledges his subjects to it at an *óenach*. There are varying degrees of *cáirde*, from a simple armistice to a far-reaching arrangement of mutual recognition and enforcement of legal claims.⁵

However, if peace agreements or alliances were established at a *rígdál*, they were often tenuous, as will be seen presently.

The Meeting at Terryglass

The meeting at Terryglass in 737 is the first of its kind to be termed *Rígdál* in the annals. But firstly, a short account of the political situation at this time and the preceding two centuries will be given, and secondly the background of these two kings and the circumstances which led to this royal conference.

The Battle of *Móin Dairi Lothair*, which took place in 563, was when Áed Allán's ancestors crossed from their homeland at Inishowen to Magilligan Point at Lough Foyle in northwest Co. Derry.⁶ Pushing southwards, they began a campaign of aggression driving the ancient tribes of the Ulaid and the Cruithin east of the Bann. Cenél nEógain eventually dominated central Ulster, gradually establishing themselves in the area which was to become Tír Eógain. Their leading dynasts became kings of Ailech, taking their title from the hillfort and royal seat in Co. Donegal.

On the death of his father Fergal mac Máele Dúin in 722 at the Battle of Allen,⁷ Áed Allán mac Fergaile appears as the quintessential warrior-figure of the Heroic Age. He, like his ancestors, moved southwards from Ailech in 732 and engaged in a series of encounters with his distant cousin Flaithbertach mac Loingsigh of the Cenél Conaill, High-King of Tara.

According to *A.U.*, he attacked the Cenél Conaill at Mag nItha (the valley through which the Finn River flows to Lough Swilly, Co. Donegal) in 732 and again in 733. These two encounters culminated in 734 with a sea-battle at the mouth of the Bann River.⁸ Flaithbertach was forced to abdicate by the very ambitious Áed Allán. He retired to the monastery at Armagh, where he lived out his natural life, dying in 765. The removal of Flaithbertach ended Cenél Conaill access to the High-Kingship and from this time onwards that office alternated between the Cenél nEógain and the Clann Cholmáin dynasty of the Southern Uí Néill.

In 734, Áed Allán became king of Tara. In the following year he had another decisive victory against the Ulaid at the Battle of Fochairt in Muirtheimne (Co. Louth), in which their king Áed Rón was slain with many other nobles.⁹ Otway Ruthven remarks:

With it he seems to have assumed the protection of the *Paruchia Patricii*, for in 735 (A.F.M.) he went successfully to war with the Ulidians, incited by the abbot of Armagh in revenge for the profanation of a church.¹⁰

The *Annals of the Four Masters* make it clear that the church in question was Cill Conna in the paruchia of Armagh:

Say unto the cold Áed Allán
that I have been oppressed by a feeble army:
Áed Rón insulted me last night
at Cill Cunna of the sweet music.
[Congus, abbot of Cill Conna].
For Cill Cunna, the church of my confessor,
I take this day a journey on the road:
Áed Rón shall leave his head with me
or I shall leave mine with him
[Áed Allán's reply].¹¹

But it would seem that there was another more practical reason for this attack on the Ulaid. Remarking on this apparent exception to the direction of Uí Néill violence against the Leinstermen, T.M. Charles-Edwards comments:

Yet this victory seems not to have been intended primarily as a means to assert Uí Néill hegemony over the Ulstermen, but rather to give Cenél nEógain in particular an enduring foothold on the east coast, making it easier for them to move armies into Brega and Leinster.¹²

Dynastic Consolidations

This was a period of dynastic consolidation. The Uí Néill dynasties dominated the territories north of the *Eiscir Riada* – a gravel ridge which crossed the country from Dublin to Galway. What emerged was a political federation of states, i.e. most of Central Ulster (the territory of the Cenél nEógain), Clann Cholmáin in the north midlands and some smaller vassal states. The kingdom of Mide had reached the Munster border by the 8th century, and it has been suggested by Professor F.J. Byrne that the Uí Néill lacked the resources to take over more land and opted instead to assert their suzerainty southwards.¹³

By the eighth century, it seems, the all-over supremacy of Armagh in the ecclesiastical sphere was widely accepted. Some centres resisted or advanced counter-claims, including Kildare and, significantly from the point of view of the present discussion, Cashel and Emly. True kingdoms were emerging through dynastic consolidation and it was gradually accepted (as suggested by ecclesiastical writers such as Bede and Adomnán in the seventh century) that "the ruck of petty kingdoms should be superseded by some higher – and more highly organised – authority".¹⁴ After decades of conflict, which must have depleted the resources of rulers, this may have been the catalyst that put Áed Allán under pressure to seek a peaceful solution to these conflicts.

In the southern half of Ireland (*Leth Moga*) the situation was somewhat different. No tight family cohesion such as that which existed in the Uí Néill dynasties was possible because of three distinct provincial divisions, i.e. Munster, Leinster and the small buffer-state of Osraige. Cashel, the principal ecclesiastical power in the south, seems to have had a negative attitude to the growing power of the Uí Néill under Áed Allán. Unlike the Laigin (or Leinstermen), the Munstermen had not been under attack from their northern neighbours.

his edition of the eighth-century law-tract *Críth Gablach*, Professor D.A. Binchy provides explanatory notes regarding two terms which may be relevant in this connection; *dám*, which refers to a king's retinue, and *cáirde*, which points towards the aim of these meetings.

dám: company, suite, retinue ... The number of the *dám* varies with the rank of the person accompanied, ranging from one man for the *ócaire* (freeman), to thirty for the *Rí Ruirech* (overking).⁴

Taking into account the retinue of two kings at a royal conference, together with high-ranking clergy and their staffs, it is probable that a considerable number of persons was present on such important occasions. This would demonstrate the importance of the king's status. In most cases, the purpose of his presence at an assembly such as a *rígdál* was to make peace for his people – and to achieve a solemn compact or *cáirde*.

cáirde: lit. friendship, a solemn compact concluded on behalf of two or more *tuatha* by their respective kings, each of whom pledges his subjects to it at an *óenach*. There are varying degrees of *cáirde*, from a simple armistice to a far-reaching arrangement of mutual recognition and enforcement of legal claims.⁵

However, if peace agreements or alliances were established at a *rígdál*, they were often tenuous, as will be seen presently.

The Meeting at Terryglass

The meeting at Terryglass in 737 is the first of its kind to be termed *Rígdál* in the annals. But firstly, a short account of the political situation at this time and the preceding two centuries will be given, and secondly the background of these two kings and the circumstances which led to this royal conference.

The Battle of *Móin Dairi Lothair*, which took place in 563, was when Áed Allán's ancestors crossed from their homeland at Inishowen to Magilligan Point at Lough Foyle in northwest Co. Derry.⁶ Pushing southwards, they began a campaign of aggression driving the ancient tribes of the Ulaid and the Cruithin east of the Bann. Cenél nEógain eventually dominated central Ulster, gradually establishing themselves in the area which was to become Tír Eógain. Their leading dynasts became kings of Ailech, taking their title from the hillfort and royal seat in Co. Donegal.

On the death of his father Fergal mac Máele Dúin in 722 at the Battle of Allen,⁷ Áed Allán mac Fergaile appears as the quintessential warrior-figure of the Heroic Age. He, like his ancestors, moved southwards from Ailech in 732 and engaged in a series of encounters with his distant cousin Flaithbertach mac Loingsigh of the Cenél Conaill, High-King of Tara.

According to *A.U.*, he attacked the Cenél Conaill at Mag nItha (the valley through which the Finn River flows to Lough Swilly, Co. Donegal) in 732 and again in 733. These two encounters culminated in 734 with a sea-battle at the mouth of the Bann River.⁸ Flaithbertach was forced to abdicate by the very ambitious Áed Allán. He retired to the monastery at Armagh, where he lived out his natural life, dying in 765. The removal of Flaithbertach ended Cenél Conaill access to the High-Kingship and from this time onwards that office alternated between the Cenél nEógain and the Clann Cholmáin dynasty of the Southern Uí Néill.

In 734, Áed Allán became king of Tara. In the following year he had another decisive victory against the Ulaid at the Battle of Fochairt in Muirtheimne (Co. Louth), in which their king Áed Rón was slain with many other nobles.⁹ Otway Ruthven remarks:

With it he seems to have assumed the protection of the *Paruchia Patricii*, for in 735 (A.F.M.) he went successfully to war with the Ulidians, incited by the abbot of Armagh in revenge for the profanation of a church.¹⁰

The *Annals of the Four Masters* make it clear that the church in question was Cill Conna in the paruchia of Armagh:

Say unto the cold Áed Allán
that I have been oppressed by a feeble army:
Áed Rón insulted me last night
at Cill Cunna of the sweet music.
[Congus, abbot of Cill Conna].
For Cill Cunna, the church of my confessor,
I take this day a journey on the road:
Áed Rón shall leave his head with me
or I shall leave mine with him
[Áed Allán's reply].¹¹

But it would seem that there was another more practical reason for this attack on the Ulaid. Remarking on this apparent exception to the direction of Uí Néill violence against the Leinstermen, T.M. Charles-Edwards comments:

Yet this victory seems not to have been intended primarily as a means to assert Uí Néill hegemony over the Ulstermen, but rather to give Cenél nEógain in particular an enduring foothold on the east coast, making it easier for them to move armies into Brega and Leinster.¹²

Dynastic Consolidations

This was a period of dynastic consolidation. The Uí Néill dynasties dominated the territories north of the *Eiscir Riada* – a gravel ridge which crossed the country from Dublin to Galway. What emerged was a political federation of states, i.e. most of Central Ulster (the territory of the Cenél nEógain), Clann Cholmáin in the north midlands and some smaller vassal states. The kingdom of Mide had reached the Munster border by the 8th century, and it has been suggested by Professor F.J. Byrne that the Uí Néill lacked the resources to take over more land and opted instead to assert their suzerainty southwards.¹³

By the eighth century, it seems, the all-over supremacy of Armagh in the ecclesiastical sphere was widely accepted. Some centres resisted or advanced counter-claims, including Kildare and, significantly from the point of view of the present discussion, Cashel and Emly. True kingdoms were emerging through dynastic consolidation and it was gradually accepted (as suggested by ecclesiastical writers such as Bede and Adomnán in the seventh century) that “the ruck of petty kingdoms should be superseded by some higher – and more highly organised – authority”.¹⁴ After decades of conflict, which must have depleted the resources of rulers, this may have been the catalyst that put Áed Allán under pressure to seek a peaceful solution to these conflicts.

In the southern half of Ireland (*Leth Moga*) the situation was somewhat different. No tight family cohesion such as that which existed in the Uí Néill dynasties was possible because of three distinct provincial divisions, i.e. Munster, Leinster and the small buffer-state of Osraige. Cashel, the principal ecclesiastical power in the south, seems to have had a negative attitude to the growing power of the Uí Néill under Áed Allán. Unlike the Laigin (or Leinstermen), the Munstermen had not been under attack from their northern neighbours.

Events were to change this situation when in 713 Cathal mac Finngúine succeeded to the provincial kingship of Munster. Following the death of Eterscél mac Máele Umai in 721, Cathal became overking of the province with a royal seat at Cashel. From the outset of his long reign Cathal seems to have taken full advantage of dynastic conflict within the Uí Néill.

He was a strong and able leader and has been immortalised in the early literature and is referred to in a poem in the Book of Leinster. In *Teist Cathail meic Finngúine* he is styled “Ardri Temrach” with many other accolades.¹⁵ Another reference in the law tract *Uraicecht Becc* refers to the king of Munster as “Ollam uas rígaib, rí Muman”, translated by Binchy as “supreme (or most transcendent) over kings is the king of Munster”.¹⁶ Dr Colmán Etchingham draws attention to this reference, as does Dr Edel Bhreathnach in her recent work on Tara.¹⁷

Cathal mac Finngúine, from the time of his inauguration, set out to restrict any incursions of the Uí Néill into Munster. Already secure in his kingship of Munster, Cathal had arranged a judicious political marriage of his daughter Tualaith with Dúnchad, son of Murchad mac Brain king of Leinster. In 721, with his ally Murchad, Cathal attacked the kingdom of Brega, which he laid waste.¹⁸ In retaliation the High-King of Tara, Fergal mac Máele Dúin, invaded Leinster, his traditional enemy.

The *Annals of Innisfallen* say that Cathal and Fergal “made peace” and that the Uí Néill high-king offered his submission to Cathal. The late Dr. Kathleen Hughes was sceptical about this claim and suggested the possibility that it may have been part of an eleventh century addition.¹⁹ As it happens, in 722 Fergal again led a hosting into Leinster and lost his life at the Battle of Allen, Co. Kildare. Cathal was not involved in this battle.



The ivy-covered walls are the ruins of a medieval church on the approximate site of Terryglass Abbey, founded by St. Colmán (d. 549-552), a disciple of Finnian of Clonard and of Leinster royal stock. In 1164 this abbey's functions were taken over by Lorrha Monastery. – Photo copyright author.

Cathal's hopes as kingmaker were never realised. In 727 when Murchad mac Brain died, Dúnchad was slain by his brother Fáelán who then married Tualaith, quite possibly against the wishes of her father.²⁰ In any case, Fáelán would prove a constant thorn in Cathal's side. In 732, to further his cause as overlord in *Leth Moga*, Cathal made war on the Uí Chennselaig of southern Leinster under their king, Áed mac Colggen. Cathal was defeated.

Taking advantage of conflict within the Uí Néill, he again raided Brega in 733. Here he was routed from the Uí Néill assembly site of Tailtiu (near Kells, Co. Meath) by the king of Mide, Domnall mac Murchado.²¹ But ever an able leader, Cathal took another initiative by raiding the Uí Néill sacred site of *Tlachtga*.²² He engaged in a skirmish with Caille Follomain, a junior branch of Clann Cholmáin of the midlands. This time he was victorious.

Even though this may not have been an encounter of great significance, Tara must have been concerned. Belach Éile (now in modern Tipperary) in 735 was the scene of another encounter in which Cathal's forces, with his ally Cellach mac Faelchair king of Osraige, engaged in a bloody battle with his son-in-law Fáelán. Cellach mac Faelchair was slain along with many other members of leading families on both sides. Cathal left the battlefield.

This is a brief outline of some of the events recorded in the annals, which led to the *Rígdál* between Áed Allán and Cathal mac Finguine in 737. After years of internecine warfare Áed Allán, overlord of central Ulster and king of Tara, was well established and had proved himself a force to be reckoned with. Cathal mac Finguine, on the other hand, who had appeared to be very much in the ascendant in the 720s, seems to have had little success as an aggressor in *Leth Cuinn*, despite Uí Néill fears. But he was the first Munster king to make such an impact. It has been suggested that part of the problem for Munster may have been its geographical position. It may have been difficult to march an army through the narrow corridor in the barrier of bog and marsh that separated *Leth Moga* from *Leth Cuinn*.

A Diplomatic Solution?

By 737 Cathal had been considerably weakened by the successes of the northern king. He had also failed to make a lasting impact on *Leth Moga*. So a diplomatic course may have seemed a convenient solution to the problem. The *Rígdál* at Terryglass that year, the first of its kind to be recorded, was indeed an innovative step in these troubled times and an important occasion with a large number of people present. Unfortunately, no record exists as to the outcome of the conference.

As noted above, the *A.U.* record is terse and is followed immediately by the notice concerning the Law of Patrick being upheld throughout Ireland. In the light of what happened afterwards Terryglass may be regarded as having established "spheres of influence", with a guarantee of no more conflict in *Leth Cuinn*. The meeting, as Professor MacNiocaill puts it, "was in all probability a treaty of non-aggression, an agreement by Cathal not to interfere in any action Áed Allán might take against the Laigin".²³ However, incursions into *Leth Cuinn* ceased and this fact may suggest that Cathal recognised Áed Allán's stance as high-king. It may be added here that very close associations existed between the Uí Néill dynasty and the Patrician centre of Armagh.²⁴

In 738 Cathal was still attempting to assert his authority over *Leth Moga*. For the second time he led an attack on his son-in-law Fáelán mac Murchado and carried off hostages, perhaps in violation of Terryglass and an agreement of non-intervention in Leinster affairs. Áed Allán, the northern king, retaliated. He entered Leinster, and the battle of *Áth Senaig* (Ballyshannon, Co. Kildare) was for him a decisive victory.

Firstly, he fought in single combat with the king of Leinster Áed mac Colggen, who had slain his father in 722 at the Battle of Allen. He slew Áed and his father was avenged. Some extravagant descriptions of the list of the slain exist and many members of leading families seem to have fallen. Áed Allán himself was wounded, but lived for another five years.

In 742 Cathal mac Finngúine died peacefully and was much eulogised by the poets. He was greatly respected in Munster, where he had a reputation for hospitality on a grand scale. In the Book of Leinster the poem *Teist Cathail meic Finguine* acclaims him as high-king of Tara together with many other accolades:

The people who praised Cathucán
from the time that they entered his country
until the time they left his assembly
were treated as kings by the High-King.²⁵

By tradition, Cathal is said to have been buried at Emly. A verse in the *Annals of Inisfallen* attributed to a poet called Fer Muman reads:

In t-Imlech
which Ailbhe has enobled by his crozier
one thing famous about it is
its earth covering the brow of Cathal.²⁶

As it happened, Áed Allán was slain the following year in the Battle of *Seredmag* (near Kells, Co. Meath) by his distant cousin Domnall mac Murchado, king of Mide. Domnall became High-King and his entire reign was a peaceful one.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to thank Dr. Ailbhe Mac Shamhráin (TCD) for suggestions on the script, the staff of NLI and the staff of RIA.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Tír dá Glas* (land of the two streams) was founded by a Leinster prince, Colum mac Crimthainn of the Dál Chormaic. The site was then situated in the *Músraighe Tíre* area of *Urmuma* (Ormond, or East Munster). Unfortunately, nothing remains of the original foundation, which is not surprising as the monastery suffered much destruction over the centuries. All that remains, however, are two substantial walls of what was a large medieval church, one with a trabeate doorway, some early gravestones and a few cross-slab fragments.
2. *Annal of Ulster* (A.U.). *sub anno* (s.a.) 736; i.e. entered, but not necessarily belonging, at this date.
3. Geoffrey Keating, *Forus Feasa ar Éirinn*, II, § xv; see *The History of Ireland by Geoffrey Keating DD*, ed. P. S. Dinneen (London: Irish Texts Soc., 1908), vol. 3, p. 149; *Forus Feasa ar Éirinn Athnua*, ed. P. de Barra (Dublin: FNT, 1983), vol. 2, p. 78.
4. Daniel Binchy (ed.), *Críth Gablach* (Dublin, 1941), p. 82.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
6. A.U. s.a. 562; Francis John Byrne, *Irish Kings and High Kings* (London, 1973), p. 95, 114.
7. A.U. s.a. 721; see F.J. Byrne, *Irish Kings*, p. 146-7.
8. A.U. s.a. 733.
9. A.U. s.a. 733, 734; F.J. Byrne, *Irish Kings*, p. 117-8.

10. A. Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, *A History of Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 1968), p. 14.
11. *Annals of the Four Masters*, ed. John O'Donovan, 7 vols (Dublin, 1856), vol 1, p. 330. Cill Conna is now Kilcooney, Par. Ballyclog, By. Dungannon, Co. Tyrone.
12. T.M. Charles Edwards, "Irish Warfare before 1100", in T. Bartlett & J. Jeffrey (ed.), *A Military History of Ireland* (London, 1996), p. 34.
13. F. J. Byrne, *Irish Kings*, p. 148.
14. See Liam de Paor, *The Peoples of Ireland* (London, 1986), p. 74.
15. LL; *The Book of Leinster*, ed. R.I. Best, O. Bergin, M.A. O'Brien & A. O'Sullivan, 6 vols. (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1954-83), vol. III (1957), p. 627-8.
16. D.A. Binchy, 'The Date and Provenance of Uraicecht Becc', *Ériu*, 18 (1958), 44-54.
17. Colmán Etchingham, "Early Medieval Irish History" in K.R. McCone & M.K. Simms (eds.), *Progress in Medieval Irish Studies* (Maynooth, 1996), p. 132; Edel Bhreathnach, *Tara: A Select Bibliography*, (Dublin, 1995), §228, p. 119.
18. A.U. s.a.720; Gearóid Mac Niocaill, *Ireland before the Vikings* (Dublin, 1972), p. 121.
19. Kathleen Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: Introduction to the Sources* (London, 1972), p. 135.
20. John O'Donovan (ed.), *Three Fragments of Irish Annals* (Dublin, 1856) p. 56, tells how the first marriage of Tualaithe: "ended with his death from wounds shortly after his defeat in the battle of Knockaulin (Dún Alinne) in 728. In that battle Dúnchad was assisted by his father in law King Cathal of Munster, who shared in his defeat. The victor was none other than Fáelán, a younger brother of Dúnchad, who then seized the kingship of Leinster and married Tualaithe his brother's queen. Since Fáelán was opposed by King Cathal of Munster in his bid to oust Dúnchad from the Leinster kingship, we may safely assume that on his victory he seized his dead brother's queen and forcibly married her in spite of her father's opposition".
21. A.U. s.a. 832
22. Tlachtga is a multivallate hill-top ringfort near Athboy, Co. Meath. Here the king of Tara celebrated the ancient festival of Samain (1 November), which marked the beginning of the Celtic year.
23. G. MacNiocaill, *Ireland before the Vikings*, p. 124; cf F. J. Byrne, *Irish Kings*, p. 210.
24. e.g. F. J. Byrne, *Irish Kings*, p. 82; cf p. 210, where Professor Byrne notes the record in the Annals of Innisfallen (A.I.) at 784, "the Law of Ailbhe is upheld in Munster", and suggests that this may represent an attempt by the church of Emly to reverse Cathal's policy.
25. *Book of Leinster*, ed. R.I. Best, O. Bergin, M.A. O'Brien & A. O'Sullivan, III, p. 628; F. J. Byrne, *Irish Kings*, p. 210.
26. A. I. s.a. 742, p. 109.