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LECTURES
ON
THE MANUSCRIPT MATERIALS
OF
ANCIENT IRISH HISTORY.

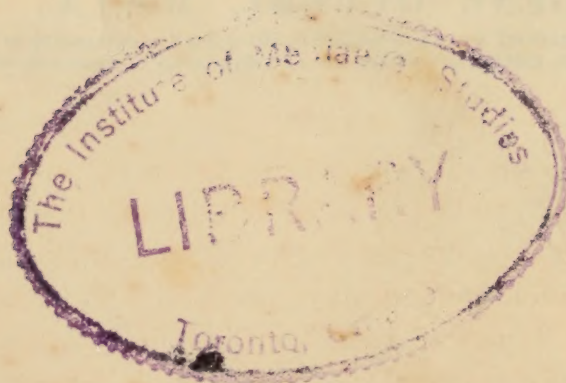
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DURING THE SESSIONS OF 1855 AND 1856.

Recd D. O. C. Parthen 1862

BY
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P R E F A C E .

IF I have any regret for the shortcomings of the following analysis of the existing remains of our ancient literature, and the evidences of the literary attainments and cultivated tastes of our far removed ancestors, of the Milesian and other races, I must sincerely declare that my regret arises much more from the consciousness of my incapacity to do merited justice to my subject, than from any concern for what my own reputation must suffer, in coming before the world in so prominent a character, and with such very incommensurate qualifications.

When the Catholic University of Ireland was established, and its staff of Professors from day to day announced in the public papers, I felt the deepest anxiety as to who the Professor of Irish History should be (if there should be one), well knowing that the only man living who could fill that important office with becoming efficiency as a scholar was already engaged in one of the Queen's Colleges. At this time, however, I can honestly declare that it never entered into my mind that *I* should or ought to be called to fill this important situation, simply because the course of my studies in Irish History and Antiquities had always been of a silent kind;—I was engaged, if I may so speak, only in underground work, and the labours in which I had spent my life were such that their results were never intended to be brought separately before the public on my own individual responsibility. No person knows my bitterly felt deficiencies better than myself. Having been self-taught in all the little I know of general letters, and reared to mature years among an uneducated people (though a people both intelligent, and fond of learning

when opportunity permits them to apply themselves to it), I always felt the want of early mental training; and of early admission to those great fountains of knowledge which can be approached only through the medium of languages which, though once generally cultivated in my native province, had, under sinister influences, ceased to exist in the remote part of the country from which I come, not very long before I was born. And it never occurred to me that I should have been deemed worthy of an honour which, for these reasons, I should not have presumed to seek. To say so much I feel due, not only to myself, but to the exalted and learned personages who, without any solicitation whatever on my part, overlooked my many deficiencies so far as to appoint me to the newly created Chair of Irish History and Archæology in this National University.

The definite idea of such a Professorship is due to the distinguished scholar to whom the first organization of the University was committed. It was that idea which suggested the necessity for this first course of Lectures, "On the MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History", as well as for that which immediately followed it, and in which I am still engaged, "On the Social Customs, Manners, and Life of the People of Ancient Erin";—two preliminary or introductory courses, namely, on the two subjects to which this professorship is dedicated: on the existing remains of our History, and the existing monuments of our Archæology. For, without meaning the smallest disparagement to previous labourers in these fields, I found, on examining their works, that, although much had been done in particular directions, and by successive writers, who more or less followed and improved upon, or corrected, each other, still the great sources of genuine historical and antiquarian knowledge lay buried in those vast but yet almost entirely unexplored compilations, which to my predecessors were inaccessiblely sealed up in the keeping of the ancient Gaedhelic, the venerable language of our country. To point out the only way to remedy this state of things, then, and if possible, by a critical analysis of the great mass of documents which still remains to us in the ancient tongue, to open the way,—as far as lay in my

power,—to the necessary examination of these precious records and materials, was the scope and aim of my first course of Lectures; those now collected in the present volume. That I have not succeeded in placing this interesting subject before the reader in as clear and attractive a form as it deserves, is but too painfully apparent to myself; but if I shall have succeeded in drawing the attention of the student to the necessity of making an independent examination of it for himself, I shall have attained one of the dearest objects of my life, and I shall feel that I have not struggled wholly without success in endeavouring to do my duty to my country so far as it lies in my power to do at all. As to the work itself, its literary defects apart, I may claim for it at least the poor merit of being the first effort ever made to bring within the view of the student of Irish History and Archæology an honest, if not a complete, analysis of all the materials of that yet unwritten story which lies accessible, indeed, in our native language, but the great body of which, the flesh and blood of all the true History of Ireland, remains to this day unexamined and unknown to the world.

Under the existing circumstances of this poor dependent country, no work of this kind could well be undertaken at the expense of the time and at the risk of a private individual. This difficulty, however, so far as concerns remuneration for labour, and expense of publication of its result, has been happily obviated in a way that even a few years ago could hardly have occurred to the mind of the most hopeful among us. It reflects, surely, no small credit on the infant Catholic University of Ireland, and conveys no light assurance of the national feeling which animated its founders from the beginning, not only that it was the first public establishment in the country spontaneously to erect a Chair of Irish History and Archæology, but that it has provided with unhesitating liberality for the heavy expense of placing this volume—the first fruits of that Chair, and the first publication undertaken under such auspices—before the public.

Little indeed did it occur to me on the occasion of my first timid appearance in that chair, that the efforts of my feeble

pen would pass beyond the walls within which these Lectures were delivered. There was, however, among my varying audience one constant attendant, whose presence was both embarrassing and encouraging to me,—whose polite expressions at the conclusion of each Lecture I scarcely dared to receive as those of approbation.—but whose kindly sympathy practically exhibited itself, not in mere words alone, but in the active encouragement he never ceased to afford me as I went along; often, for example, reminding me that I was not to be uneasy at the apparent shortness of a course of Lectures, the preparation of which required so much of labour in a new field; and assuring me that in his eyes, and in the eyes of those who had committed the University to his charge, quantity was of far less importance than accuracy in careful examination of the wide range of subjects which it was my object to digest and arrange. At the conclusion of the course, however, this great scholar and pious priest (for to whom can I allude but to our late illustrious Rector, the Rev. Dr. Newman),—whose warmly felt and oft expressed sympathy with Erinn, her wrongs and her hopes, as well as her history, I am rejoiced to have an opportunity thus publicly to acknowledge,—astonished me by announcing to me on the part of the University, that my poor Lectures were deemed worthy to be published at its expense. Nor can I ever forget the warmth with which Dr. Newman congratulated me on this termination of my first course, any more than the thoughtfulness of a dear friend with which he encouraged and advised me, during the progress of what was to me so difficult a task, that, left to myself, I believe I should soon have surrendered it in despair.

With respect to the subjects treated in the following pages, a glance at the Table of Contents of the Chapters formed by these Lectures (see page xiii.), will best explain the plan followed in this attempt to analyse the contents of the whole body of MSS. in the Gaedhelic language, the investigation of which must form an indispensable preliminary to the accurate study of the History of the country. I need not recapitulate here; nor need I again refer to the importance of every separate

section into which such an analysis divides itself. It will be found, however, that of all the writers who have published books on the subject, up to the time of delivering these Lectures,—books, some of them large and elaborate,—*not one* ever wrote who had previously acquired the necessary qualifications, or even applied himself at all to the necessary study, without which, as I think I have established beyond a doubt, the History of Ireland could not possibly have been written. All were ignorant, almost totally ignorant, of the greater part of the records and remains of which I have here, for the first time, endeavoured to present a comprehensive and in some sort a connected account. And even though this volume will not, I know, be found as satisfactory to the student as it might be made in other hands; yet such, nevertheless, appears to me to be the want of some guide to so vast a mass of materials as that which still lies buried in our Irish MS. Libraries, that I trust it will be found in this respect at least to fulfil the intention of the University Authorities when they determined to undertake the publication.

This first volume, this first course of Lectures, has been exclusively devoted to an account of the available materials actually existing in MS. for the preparation of a General History of Erin. The succeeding course, already alluded to, will necessarily be considerably greater in extent; and if I am enabled to realize the hope of placing that course also before the public in a future volume (or rather volumes, for it will demand, I fear, at least two such as this), it will be found to be the complement of the present. It embraces the detailed examination of:—1° the system of Legislation, and Government, in ancient Erin; 2° the system of ranks and classes in Society; 3° the Religious system (if that of Druidism can be so called); 4° the Education of the people, with some account of their Learning in ancient times; 5° the Military system, including the system of Military Education, and some account of the Gaedhelic Chivalry, or Orders of Champions; 6° the nature, use, and manufacture of Arms used in ancient times; 7° the Buildings of ancient times, both public, military, and domestic, and the Furniture of the latter; 8° the materials

and forms of Dress, as well as its manufacture and ornamentation; 9° the Ornaments (including those of gold and other metals), used by all classes, and their manufacture; 10° the Musical Instruments of the Gaedhelic people, with some account of their cultivation of Music itself; 11° the Agriculture of ancient times, and the implements of all sorts employed in it; 12° the Commerce of the ancient Gaedhil, including some account of the Arts and Manufactures of very early times, as well as of the nature and extent of the intercourse of the people with traders of other nations; and 13° their Funeral Rites, and places of Sepulture. Of these great divisions of my present general course, I am happy to say that all but the last three have been completed, and that the Lectures forming these are now nearly ready for the press,—should the public reception of this first volume be so indulgent as to permit me to hope that the remainder may be allowed to appear in turn.

I cannot conclude these prefatory remarks without bespeaking the attention of my readers to two important features in the present volume which I trust will be found to possess no little value. I allude to the very extensive APPENDIX; and to the interesting series of FAC-SIMILES, which will be found at the end.

In the Appendix I have not only given in full the original text of every one of the very numerous quotations from the ancient Gaedhelic MSS. referred to and translated in the text,—(extracts which will, I hope, be found useful and convenient to the student at a distance from our libraries, both as authorities and as examples also of the language, the records quoted being compositions of almost every age during many centuries back),—but also many original pieces of great importance, not hitherto published, which I have endeavoured to edit fully with translation and notes.^(a) Besides these, I have there collected also several separate notes and memoranda upon various subjects, which

^(a) The end of the Appendix (p. 644,—App. No. CLVII.), I have thought it right to insert a statement respecting the Irish MSS. at St. Isidore's, in Rome, drawn up, since these Lectures were delivered, for the Senate of the University. It will be found to contain some interesting matter in connection with the subject of this volume.

could not properly have been introduced in the course of the Lectures themselves. The preparation of this Appendix has cost me, I may almost say, as much labour as that of the entire text; and it has been a chief cause of the great delay which has taken place in the publication of the book.

In the series of Fac-Similes (the addition of which was adopted on the suggestion of my learned colleague and friend, Dr. W. K. O'Sullivan), I have taken advantage of the opportunity presented by the publication of a general work on our early MSS. to lay before the learned in other countries a *complete* set of examples of the handwriting of the best Gaedhelic scribes, from the very earliest period down to the century before the last. For this purpose I have for the most part selected my examples from those passages which have been quoted in the text, and of which the original Gaedhelic will be found in the Appendix, in order that scholars may be able to compare the contracted writing with the full sentences as I have expanded them. But I have also inserted several examples, (as in the instances of the earliest Latin ecclesiastical MSS., one of which is, I believe, contemporary with St. Patrick, and three of which are attributed to the very hand of St. *Colum Cille*), from writings which are mentioned indeed, but which there was no occasion to quote in the course of the Lectures. These fac-similes have been executed with admirable correctness in the establishment of Messrs. Forster, lithographers, of this city. I can confidently recommend them to Continental scholars as perfect representations of the handwriting of various ages; and I hope they may be found of some practical use, not only in the identification of Gaedhelic MSS. yet hidden in foreign libraries, but also in the determination of the ages of the MSS. with which they may be compared. They will be found to be arranged in chronological order.

I have to apologize for the length of time which has elapsed from the first announcement of this book to its publication, as well as for the many errors, of print and others, which will be detected in it, but most of which will be found corrected at the end of the volume. Those, however, who are aware of the

crushing succession of domestic afflictions and of bodily infirmities with which it has pleased Providence to visit me during the last three years, will, I am sure, look with indulgent eyes on these defects, as well as on those concerning which I have already confessed and asked pardon beforehand.

In conclusion, I have only to acknowledge the deep obligations under which I am placed by the kindness of many eminent literary friends in the preparation of this volume. Among these I cannot but warmly thank, in particular, the learned Secretary of the Brehon Law Commission, the Very Rev. Charles Graves, F.T.C.D., Dean of the Chapel Royal, for much of kind consideration and many valuable suggestions; the Rev. James H. Todd, S.F.T.C.D., President of the Royal Irish Academy, to whom, with my last named friend, the revival of Irish literature owes so much, and whose countenance and cordial assistance to me have been for so many years of inestimable value; my dear friends, John Edward Pigot, M.R.I.A., and Dr. Robert D. Lyons, M.R.I.A., from whom I received most valuable assistance in the plan and original preparation of these Lectures; and to the former of whom I owe, in addition, the untiring devotion of the vast amount of time and trouble involved in the task his friendship undertook for me of correcting the text, and preparing for and passing through the press the whole of this volume; and my able and truly learned friend, Mr. Whitley Stokes, who prepared for me the references to the MSS. quoted by Zeuss (pp. 27, 28 of this volume), the only new passage, I believe, which has been introduced into the text of the following Lectures since their delivery.

EUGENE O'CURRY.

Dublin, December 15, 1860.

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(K.) "Book of <i>Dimma</i> ", [T.C.D.]. (circa A.D. 620.)	
(L.) "Book of <i>Dimma</i> ", [T.C.D.]. (circa A.D. 620.)	
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(O.) "Book of Armagh", [T.C.D.]. (A.D. 724.)	
(P.) "Book of Armagh", [T.C.D.]. (A.D. 724.)	
(Q.) "Liber Hymnorum", [E. 4. 2.; T.C.D.]. (circa A.D. 900.)	
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 (BB.) "Yellow Book of *Lecain*", [H. 2. 16.; T.C.D.]. (circa A.D. 1390.)
 (CC.) "*Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré*", (called "*Leabhar Breac*"), [R.I.A.]. (circa A.D. 1400.)
 (DD.) "*Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré*", [R.I.A.]. (circa A.D. 1400.)
 (EE.) "*Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré*", [R.I.A.]. (circa A.D. 1400.)
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 (GG.) MS. in Roy. Ir. Acad. (Astronom: Tract; circa A.D. 1400.)
 (HH.) MS. in Trin. Coll. Dubl. [H. 2. 7.] (circa A.D. 1400.)
 (II.) "Book of *Lecain*", [R.I.A.]. (A.D. 1416.)
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 (LL.) "*Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*". (A.D. 1434.)
 (MM.) "Book of *Acaill*", [E. 3. 5.; T.C.D.]. (circa A.D. 1450.)
 (NN.) "Book of Fermoy". (A.D. 1463.)
 (OO.) MS. in Roy. Ir. Acad. [43. 6.] (A.D. 1467.)
 (PP.) Entry in *Leabhar na h-Uidhré*, [R.I.A.]. (A.D. 1470.)
 (QQ.) MS. in Trin. Coll. Dubl. [H. 1. 8.]. (15th Century.)
 (RR.) MS. in Trin. Coll. Dubl. [H. 1. 8.]. (15th Century.)
 (SS.) "Book of Lismore". (15th Century.)
 (TT.) Memorandum in *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré*, [R.I.A.]. (circa A.D. 1500.)
 (UU.) MS. in Trin. Coll. Dubl. [H. 3. 18.]. (A.D. 1509.)
 (VV.) MS. in Trin. Coll. Dubl. [H. 1. 8.]. (16th Century.)
 (WW.) MS. in Trin. Coll. Dubl. [H. 3. 17.]. (15th & 16th Cent.)
 (XX.) MS. in Trin. Coll. Dubl. [H. 1. 19.]. (A.D. 1580.)
 (YY.) Handwriting of Michael O'Clery, [Vellum MS.; R.I.A.].
 (ZZ.) Signature of Michael O'Clery, [Vellum MS.; R.I.A.].
 (AAA.) Handwriting of Cucogry O'Clery, [Vellum MS.; R.I.A.].
 (BBB.) MS. in Trin. Coll. Dubl. [H. 1. 18.; T.C.D.]. (A.D. 1650.)
 (CCC.) Handwriting of Duaid Mac Fírbis, [H. 1. 18.; T.C.D.]. (A.D. 1650.)
 (DDD.) Handwriting of Michael and Cucogry O'Clery, [Paper MS.; R.I.A.].
 (EEE.) Handwriting of Conaire O'Clery, [Paper MS.; R.I.A.].
 (FFF.) Handwriting of John O'Donovan, LL.D., M.R.I.A. (1861.)
 (GGG.) Handwriting (small) of Eugene O'Curry, M.R.I.A. (1848.)
 (HHH.) Handwriting (large) of Eugene O'Curry, M.R.I.A. (1848.)

LIST OF ERRATA AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 3, line 32; for "Gaedhlic", read "Gaedhilic" (as well wherever it may occur as here).
- " 3, note 5, line 3; for "Gaelic", read "Gael".
- " 4, line 6; for "recent", read "more recent".
- " 36, note, line 2; for "land immortality", read "land of immortality".
- " 38, line 19; for "His is *Reochaid*", read "He is *Reochaidh*".
- " 70, line 1; for "*Gilla-an-Chomdech*", read "*Gilla-an-Chomdedh*".
- " 70, line 34; for "*Emhain Macha*", read "*Emhain Mhacha*".
- " 76, line 23; for "about 1002", read "in 1004".
- " 94, last line but two; for "Daniel", read "David".
- " 101, line 18; for "*Connchail*", read "*Conachail*".
- " 111, line 34; for "Roscommon", read "Galway".
- " 118, line 15; for "submersis", read "submersus".
- " 120, last line; for "*Tir-Fhiachradh*", read "*Tir-Fhiachrach*".
- " 146, line 27; for "*Gaedhil*", read "*Gaedhel*".
- " 147, line 4; for "*Teadgh*", read "*Tadhg*".
- " 148, line 9; for "was a guardian", read "was guardian".
- " 158, line 18; for "they year 1200", read "the year 1200".
- " 169, line 4; for "Brien Roe", read "*Brian Ruadh*".
- " 171, line 1; for "*Fiontain*", read "*Fiontan*".
- " " line 30; for "*Ua-Chonghail*", read "*Ua Chonghbhail*".
- " 176, line 30; for "*Neide* the profound in just laws", read "*Neidhe* the profound, and *Ferchertne*".
- " 189, line 27; for "*Luaide*", read "*Luain*".
- " 214, line 24; for "*Tadhg*", read "*Tadhg*".
- " 217, line 3; for "*Benn-chair*", read "*Bennchair*".
- " 219, line 24; for "*O'Cananns*", read "*O'Canannans*".
- " 243, line 13; for "*Amrath*", read "*Anroth*".
- " 250, line 26; for "*Meagh*", read "*Mugh*".
- " 251, last line; for "*Moriadh*", read "*Moriath*".
- " 264, line 8; for "*Fiacha Finnolaidh*", read "*Feradhach*, the son of *Fiacha Finnolaidh*".
- " " line 9; for "*Fiacha*", read "*Feradhack*".
- " 277, line 39; for "Grayhounds", read "Greyhound".
- " 301, line 36; for "*Finnbheoil*", read "*Finnbheoil*".
- " 302, line 36; for "ancient lost tract", read "ancient tract".
- " 303, line 12; for "*chean*", read "*cheann*".
- " " line 24; for "*Drean*", read "*Dean*".
- " 304, line 5; for "*Snaelt*", read "*Suaelt*".
- " 319, line 1; for "*Duil Dearmairt*", read "*Duil Dearmait*".
- " " line 8; for "*Lear*", read "*Lir*".
- " 336, line 24; for "Torloch", read "Conor" [see "*Cambrensis Eversus*", published by the Celtic Society; vol. ii., p. 397].
- " 340, line 28; for "*Cim*", read "*Cenn*".
- " 363, last line but four; for "three quatrains", read "four quatrains".
- " 369, last line but four; "*Mosen*" and "*Faronis*", though so written in the original text, must be read "Moses" and "Pharaoh". "John", too, in this passage, should, of course, be "Paul".

- Page 404, line 33; for "*Maranach*", read "*Mearanach*".
 „ 429, line 33; for "in 664", read "in the year 664".
 „ 431, line 16; for "wordly", read "worldly".
 „ 442, line 12; for "Protestant", read "local".
 „ 480, note 21; for "*Máel*", read "*Máil*".
 „ 488, line 19; for "ṛep, na nairéč", read "ṛep na nairéč".
 „ 496, line 21; for "ṛunn", read "ṛuim".
 „ „ line 32; for "ṛ[ocpuaidh]", read "[ṛ]ocpuaidh".
 „ 498, line 4; for "mhagoš", read "mhagoš".
 „ 503, line 35; for "hand", read "band".
 „ 508, last line but one; for "*Neidhe*", read "*Neidhi*".
 „ 509, note 85; for "when", read "where".
 „ 518, line 20; for "ocur", read "ocur".
 „ „ line 24; for "ṛegnare", read "ṛegnare".
 „ 521, line 29; for "two hundred", read "one hundred".
 „ 522, line 4; for "200", read "100".
 „ 523, line 1; for "copṛṛubam", read "copṛṛubam".
 „ 526, line 24; for "hannram", read "hannra".
 „ 533, line 29; for "ṛin", read "ṛir".
 „ 542, line 17; for "ṛolt doo", read "ṛolta doo".
 „ 551, line 17; for "ṛeagṛeoida", read "ṛeagṛeoida".
 „ 552, line 10; for "ṛari", read "ṛar".
 „ „ line 28; for "ṛoimán", read "ṛoimán".
 „ 553, line 2; for "ṛion", read "ṛion".
 „ 556, line 2; for "ṛeandura", read "ṛeandura".
 „ 558, line 14; for "ṛualmair", read "ṛualmair".
 „ „ line 17; for "ṛaetb", read "ṛaetb".
 „ „ line 34; for "ṛéiró", read "ṛéiró".
 „ 560, last line; for "ṛirṛeṛ", read "ṛirṛeṛ".
 „ 562, line 34; for "from M.S.S." read "from a MS."
 „ 563, last line but 7; for "Connacht", read "*Cruachain*".
 „ 570, line 9; for "ṛhnuṛiugao", read "ṛhnuṛiugao".
 „ 574, line 18; for "ṛirṛeṛ", read "ṛirṛeṛ".
 „ 576, last line but 6; for "ua", read "na".
 „ 581, line 6; for "Britons", read "true Britons".
 „ 581, line 21; for "ṛbṛiaṛṛan", read "ṛbṛiaṛṛan".
 „ „ line 37; for "ṛeanaṛina", read "ṛeanaṛina".
 „ 582, line 25; for "ṛinead", read "ṛinnead".
 „ 590, last line of last note; for "H. 8. 17. T.C.D.", read "H. 3. 18. T.C.D".
 „ 597, line 21; for "kings", read "king".
 „ 598, last line but 2; for "ṛan", read "ṛan".
 „ 599, line 21; (no comma after the word ṛabairt).
 „ 600, line 29; for "*Ulaidh*", read "*Uladh*".
 „ 601, line 15; for "ocur", read "ocur".
 „ 602, line 9; (quotation should end with inverted commas).
 „ 605, line 29; for "cccinn", read "ccinn".
 „ 616, line 17; for "caves", read "cans".
 „ 629, line 14; for "attributed Seona", read "attributed to Seona".
 „ 630, line 8; after "*Ultonians*", read "were".

[In consequence of a mistake in the List furnished by the Secretary of the University to the Printer, the Dates given at the head of Lectures V. to XII. (pp. 93, 120, 140, 162, 181, 203, 229, 251), are incorrect; (see Note at p. 320.) Lectures V., VI., VII., VIII., IX., and X., were in fact delivered in the Spring (March) of 1856. Lectures XI., XII., XIII., and XIV., and XVII. to XXI., were all delivered in the months of June and July, 1856. Lectures XV. and XVI. (in the order now printed), were in fact delivered in March, 1855, after Lect. IV., and are now restored to their proper order. Lect. V. (p. 93), as delivered (in March, 1856) opened with an explanation, now, of course, omitted, so as to take up the subject from the close of the previous Lect. the year before.]

LECTURE I.

[Delivered 13th March, 1855.]

INTRODUCTION. Of Learning before S. Patrick's time. Of the lost Books, and what is known of them. I. The *Cuilmenn*. II. The Saltair of Tara. III. The Book of the *Uachongbhail*. IV. The *Cin Droma Snechta*. V. The *Seanchas Mór*. VI. The Book of Saint Mochta. VII. The Book of Cuana. VIII. The Book of *Dubh-da-leithé*. IX. The Saltair of Cashel. Of the existing collections of ancient Manuscripts.

I BELIEVE that the tendency may be called a law of our nature, which induces us to look back with interest and reverence to the monuments and records of our progenitors; and that the more remote and ancient such monuments and records are, the greater is the interest which we feel in them. At no period, perhaps, was this feeling of interest and reverence for the remains of antiquity more generally cherished than it is amongst the civilized nations of Europe in our own days. A desire to learn and to understand the manners, the habits and customs, the arts, the science, the religion, nay, even the ordinary pursuits, of the nations of ancient times has largely seized on the minds of living men; and the possession of even the few relics of ancient art which have come down to our own century is deemed of great value. Of how much higher and more special interest and importance, therefore, must it be to us to understand the language, and through it to become acquainted with the actions, the range of thought, the character of mind, the habits, the tastes, and the every-day life of those to whom in our own country those relics belonged, and who have perhaps taken a prominent part in the ancient history of the nations among whom such vestiges of former days have been discovered! The various subjects connected with historical and antiquarian researches in general occupy at the present moment so prominent a place in the literature of modern Europe, and their value and importance are so generally recognized, that it is unnecessary to make any apology for undertaking here a course of lectures such as that upon which we are now about to enter: nor is it necessary, I am sure, to point out the special usefulness in our own country, in particular, of any new attempt to develop what may be learned of her early history.

LECT. I.

Neglect of
antiquarian
inquiry.

In all other countries these departments of knowledge are both earnestly and industriously cultivated; and not only in all that relates to the early state of those classic nations which have filled the most distinguished place in the history of the world, but also as regards nations of lesser prominence, where, as a matter both of natural affection and duty, the labours of the antiquarian are directed with zeal and diligence to elucidate the early condition of his own native land.

In Ireland, however, it is deeply to be regretted that as yet we have not at all adequately explored the numerous valuable monuments, and the great abundance of national records, which have been bequeathed to us by our Celtic ancestors. But if in our days the language, history, and traditions of our country and our race, are not prized by Irishmen as they ought to be, we know that this has not been always the case. Even a limited acquaintance with our manuscript records will suffice to show us how the national poet, the historian, and the musician, as well as the man of excellence in any other of the arts or sciences, were cherished and honoured. We find them indeed from a very early period placed in a position not merely of independence, but even of elevated rank; and their persons and property declared inviolate, and protected specially by the law. Thus, an *Ollamh*,⁽¹⁾ or Doctor in *Filidecht*,⁽²⁾ when *ordained* by the king or chief,—for such is the expression used on the occasion,—was entitled to rank next in precedence to the monarch himself at table. He was not permitted to lodge, or accept refectation when on his travels, at the house of any one

(1) *Ollamh*, pronounced “Ollav”.

(2) It is very difficult to find an adequate translation in the English language for the words *fileoēct* (pronounced nearly “fillidecht”;—the *ch* guttural), and *file* (which is pronounced nearly “filley”). The word *Filé* (the reader will observe the pronunciation), is commonly rendered by the English word “Poet”: but it was in fact the general name applied to a Scholar in or Professor of Literature and Philosophy; the art of composition in verse, or “Poetry”, being included under the former. Perhaps the best general name to represent the *Filé* would be that of “Philosopher”, in the Greek sense of the word; but the term would be too vague as it is understood in modern English. Instead therefore of translating *Filidecht* “Philosophy”, and *Filé* “Philosopher”, the Irish words are retained in the following pages; the *filidecht*,—in the knowledge of which the degree of *Ollamh* was the highest, in that system of education which in ancient Erin preceded the University system of after times,—included the study of law, of history, and of philosophy properly so called, as well as of languages, of music, of druidism, and of poetry in all its departments, and the practice of recitation in prose and verse; the word *filé*, taken by itself, abstractedly, means generally a Poet,—but in connection with the system of learning the term is applied to a *Saí* (pron. “See”), in some one or more of the branches of learning included in the *filidecht*; so that an *Ollamh* would be called *File*, and so also a *Drumcli*, etc.; so also would a *Ferleighinn*, or Professor of classical learning, etc. [See also APPENDIX, No. I.]

below the rank of a *Flaith*.⁽³⁾ He, that was the *Ollamh*, was allowed a standing income of "twenty-one cows and their grass" in the chieftain's territory, besides ample refections for himself and for his attendants, to the number of twenty-four; including his subordinate tutors, his advanced pupils, and his retinue of servants. He was entitled to have two hounds and six horses. He was, besides, entitled to a singular privilege within his territory: that of conferring a temporary sanctuary from injury or arrest, by carrying his wand, or having it carried around or over the person or place to be protected. His wife also enjoyed certain other valuable privileges; and similar privileges were accorded to all the degrees of the legal, historical, musical and poetic art below him, according to their rank.

Rank of
learned men
in ancient
Erinn.

Similar rank and emoluments, again, were awarded to the *Seanchaidhe*,⁽⁴⁾ or Historian; so that in this very brief reference you will already obtain some idea of the honour and respect which were paid to the national literature and traditions, in the persons of those who were in ancient times looked on as their guardians from age to age. And, surely, by the Irishman of the present day, it ought to be felt an imperative duty, which he owes to his country not less than to himself, to learn something at least of her history, her literature, and her antiquities, and, as far as existing means will allow, to ascertain for himself what her position was in past times, when she had a name and a civilization, a law and life of her own.

In the present course of lectures, then, it will be my duty to endeavour to lay before you an outline of the Materials which still exist for the elucidation of our National History. For, it may be truly said that the history of ancient Erinn, as of modern Ireland, is yet unwritten; though, as we shall see in the progress of this course, most ample materials still remain in the *Gaethlic*⁽⁵⁾ or Irish language from which that history may be constructed.

Amongst the large quantities of MS. records which have

⁽³⁾The *flaith* (now pronounced nearly "Flah") was a Noble, or Landlord-Chief; a class in the ancient Irish community in many respects analogous to the Noble class in Germany, or in France before the Revolution of 1789, though the rights and privileges of the ancient Irish were by no means those of the Feudal law of the continent, which never prevailed in any form in ancient Erinn.

⁽⁴⁾*Seanchaidhe* (now pronounced nearly "Shánchie") was the Historian or Antiquarian; and, in his character of Reciter, also the Story Teller.

⁽⁵⁾The ancient Irish called themselves *Gaethil* (now pronounced nearly "Gail"), and their language *Gaethilic*, or *Gaethlic* (pron: "Gaelic"). In modern English the word "Gaelic" is applied only to that branch of the race which forms the Celtic population of modern Scotland. But the word refers to the true name of the entire race; and in these Lectures, accordingly, it is always used to designate the Milesian population of ancient Erinn.

LECT. I.

Literature
in ancient
Erinn before
Saint Pa-
trick.

come down to our times, will be found examples of the literature of very different periods in our history. Some, as there is abundant evidence to prove, possess a degree of antiquity very remarkable, indeed, when compared with the similar records of other countries of modern Europe. Others again have been compiled within still recent times. Those MSS. which we now possess belonging to the earliest periods are themselves, we have just reason to believe, either in great part or in the whole, but transcripts of still more ancient works.

At what period in Irish history written records began to be kept it is, perhaps, impossible to determine at present with precision. However, the national traditions assign a very remote antiquity and a high degree of cultivation to the civilization of our pagan ancestors. [See APPENDIX No. II.]

Without granting to such traditions a greater degree of credibility than they are strictly entitled to, it must, I think, be admitted that the immense quantity of historical, legendary, and genealogical matter relating to the pagan age of ancient Erinn, and which we can trace to the very oldest written documents of which we yet retain any account, could only have been transmitted to our times by some form of written record.

Passing over those earlier periods, however, for the present, and first directing our inquiries to an era in our history of which we possess copious records (though one already far removed from modern times), it may be found most convenient that I should ask your attention at the opening of this course of Lectures to the probable state of learning in Erinn about the period of the introduction of Christianity by Saint Patrick.

There is abundant evidence in the MSS. relating to this period (the authority and credibility of which will be fully proved to you), to show that Saint Patrick found on his coming to Erinn a regularly defined system of law and policy, and a fixed classification of the people according to various grades and ranks, under the sway of a single monarch, presiding over certain subordinate provincial kings.

We find mention likewise of books in the possession of the Druids before the arrival of Saint Patrick; and it is repeatedly stated (in the Tripartite Life of the saint) that he placed primers or lessons in the Latin language in the hands of those whom he wished to take into his ministry.

We have also several remarkable examples of the literary eminence which was rapidly attained by many of his disciples, amongst whom may be particularly mentioned, *Benén*, or Benignus; Mochoe; and Fiace, of *Slebhté*, or Sletty. This last

is the author of a biographical poem on the Life of the Apostle in the Gaedhlic language, a most ancient copy of which still exists, and which bears internal evidence of a high degree of perfection in the language at the time at which it was composed. And it is unquestionably in all respects a genuine and native production, quite untinctured with the Latin or any other foreign contemporary style or idiom.

LECT. I.

Causes of the loss of the earlier writings.

There are besides many other valuable poems and other compositions referable to this period which possess much of the same excellence, though not all of equal ability: and among these are even a few still extant, attributed, and with much probability, to *Dubthach* (now pronounced “Dúvach”, and in the old Norse sagas spelt *Dufthakr*), *Ua Lugair*, chief poet of the monarch *Laeghaire* (pron: nearly as “Layry”), who was uncle, on the mother’s side, and preceptor of the Fiacc just mentioned.⁽⁶⁾

It is to be remarked here that, in dealing with these early periods of Irish history, the inquirer of the present day has to contend with difficulties of a more than ordinary kind. Our isolated position prevented the contemporary chroniclers of other countries from giving to the affairs of ancient Erin anything more than a passing notice; while many causes have combined to deprive us of much of the light which the works of our own annalists would have thrown on the passing events of their day in the rest of Europe.

The first and chief of these causes was the destruction and mutilation of so many ancient writings during the Danish occupation of Erin; for we have it on trustworthy record, that those hardy and unscrupulous adventurers made it a special part of their savage warfare to tear, burn, and drown (as it is expressed) all books and records that came to their hands, in the sacking of churches and monasteries, and the plundering of the habitations of the chiefs and nobles. And that they destroyed them, and did not take them away, as some have thought (contrary to the evidence of our records), is confirmed by the fact that not a fragment of any such manuscripts has as yet been found among the collections of ancient records in Copenhagen, Stockholm, or any of the other great northern repositories of antiquities that we are acquainted with.

Another, and, we may believe, the chief cause, was the oc-

⁽⁶⁾ It has been thought proper to insert in the APPENDIX (No. III.) the text (with translation) of three of these curious poems, as specimens of the style and composition of so very early a writer. They are all on the subject of the battles and triumphs of King *Crimthan*, son of *Enna Ceinnselach* (King of Leinster in the time of the poet, i.e., the fifth century), and on those of *Enna* himself.

LECT. I.

Neglect of
the language
in more mo-
dern times.

currence of the Anglo-Norman invasion so soon after the expulsion of the Danes, and the sinister results which it produced upon the literary as well as upon all the other interests of the country. The protracted conflicts between the natives and their invaders were fatal not only to the vigorous resumption of the study of our language, but also to the very existence of a great part of our ancient literature. The old practice of reproducing our ancient books, and adding to them a record of such events as had occurred from the period of their first compilation, as well as the composition of new and independent works, was almost altogether suspended. And thus our national literature received a fatal check at the most important period of its development, and at a time when the mind of Europe was beginning to expand under the influence of new impulses.

Again, the discovery of printing at a subsequent period made works in other languages so much more easy of access than those transcribed by hand in the Irish tongue, that this also may have contributed to the farther neglect of native compositions.

Aided by the new political rule under which the country, after a long and gallant resistance, was at length brought, these and similar influences banished, at last, almost the possibility of cultivating the Gaedhlic literature and learning. The long-continuing insecurity of life and property drove out the native chiefs and gentry, or gradually changed their minds and feelings—the class which had ever before supplied liberal patrons of the national literature.

Not only were the old Irish nobility, gentry, and people in general, lovers of their native language and literature, and patrons of literary men, but even the great Anglo-Norman nobles themselves who effected a permanent settlement among us, appear from the first to have adopted what doubtless must have seemed to them the better manners, customs, language, and literature of the natives; and not only did they munificently patronize their professors, but became themselves proficient in these studies; so that the Geraldines, the Butlers, the Burkes, the Keatings, and others, thought, spoke, and wrote in the Gaedhlic, and stored their libraries with choice and expensive volumes in that language; and they were reproached by their own compatriots with having become “*ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores*,”—“more Irish than the Irish themselves”. So great indeed was the value in those days set on literary and historical documents by chiefs and princes, that it has more than once happened that a much-prized MS. was the stipulated ransom of a captive noble, and became the object of a tedious warfare;

and this state of things continued to exist for several centuries, even after the whole framework of Irish society was shaken to pieces by the successive invasions of the Danes, the Norsemen, and the Anglo-Normans, followed by the Elizabethan, Cromwellian, and Williamite wars and confiscations, and accompanied by the ever-increasing dissensions of the native princes among themselves, disunited as they were ever after the fall of the supreme monarchy at the close of the twelfth century.

LECT. I.

Literature encouraged by the fallen chieftains, after the loss of their national independence.

With the dispersion of the native chiefs, not a few of the great books that had escaped the wreck of time were altogether lost to us; many followed the exiled fortunes of their owners; and not a few were placed in inaccessible security at home. Indeed, it may be said that after the termination of the great wars of the seventeenth century, so few and inaccessible were the examples of the old Gaedhlic literature, that it was almost impossible to acquire a perfect knowledge of the language in its purity.

With such various causes, active and long-continued, in operation to effect its destruction, there is reason for wonder that we should still be in possession of any fragments of the ancient literature of our country, however extensive it may once have been. And that it was extensive, and comprehended a wide range of subjects—justifying the expressions of the old writers who spoke of “the hosts of the books of Erinn”—may be judged from those which have survived the destructive ravages of invasion, the accidents of time, and the other causes just enumerated. When we come to inquire concerning the fragments which exist in England and elsewhere, they will be found to be still of very large extent; and if we judge the value and proportions of the original literature of our Gaedhlic ancestors, as we may fairly do, by what remains of it, we may be justly excused the indulgence of no small feeling of national pride.

Amongst the collections of Irish MSS. now accessible, many of the most remarkable can be shown to possess a high degree of antiquity; and not only do they in many instances exhibit internal evidence of having been compiled from still more ancient documents, but this is distinctly so stated in reference to several of the most valuable tracts contained in them.

We also find numerous references to books, of which we now unfortunately possess no copies; and these invaluable records, it is to be feared, are now irrecoverably lost. Of the works the originals of which have not come down to us, but with whose contents we are made more or less familiar by references, citations, or transcripts in still existing MSS., I shall now proceed to give you a brief general outline; reserving for another lecture

LECT. I.

the more detailed discussion of the subjects which they treat of, their historic value, and the place which they are entitled to occupy in the reconstruction of our ancient literature.

Of the
CUILMENN.

I. The first ancient book that I shall mention is one to which I have found but one or two references, and which I must introduce by a rather circuitous train of evidence.

In the time of *Senchan* (pron. "Shencan"), then Chief Poet of Erin, and of Saint *Ciaran* (pronounced in English as if written "Kieran"), of *Cluain mic Nóis*, or Clonmacnoise,—that is about A.D. 580,—*Senchan* is stated to have called a meeting of the poets and learned men of Erin, to discover if any of them remembered the entire of the ancient Tale of the *Táin bo Chuaigne*, or the Cattle Spoil or Cattle plunder of Cuailgne,⁽⁷⁾ a romantic tale founded upon an occurrence which is referred to the beginning of the Christian Era.

The assembled poets all answered that they remembered but fragments of the Tale; whereupon *Senchan* commissioned two of his own pupils to travel into the country of Letha to learn the Tale of the *Táin*, which the *Saoi*, or Professor, had taken to the East after the CUILMENN [or the great book written on Skins].

The passage is as follows (see original in APPENDIX, No. IV.): "The *Filés* of Erin were now called together by *Senchan Torpéist*, to know if they remembered the *Táin bó Chuaigné* in full; and they said that they knew of it but fragments only. *Senchan* then spoke to his pupils to know which of them would go into the countries of *Letha* to learn the *Táin*, which the *Sai* had taken 'eastwards' after the *Cuilmenn*. *Eminé*, the grandson of *Nininé*, and *Muirgen*, *Senchan's* own son, set out to go to the East". [Book of Leinster (H. 2. 18. T.C.D.), fol. 183, a.]

This, to be sure, is but a vague reference, but it is sufficient to show that in *Senchan's* time there was at least a tradition that some such book had existed, and had been carried into Letha, the name by which Italy in general, and particularly that part of it in which Rome is situated, was designated by ancient Irish writers. Now the carrying away of this book is a circumstance which may possibly have occurred during or shortly subsequent to St. Patrick's time. And so, finding this reference in a MS. of such authority as the Book of Leinster (a well-known and most valuable compilation of the middle of the twelfth century), I could not pass it over here.

(7) *Cuaigne* (Cuailgne), a district now called Cooley, in the modern county of Louth.

I remember but one other reference to a Book known by the name of Cuilmenn: it occurs in the "Brehon Laws", and in an ancient Irish Law Glossary, compiled by the learned *Dubhaltach Mac Fírbisigh* (Duaíd Mac Fírbis), and preserved in the Library of T.C.D. (classed H. 5. 30.), in which the Seven Orders (or degrees) of "Wisdom" are distinguished and explained. (Wisdom, I should tell you, here technically signifies history and antiquity, sacred and profane, as well as the whole range of what we should now call a collegiate education.) It is in these words:—

"Druimelí⁽⁸⁾ is a man who has a perfect knowledge of wisdom, from the greatest Book, which is called Cuilmenn, to the smallest Book, which is called 'Ten Words' [*Deich m-Breithir*, that is 'the Ten Commandments'; a name given to the Pentateuch], in which is well arranged the good testament which God made unto Moses".—[See APPENDIX, No. V.]

The Cuilmenn here spoken of is placed in opposition to the Books of Moses, as if it were a repertory of history or other matter concerning events entirely apart from those contained in the sacred volume.

II. The next ancient record which we shall consider is one about the authenticity of which much doubt and uncertainty have existed in modern times; I allude to the SALTAIR OF TARA, the composition of which is referred to the third century.

The oldest reference to this book that I have met with is to be found in a poem on the map or site of ancient Tara, written by a very distinguished scholar, Cuan O'Lochain, a native of Westmeath, who died in the year 1024. The oldest copy of O'Lochain's verses that I have seen is preserved in the ancient and very curious topographical tract so well known as the *Dinnsenchas* (pron: nearly "Dinnshanacus"), of which several ancient MS. editions have been made from time to time. The one from which I am about to quote is to be found in the Book of Ballymote, a magnificent volume compiled in the year 1391, and now deposited among the rich treasures of the Royal

⁽⁸⁾ Druimelí, *i.e.*, he who has (or knows) the top ridge (or highest range) of learning; a word compounded of *drum*, the ridge of a hill, or the back of a person, or the ridge of the roof of a house; and *elí*, a form of *cleit*, the column, or tree, which in ancient times supported the house; and the man who was a *drumelí* was supposed to have climbed up the pillar or tree of learning to its very ridge or top, and was thus qualified to be a *fepleigim*—a Professor, or man qualified to teach or superintend the teaching of the whole course of a college education. [The entire passage, in which the "Seven Orders of Wisdom" are separately explained, will be found, with translation, in the APPENDIX, No. V.]

LECT. I.

O'Lochain's
Poem on
Tara.

Irish Academy. The following extract (the original of which will be found in the APPENDIX, No. VI.) from the opening of O'Lochain's most valuable poem contains somewhat more than an allusion to the *SALTair* of Tara:—

Temair,⁽⁹⁾ choicest of hills,
For [possession of] which Erinn is now devastated,
The noble city of Cormac Son of Art,
Who was the son of great Conn of the hundred battles:
Cormac, the prudent and good,
Was a sage, a *filé* (or poet), a prince:
Was a righteous judge of the *Fené-men*,⁽¹⁰⁾
Was a good friend and companion.
Cormac gained fifty battles:
He compiled the *Saltair* of Temur.
In that *Saltair* is contained
The best summary of history;
It is that *Saltair* which assigns
Seven chief kings to Erinn of harbours;
They consisted of the five kings of the provinces,—
The monarch of Erinn and his Deputy.
In it are (written) on either side,
What each provincial king is entitled to,
What the king of Temur in the east is entitled to,
From the king of each great musical province.
The synchronisms and chronology of all,
The kings, with each other [one with another] all;
The boundaries of each brave province,⁽¹¹⁾
From a cantred up to a great chieftaincy.

This important poem, which consists altogether of thirty-two quatrains, has been given (from the MS. H. 3. 3 in the Library

⁽⁹⁾ *Temair*, i.e. *Teamhair*, is the nominative: *Teamhair*, the genitive, which is pronounced very nearly *Tára*, as the place is now called in English. This celebrated hill is situated in the present county of Meath, but a few miles to the west of Dublin. The remains of the ancient palace of the Kings of Erinn are still visible upon it. (See the admirable Memoir upon these remains published by Dr. Petrie in the eighteenth vol. of the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, in which a detailed map of the ruins is given.) It is more than probable that this poem was written in the year 1001, when Brian *Boroimhé* showed the first symptoms of a design to dethrone King Maelseachlainn or Malachy.

⁽¹⁰⁾ "*Fené-men*".—These were the farmers; and what is meant therefore is that Cormac was a righteous Judge of the "*Agraria Lex*" of the Gaels.

⁽¹¹⁾ This line has been translated "*The boundaries of each province from the hill*"; but after much consideration I have clearly come to the conclusion that the word in the original is intended for *fo-éruaid*, or *fo-éruaid*, *brave, valiant, hardy*, and not *fo éruaid*, *from the hill*.

of Trinity College), with an English translation, by our distinguished countryman, Doctor Petrie, in his valuable Memoir of Temair, or Tara, published in the eighteenth volume of the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, p. 143.

LECT. I.

Of the title
of "Saltair".

The Book of Ballymote, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy [at fol. 145, a. a.], and the Yellow Book of Lecan, in that of Trinity College, Dublin [classed II. 2. 16.] at col. 889, both contain a curious article on the excellence of Cormac Mac Art as a king, a judge, and a warrior, from which I may extract here the following passage as also referring to the Saltair of Tara [see APPENDIX, No. VII.] :—

“A noble work was performed by Cormac at that time, namely, the compilation of Cormac’s Saltair, which was composed by him and the Seanchaidhe, [or Historians] of Erin, including Fintan, Son of Bochra, and Fithil, the poet and judge [both distinguished for ancient lore]. And their synchronisms and genealogies, the succession of their kings and monarchs, their battles, their contests, and their antiquities, from the world’s beginning down to that time, were written; and this is the Saltair of Temair, which is the origin and fountain of the Historians of Erin from that period down to this time. This is taken from the Book of the Uachongbhail”.

Dr. Petrie, in his remarks on the Saltair or Psalter of Tara (Transact. R. I. A., vol. xviii., p. 45), observes that “the very title given to this work is sufficient to excite well-founded suspicion of its antiquity”. His meaning evidently is, that the title of Saltair appears clearly to imply a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and can scarcely have been selected as the title of his work by a heathen author.

We do not, however, anywhere read that the name of Psalter or Saltair, was given to this work by its compiler. We know that in later times the celebrated King-Bishop Cormac Mac Cullinan gave the same name of Saltair to the great similar collection made by him about the close of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century. Did he call his compilation, or was it called by others, after the Saltair of Tara, compiled by the older Cormac in the third century? Or even if we suppose the name of Saltair or Psalter to have originated with the Christian Cormac, the same name may have been afterwards given to the older work, from the similar nature of its contents, and from its having been compiled by another Cormac. If the one was worthy of being named Psalter of Cashel, as having been compiled at the command of a King of Cashel, the other was equally entitled to the name of Psalter of Tara.

LECT. I.

Dr. Petrie
on the
"Saltair".

having been compiled by a King of Tara. There was time enough from the beginning of the tenth century to the time we first find it mentioned under the name of Saltair and Psalter of Tara, to give full currency to the title; and this supposition may, in part, perhaps, furnish an answer to another of Dr. Petrie's difficulties, viz., that this book has not been quoted, nor any extract from it given, in any of our ancient Irish authorities, although the Saltair of Cashel is frequently cited by them. Perhaps they have quoted it, although under other names, not yet ascertained by us to be identical with it, the name of Saltair of Tara not having been in their time universally adopted as applicable to it. But a better answer to the difficulty is probably to be found in the fact, that the Saltair of Tara had perished before the twelfth or thirteenth century, and consequently was inaccessible to the compilers of the Books of Ballymote, Lecan, Hy Many, etc. For in the passage just quoted from the Book of Ballymote, its contents are described on the authority of the Book of the *Uachongbhail*; whilst Cuan O'Lochain, writing three centuries before, speaks of it (and under the name of Saltair of Tara) as being in his time extant.

It follows, then, beyond all reasonable doubt, that whether or not the name of Saltair or Psalter was originally given to this compilation, such a compilation existed, and that in the beginning of the eleventh century it was in existence, under the name of Saltair of Tara, and believed to have been collected under the patronage of Cormac Mac Art, who died in the year 266.

Before I leave the subject of the "Saltair", I cannot but observe, that the Rev. Dr. Keating also, a most learned Gaedhlic scholar, gives an explanation of the word quite in consonance with the preceding remarks. In the Preface to his History of Ireland he tells us that History in ancient times was all written in verse, for its better security, and for the greater facility of committing it to memory; and he goes on to refer to the Saltair of Tara in the following words [see original in APPENDIX, No. VIII.]:—

"And it is because of its having been written in poetic metre, that the chief book which was in the custody of the *Ollamh* of the King of Erin, was called the 'Saltair of Temair'; and the Chronicle of holy Cormac Mac Cullinan, 'Saltair of Cashel'; and the Chronicle of Aengus *Ceilé Dé* [or the "Culdee"], '*Saltair-na-Rann*' [that is, "Saltair of the Poems, or Verses"]; because a *Salm* [Psalm] and a Poem are the same, and therefore a *Salterium* and a *Duanairé* [book of poems] are the same".

III. Of the next in order of the lost books, the **BOOK OF THE *UACHONGBHAIL*** (pron: "ooa cong-wall"), almost nothing is known beyond the bare name. The passage just quoted from the Book of Ballymote and from the Yellow Book of Lecan, was copied into those MSS. from the lost book itself, according to the entry; but what was the age of the book at that time it is now impossible to determine. The O'Clerys, however, mention that they had access to it when compiling their Book of the Invasions of Erin, that is in the year 1630 or 1631. And Keating, in the Second Book of his History, mentions the Book of the *Uachongbhail* among the very ancient books or transcripts of very ancient books which were still extant in his own time, and of which he had made use. It was probably of the age of the Book of Leinster, and kept at Kildare in 1626.

LECT. I.

Of the
Book of
UACHONG-
BHAIL.

IV. The next book of considerable antiquity that we find reference to is that called the *CIN DROMA SNECHTA*, or Cin of Drom Snechta. The word *Cin* (pron: in Engl. "Kin") is explained in our ancient Glossaries as signifying a stave of five sheets of vellum: and the name of this book would signify, therefore, the Vellum-stave Book of Drom Snechta. The words Drom Snechta signify the snow-capped hill, or mountain ridge, and it is believed to have been the name of a mountain situated in the present county of Monaghan.

Of the
CIN DROMA
SNECHTA.

The Cin of Drom Snechta is quoted in the Book of Ballymote [fol. 12 a.] in support of the ancient legend of the antediluvian occupation of Erin by the Lady *Banbha*, who is however in other Books called *Cesair* (pron: "Kesar"). There are also two references to it in the Book of Lecan. The first of these [fol. 271 b.] is in the same words preserved in the Book of Ballymote: "From the Cin of Drom Snechta is [taken] this little [bit] as far as Cesair".—[See APPENDIX, No. IX.] The second is [fol. 77 b., col. 2] where the writer says in summing up the genealogies of some of the families of Connacht, that he compiled them from the Chronicles of the Gaedhil:—

"We have collected now this genealogy of the *Ui-Diarmada* out of the Chronicles of the Gaedhil, and out of Cormac's Saltair at Cashel, and out of the Book of *Dundaleathghlas* [Downpatrick], and out of the Books of Flann *Mainistrech* [Flann of Monasterboice], and out of the Cin of Drom Snechta, and out of the annals and historical books [of Erin], until we have brought it all together here".—[See APPENDIX, No. X.]

The same valuable book quotes the *Cin Droma Snechta* again by direct transcript [at folio 123 a.], where it gives, first,

LECT. I.

*Erinn, the
writer of the
Cin Droma
Snechta.*

the genealogies of the chieftains of the ancient Rudrician race of Ulster, in the ordinary way in which they are found in other books of the same and of a previous period; and it then gives a different version, saying:—"The Cin of Drom Snechta says that it is (as follows) it ought to be".—[See APPENDIX, No. XI.] This has reference to the pedigrees of the Irian race of Ulster, and immediately to that of the celebrated Knight of the *Cruebh Ruadh*, or Royal Branch, Conall Cearnach.⁽¹²⁾

A short account of the Destruction of *Bruighean Da Derga* (The Court of Da Derga), and the death of the monarch Conaire Mór, is quoted from the Cin of Drom Snechta in *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, fol. 67 a.; and again, the Account of the birth of Cuchulainn, at fol. 80 b. from the same book.

Doctor Keating, in his History, when introducing the Milesian colonists, gives their descent from Magog, the son of Japhet, on the authority of the Cin of Drom Snechta, which, he states, was compiled before Saint Patrick's mission to Erinn. His words are: "We will set down here the branching off of the race of Magog, according to the Book of Invasions (of Ireland), which was called the Cin of Drom Snechta, and it was before the coming of (St.) Patrick to Ireland the author of that book existed".—[See APPENDIX, No. XII.] What authority Dr. Keating had for this statement we know not, as unfortunately he has not given it; and the only reference to the author's name that I have myself ever found is in a partially effaced memorandum in the Book of Leinster. This memorandum is written in the lower margin of a page [fol. 230 b.], which contains genealogies of several of the chieftain lines of Ireland and Scotland.

There is apparently but one word—the name of the writer—illegible at the beginning of this memorandum; and with this word provisionally restored, the note would read thus:—

"[Ernín, son of] Duach [that is], son of the King of Connacht, an *Ollamh*, and a prophet, and a professor in history, and a professor in wisdom, it was he that collected the Genealogies and Histories of the men of Erinn in one book, that is, the *Cin Droma Snechta*."—[See APPENDIX, No. XIII.]

The Duach here referred to (who was probably still alive at the time of Saint Patrick's coming) was the son of Brian, son of the Monarch *Eochaidh Muighmhedhoin*, who died A.D. 365. (This *Eochaidh* was also the father of Niall of the Nine Hos-

(12) The chiefs whose pedigrees are here collected are those whose names appear in the ancient story of Deirdre and the tragical death of the sons of Uisneach, of which the Gaelic Society of Dublin published an inaccurate version in the year 1808

tages, who was the father of *Laeghairé*, the Monarch of Erin at the time when Saint Patrick came on his mission in the year 432). Duach had two sons—Eoghan Srem, who succeeded him as King of Connacht and Ernín.

LECT. I.

The *Cin* quoted in the Book of Leinster.

A descendant in the fourth generation of this Duach was King of Connacht, and a Christian, namely, Duach Tenguinha, or Duach the sweet-tongued, who died, according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 499, leaving an only son, Senach, who was the ancestor of the O'Flahertys of West Connacht.

Now, as there are but two of the name of Duach to be found in the whole line of the Kings of Connacht (of whom the first was a pagan and the second a Christian), the compiler of the *Cin of Drom Snechta* must have been the son of one or other; and as the tradition concerning the book is, that it was written before Patrick's time, it is pretty clear, if we assume this tradition to be correct, that the son of Duach Galach was the compiler. Finally, as his elder son, Eoghan Srem, succeeded him as king, it appears to me very probable that his younger son, Ernín, was the author of the *Cin of Drom Snechta*. This would fairly enough bear out the statement which Keating has put forward.⁽¹³⁾

Dr. Keating makes another reference to the *Cin*, where, in speaking of the schools said to have been instituted by Fenius *Farsaidh*, he says:—

“Fenius sets up schools to teach the several languages, on the Plain of Seanar, in the city which the *Cin Droma Sneachta* calls Eothona, as the poet says”, etc.—[See APPENDIX, No. XV.]

It has been already observed that the ancient book called the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre* (which is in some part preserved in a M.S. of circa A.D. 1100, bearing the same name, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy) contains a reference to the *Cin of Drom Snechta*. And to this very old authority may be added that of the Book of Leinster, in which (at fol. 149 b.) occurs the following curious passage:—

“From the *Cin of Drom Snechta*, this below. Historians say that there were exiles of Hebrew women in Erin at the

(13) While these sheets were passing through the press (August, 1858), I took advantage of an unusually bright day to make another careful examination of the time-blackened leaf of the Book of Leinster, in which this curious entry appears. I have this time had the satisfaction of being able to make out perfectly all the words, except the very first—the name of the son of Duach; and this name itself, though not so clear as the remainder of the sentence, is, in my opinion, equally unmistakeable. To my eyes it is certainly *Erinn*. It will be observed, on reference to the original (in the APPENDIX), that there is no word between *Erinn* and *Duach*. The word *mac*, “son”, which should have been written here, seems to have been accidentally omitted by the scribe. The word however occurs only once, that is, after “Duach”. The sentence reads literally: “Erinn [of] Duach, [that is] son of the King of Connacht”,—Duach

LECT. I.
Of the
SENGHAS
MOR.

coming of the sons of Milesius, who had been driven by a sea tempest into the ocean by the Tirrén Sea. They were in Erinn before the sons of Milesius. They said, however, to the sons of Milesius [who it would appear pressed marriage on them] that they preferred their own country, and that they would not abandon it without receiving dowry for alliance with them. It is from this circumstance that it is the men that purchase wives in Erinn for ever; whilst it is the husbands that are purchased by the wives throughout the world besides".—[See APPENDIX, No. XVI.]

This short extract is found also in a much longer and very curious article in the Book of Lecain [fol. 181 b.], and there can be little doubt that both MSS. followed the original in the Cin of Drom Snechta.

V. The next ancient written work that we find ascribed to this early period is the *Senchas Mór* (pron: "Shanchus môr"), or Great Law-Compilation; which was made, according to the Annals of Ulster, in the year 439, under the direction of nine eminent persons, consisting of three kings, three bishops, and three *Filés*, [see *ante*, note (2)]. The three chief personages engaged in this great work were *Laeghairé*, the Monarch of Erinn; Patrick, the Apostle of Erinn; and Ros, the Chief *Filé* of Erinn.

A large portion, if not the whole, of this work has come down to us by successive transcriptions, dating from the close of the thirteenth, or beginning of the fourteenth, to the latter part of the sixteenth century.

In the account of this work, generally prefixed to it, and which is in itself of great antiquity, we are told that it was Ros, the poet, that placed before Saint Patrick the arranged body of the previously existing Laws of Erinn; that the Saint expunged from them all that was specially antichristian or otherwise objectionable, and proposed such alterations as would make them harmonize with the new system of religion and morals which he had brought into the country; that these alterations were approved of, adopted, and embodied in the ancient code; and that code thus amended was established as the National Law throughout the land.

The great antiquity of this compilation is admitted by Dr. Petrie, in his Memoir on Tara, already alluded to; but that the professed authors of it could possibly have been brought toge-

having been the King of Connacht. In the APPENDIX (No. XIV.) will be found the pedigree of Duach *Galach*, who is by mistake confounded with his descendant Duach *Tengumha*, a succeeding King of Connacht, in the note (p) at p. 161 of Dr. O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, under the year 499.

ther at the time of its reputed compilation, he denies, as did Dr. Lanigan before him. Every year's investigation of our ancient records, however, shows more and more their veritable character; and I trust that the forthcoming Report of the Brehon Law Commission, of which Dr. Petrie is a member, will remove the excusable scepticism into which the caution of the more conscientious school of critics who succeeded the reckless theorists of Vallancey's time, has driven them. I believe it will show that the recorded account of this great revision of the Body of the Laws of Erin is as fully entitled to confidence as any other well-authenticated fact of ancient history.

But this subject (one obviously of great importance) will be thoroughly discussed in the forthcoming publication by the Brehon Law Commission, of this great monument of our ancient civilization; so that you will understand why the subject cannot with propriety be entered into further here. So far as the question of the antiquity of the contents of the *Senchas Mór* is concerned, I may only observe that Cormac Mac Cullinan often quotes passages from this work in his Glossary, which is known to have been written not later than about the close of the ninth century.

There is a curious account of a private collection of books, "of all the sciences", as it is expressed, given in a note to the *Féiliré*, or metrical Festology of Aengus *Celé Dé*, or the "Culdee"; it is to this effect: Saint Colum Cille having paid a visit to Saint Longarad of Ossory, requested permission to examine his books, but Longarad having refused, Colum then prayed that his friend should not profit much by his refusal, whereupon the books became illegible immediately after his death; and these books were in existence in that state in the time of the original author, whoever he was, of the note in the *Féiliré*.

The passage (for the original of which see APPENDIX. No. XVII.) is as follows: it is a note to the stanza of the great poem, for September 3; which is as follows:—

"COLMAN OF DROM-FERTA,
LONGARAD, A SHINING SUN;
MAC NISSE WITH HIS THOUSANDS,
FROM GREAT CONDERE".

[NOTE.]—"Longarad the white-legged, of *Magh Tuathat*, in the north of Ossory (*Osraighé*); i.e., in *Uibh Foirchellain*; i.e. in *Magh Garad*, in *Disert Garad* particularly, and in *Cill Gabhra* in *Sliabh Mairge*, in *Lis Longarad*. The 'white-

LECT. I.

Of the
Library of
S. Longarad
(VI. cen-
tury).

LECT I.
Of the Book
of S. MOCHTA.

legged', *i.e.*, from great white hair which was on his legs; or his legs were transparently fair. He was a *Suidh* (Doctor or Professor) in classics, and in history, and in judgment (law), and in philosophy [*filidecht*], [see *ante*, note (2)]. It was to him Colum Cille went on a visit; and he concealed his books from him; and Colum Cille left a 'word' [of imprecation] on his books, *i.e.*, 'May it not be of avail after thee', said he, 'that for which thou hast shown inhospitality'. And this is what has been fulfilled, for the books exist still, and no man can read them. Now, when Longarad was dead, what the learned tell us is, that all the book-satchels of Erin dropped [from their racks] on that night. Or they were the satchels which contained the books of sciences [or, professions] which were in the chamber in which Colum Cille was, that fell. And Colum Cille and all that were in that house wondered, and they were all astounded at the convulsions of the books, upon which Colum Cille said: 'Longarad', said he, 'in Ossory, *i.e.*, a *Sai*⁽¹⁴⁾ (Doctor) in every science [it is he] that has died now'. 'It will be long until that is verified', said Baithin. 'May your successor [for ever] be suspected, on account of this', said Colum Cille; et dixit Colum Cille:—

Lon is dead [Lon is dead];⁽¹⁵⁾
To *Cill Garad* it is a great misfortune;
To Erin with its countless tribes;
It is a destruction of learning and of schools.
Lon has died, [Lon has died];
In *Cill Garad* great the misfortune;
It is a destruction of learning and of schools,
To the Island of Erin beyond her boundaries".

However fabulous this legend may appear, it will suffice, at all events, to show in what estimation books were held in the time of the scholiast of the works of Aengus, and also the prevalent belief in his time in the existence of an Irish literature at a period so long antecedent to his own. The probability is that the books were so old at the time of this writer as to be illegible, and hence the legend to account for their condition.

⁽¹⁴⁾ The word occurs in the original so,—not spelled the same way in which it appears just before, probably owing to the carelessness of the scribe.

⁽¹⁵⁾ In ancient poetry, when the second half line was a repetition of the first, it was very seldom written, though it was always well understood that it ought to be repeated. And in fact the metre would not be complete without this repetition.

VI. There are some other ancient books quoted in the Annals of Ulster, of which one is called the **BOOK OF SAINT MOCHTA**, who was a disciple of Saint Patrick. This book is quoted at A.D. 527, but it is uncertain whether it was a book of general Annals, or a Sacred Biography.

LECT. I.
Of the Books
of CUANA,
and DUBH-
DALEITHÉ.

We also find mention of the Book of Cuana and the Book of *Dubh da leithe*.

VII. The **BOOK OF CUANA**, or Cuana's Book of Annals, is quoted for the first time in the Annals of Ulster, at the year 468, and repeatedly afterwards down to 610. The death of a person named Cuana, a scribe of *Treóit* (now Trevit, in Meath), is recorded in the same Annals (of Ulster), at the year 738, after which year no quotation from Cuana's Book occurs in these Annals; whence it may be inferred that this Cuana was the compiler of the work known as the Book of Cuana, or Cuanach.

VIII. The same Annals of Ulster quote, as we have already said, the *Book of DUBHDALEITHÉ*, at the years 962 and 1021, but not after. There were two persons of this name: one of them an Abbot, and the other a Bishop (of Armagh); the former from the year 905 to the year 998, and the latter from 1049 to 1064; so that the latter must be presumed to have been the compiler of the Book of *Dubhdaleithé*.

IX. Next after these, because of the certainty of its author's time, I would class the **SALTAIR OF CASHEL**, compiled by the learned and venerable Cormac MacCullinan, King of Munster and Archbishop of Cashel, who was killed in the year 903.

Of the SAL-
TAIR of
CASHEL.

At what time this book was lost we have no precise knowledge; but that it existed, though in a dilapidated state, in the year 1454, is evident from the fact, that there is in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Laud, 610), a copy of such portions of it as could be deciphered at that time, made by *Seáan*, or Shane, O'Clery for Mac Richard Butler. From the contents of this copy, and from the frequent references to the original, for history and genealogies found in the Books of Ballymote, Lecan, and others, it must have been a historical and genealogical compilation of large size and great diversity.

If, as there is every reason to believe, the ancient compilation, so well known as Cormac's Glossary, was compiled from the interlined gloss to the Saltair, we may well feel that its loss is the greatest we have suffered, so numerous are the references and citations of history, law, romance, druidism, mythology, and other subjects in which this Glossary abounds. It is be-

LECT. I.

List of other
lost books.

sides invaluable in the study of Gaedhlic comparative philology, as the author traces a great many of the words either by derivation from, or comparison with, the Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin, the British, and, as he terms it, the Northmantic language; and it contains at least one Pictish word [*Cartait*],—almost the only word of the Pictish language that we possess. There is a small fragment of this Glossary remaining in the ancient Book of Leinster (which is as old as the year 1150), and a perfect copy made about the year 1400 is preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, besides two fragments of it in O'Clery's copy of the Saltair already mentioned, the volume in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford (Laud, 610).

Besides the several books enumerated above, and the probable dates of which we have attempted to fix, we find in several existing MSS. reference to many other lost books, whose exact ages and the relative order of time in which they were composed are quite uncertain. But the references to them are so numerous, and occur in MSS. of such different dates, that we may readily believe them to have embraced a tolerably extensive period in our history; and it is highly probable that they connected the most ancient periods with those which we find so well illustrated in the oldest manuscript records which have come down to us.

I do not profess to give here a complete enumeration of all the books mentioned in our records, and of which we have now no further knowledge, but the following list will be found to contain the names of those which are most frequently referred to.

In the first place must be enumerated again the *Cuilmenn*; the Saltair of Tara; The *Cin Droma Snechta*; the Book of St. Mochta; the Book of *Cuana*; the Book of *Dubhdaleithe*; and the Saltair of Cashel. Besides these we find mention of the *Leabhar buidhe Sláine*, or Yellow Book of Slane; the original *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*; the Books of *Eochaidh O'Flannagain*; a certain book known as the Book eaten by the poor people in the desert; the Book of *Inis an Duin*; the Short Book of Saint Buithe's Monastery (or Monasterboice); the Books of Flann, of the same Monastery; the Book of Flann of *Dungeimhin* (Dungiven, Co. Derry); the Book of *Dun da Leth Ghlas* (or Downpatrick); the Book of *Doiré* (or Derry); the Book of *Sabhall Phatraic* (or Saull, Co. Down); the Book of the *Uachongbhail* (Navan, probably); the *Leabhar dubh Molaga*, or Black Book of Saint Molaga; the *Leabhar buidhe Moling*, or Yellow Book of Saint Moling; the *Leabhar buidhe Mhic Murchadha*, or Yellow Book of Mac Murrach; the

Leabhar Arda Macha, or Book of Armagh (quoted by Keating); the *Leabhar ruadh Mhic Aedhagain*, or Red Book of Mac Aedhagan or Mac Aegan; the *Leabhar breac Mhic Aedhagain*, or Speckled Book of Mac Aegan; the *Leabhar fada Leithghlinne*, or Long Book of Leithghlinn, or Leithlin; the Books of O'Scoba of *Cluain Mic Nois* (or Clonmacnois); the *Duil Droma Ceata*, or Book of Drom Ceat; and the *Leabhar Chluana Sost*, or Book of Clonsost (in Leix, in the Queen's County).

LECT. I.
Books
referred to
by Keating.

Such, then, is a brief glance at what constituted probably but a few of the books and records of Erin which we are sure must have existed, with perhaps three or four exceptions, anterior to the year 1100, and of which there are now no fragments known to me to remain, though some of them are referred to in works of comparatively modern date.

The Rev. Geoffrey Keating (Parish Priest of Tubrid, near Clonmel) compiled, about the year 1630, from several ancient MSS. then accessible, a History of Erin, from its earliest ascribed colonization, down to the Anglo-Norman Invasion in the year 1170. This book is written in the modified Gaedhlic of Keating's own time; and although he has used but little discrimination in his selections from old records, and has almost entirely neglected any critical examination of his authorities, still his book is a valuable one, and not at all, in my opinion, the despicable production that it is often ignorantly said to be.

Some of the lost works that I have mentioned are spoken of, and even quoted by this writer. He refers to the following books as being extant in his own time; namely, the Book of Armagh (but evidently not the book now known under this name); the *Saltair of Cashel*; the Book of the *Uachongbhail*; the Book of *Cluain Eidhneach* (in Leix); the *Saltair na Rann* (written by Aengus Céile Dé); the Book of *Glenn dá Locha*; the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, which was written originally at *Cluain Mic Nois*, or Clonmacnoise, in Saint Ciaran's time; the Yellow Book of Saint Moling; the Black Book of Saint Molaga; the Red Book of Mac Aegan; and the Speckled Book of Mac Aegan.

Of this list of Books, all of which were certainly extant in 1630, we now know only the *Saltair na Rann*, which still exists in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Prefixed to the *Leabhar Gabhála*, or Book of Invasions, compiled by the O'Clerys in 1630 or 1631, there is a list of the ancient books from which that compilation was made. They were the following:—The Book of *Bailé ui Mhavilchonairé* or Bally Mulconroy, which had been copied by Maurice

LECT. I.

Books
referred to
by the Four
Masters.

O'Maelchonairé, or O'Mulconroy (who died in 1543), out of the *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, which had been written at *Cluain Mic Nois* (Clonmacnois), in the time of Saint Ciaran; the Book of *Baile uí Chleirigh*, or Bally Clery, which was written in the time of *Maelsechlainn Mór*, or Malachy the Great, son of *Domhnall*, monarch of Erin (who began his reign A.D. 979); the Book of *Muintir Duibhghenainn*, or of the O'Duigenans of *Seanchuach* in *Tír Oililla*, or Tirerrill, in the county of Sligo, and which was called the *Leabhar Ghlinn dá Loch*, or Book of Glenndaloch; and *Leabhar na h-Uachongbhala*, or the Book of the Uachongbhail; with many other histories, or historical books besides.

Of this list of Books not one is known to me to be now extant.

The ever to be remembered Michael O'Clery, and his fellow-labourers (who together with him are familiarly known as the Four Masters), insert in their Annals a list of the ancient books from which that noble work was compiled. They were the following:—The Book of *Cluain Mic Nois*, or Clonmacnoise; the Book of the Island of the Saints in *Loch Ribh* (or Loch Ree), in the Shannon; the Book of *Seanadh Mhic Maghnusa*, in Loch *Eirné*, or Loch Erne; the Book of *Muintir Mhaoilchonaire*, or the O'Mulconroys; the Book of *Muintir Duibhghenann*, or of the O'Duigenans, of *Cill Ronain*; and the Historical Book of *Leacain Mic Fhirbhisigh*, or Lecan Mac Firbis. The Books of *Cluain Mic Nois* and of the Island of the Saints come down but to the year 1225. The Book of the O'Mulconroys came down to the year 1505. The Book of the O'Duigenans contained entries extending only from the year 900 to the year 1563. The Annals of *Seanadh Mic Maghnusa* (now called the Annals of Ulster) came down to the year 1632. The Four Masters had also a fragment of *Cucoigríche* (a name sometimes Englished Peregrine), O'Clery's Book, containing Annals from the year 1281 to the year 1537. The Book of *Maoilín óg Mac Bruaidealha*, or *Maoilín* the younger Mac Brody, of Thomond, containing Annals from the year 1588 to the year 1602, was also in their possession, as well as *Lughaidh* O'Clery's Book, containing Annals from the year 1586 to 1603. This last book was probably that known at the present day as the Life of *Aedh Ruadh*, or Hugh Roe O'Donnell; which was written by this same *Lughaidh* O'Clery, and from which the Four Masters have evidently taken all the details given in their Annals relating to that brave and unfortunate Prince.⁽¹⁶⁾

⁽¹⁶⁾ A MS. copy of this work, in the handwriting of Cucogry O'Clery, the son of the original compiler, has been lately [1858] purchased by the Rev. Dr.

Of this list of Books (with the exception of the last mentioned) not one is known to me to be now in existence excepting the Annals of Ulster, the copy of *Lugaidh O'Clery's Book*, made by his son Cucogry, and the book which is now known as the Book of Lecain, in the Royal Irish Academy, but which at present contains nothing that could be properly called Annals, though there are in it some pages of occurrences with no dates attached.

LECT. I

MSS. in the
Library of
Trin: Coll:
Dublin.

The language in which such a number of books was written must have been highly cultivated, and found fully adapted to the purposes of the historian, the poet, the lawyer, the physician, and the ecclesiastic, and extensively so used; else it may be fairly assumed that Aengus *Céile Dé*, Cormac Mac Cullinan, *Eochaidh O'Flannagan*, Cuan O'Lochain, Flann of Saint *Buithe's* Monastery, and all the other great Irish writers from the seventh to the twelfth century, who were so well acquainted with Latin, then the universal medium, would not have employed the Gaedhlic for their compositions.

Notwithstanding, however, the irreparable loss of the before-named books, there still exists an immense quantity of Gaedhlic writing of great purity, and of the highest value as regards the history of this country. And these MSS. comprise general and national history; civil and ecclesiastical records; and abundant materials of genealogy; besides poetry, romance, law, and medicine; and some fragments of tracts on mathematics and astronomy.

The collection in Trinity College consists of over 140 volumes, several of them on vellum, dating from the early part of the twelfth down to the middle of the last century. There are also in this fine collection beautiful copies of the Gospels, known as the Books of Kells, and Durrow, and Dimma's Book, attributable to the sixth and seventh centuries; the Saltair of St. Ricemarch, bishop of St. David's, in the eleventh century, containing also an exquisite copy of the Roman Martyrology; and a very ancient ante-Hieronymian version of the Gospels, the history of which is unknown, but which is evidently an Irish MS. of not later than the ninth century; also the Evangelistarium of St. Moling, bishop of Ferns in the seventh century, with its ancient box; and the fragment of another copy of the Gospels, of the same period, evidently Irish. In the same library will be found, too, the chief body of our more ancient laws and

Todd, S.F.T.C.D., at the sale of the books of Mr. W. Monck Mason, in London, and is destined soon (if funds to secure it can be raised) to enrich still farther the splendid collection of the Royal Irish Academy.

LECT. I.

MSS. in the
Library of
the Royal
Irish
Academy.

annals: all, with the exception of two tracts, written on vellum; and, in addition to these invaluable volumes, many historical and family poems of great antiquity, illustrative of the battles, the personal achievements, and the social habits of the warriors, chiefs, and other distinguished personages of our early history. There is also a large number of ancient historical and romantic tales, in which all the incidents of war, of love, and of social life in general, are portrayed, often with considerable power of description and great brilliancy of language: and there are besides several sacred tracts and poems, amongst the most remarkable of which is the *Liber Hymnorum*, believed to be more than a thousand years old.⁽¹⁷⁾ The Trinity College collection is also rich in Lives of Irish Saints, and in ancient forms of prayer; and it contains, in addition to all these, many curious treatises on medicine, beautifully written on vellum. Lastly, amongst these ancient MSS. are preserved numerous Ossianic poems relating to the Fenian heroes, some of them of very great antiquity.

The next great collection is that of the Royal Irish Academy, which, though formed at a later period than that of Trinity College, is far more extensive, and taken in connection with the unrivalled collection of antiquities secured to this country by the liberality of this body, forms a national monument of which we may well be proud. It includes some noble old volumes written on vellum, abounding in history as well as poetry; ancient laws, and genealogy; science (for it embraces several curious medical treatises, as well as an ancient astronomical tract); grammar; and romance. There is there also a great body of most important theological and ecclesiastical compositions, of the highest antiquity, and in the purest style perhaps that the ancient Gaedhlic language ever attained.

The most valuable of these are original Gaedhlic compositions, but there is also a large amount of translations from the Latin, Greek, and other languages. A great part of these translations is, indeed, of a religious character, but there are others from various Latin authors, of the greatest possible importance to the Gaedhlic student of the present day, as they enable him by reference to the originals to determine the value of many now obsolete or obscure Gaedhlic words and phrases.

Among these latter translations into Irish, we find an extensive range of subjects in ancient Mythology, Poetry, and His-

⁽¹⁷⁾ This invaluable MS. is in course of publication (a portion having been issued since the above lecture was delivered), by the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society, under the able superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Todd.

tory, and the Classical Literature of the Greeks and Romans, as well as many copious illustrations of the most remarkable events of the Middle Ages. So that any one well read in the comparatively few existing fragments of our Gaedhlic Literature, and whose education had been confined solely to this source, would find that there are but very few, indeed, of the great events in the history of the world, the knowledge of which is usually attained through the Classic Languages, or those of the middle ages, with which he was not acquainted. I may mention by way of illustration, the Irish versions of the Argonautic Expedition; the Destruction of Troy; the Life of Alexander the Great; the Destruction of Jerusalem; the Wars of Charlemagne, including the History of Roland the Brave; the History of the Lombards; the almost contemporary translation into Gaedhlic of the Travels of Marco Polo, etc., etc.

LECT. I.

MSS. in
various Li-
braries in
England.

It is quite evident that a Language which has embraced so wide a field of historic and other important subjects, must have undergone a considerable amount of development, and must have been at once copious and flexible; and it may be observed, in passing, that the very fact of so much of translation into Irish having taken place, shows that there must have been a considerable number of readers; since men of learning would not have translated for themselves what they could so easily understand in the original.

Passing over some collections of MSS. in private hands at home, I may next notice that of the British Museum in London, which is very considerable, and contains much valuable matter; that of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, which, though consisting of but about sixteen volumes, is enriched by some most precious books, among which is the copy already alluded to of the remains of the Saltair of Cashel, made in the year 1454; and some two or three works of an older date. Next comes the Stowe collection, now in the possession of Lord Ashburnham, and which is tolerably well described in the Stowe Catalogue by the late Rev. Charles O'Connor. There are also in England some other collections in the hands of private individuals, as that of Mr. Joseph Monck Mason⁽¹⁸⁾ in the neigh-

(18) This collection has been lately sold (1858)—since the preparation of this lecture; and through the exertions of the Rev. Dr. Todd, F.T.C.D., two of the most valuable MSS. contained in it have been secured for Ireland, and, if funds can be procured, will probably be added to the collection of the Royal Irish Academy; the *Leabhar Feapamairge*, or Book of Fermoy, on vellum, and the copy before mentioned of *Lughaidh O'Clery's Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell* in the handwriting of Cucogry O'Clery.

LECT. I.

MSS. on the
Continent.

bourhood of London, and that of Sir Thomas Phillipps in Worcestershire. The Advocates' Library in Edinburgh contains a few important volumes, some of which are shortly described in the Highland Society's Report on MacPherson's Poems of Oisín, published in 1794.

And passing over to the Continent, in the National or Imperial Library of Paris (which, however, has not yet been thoroughly examined), there will be found a few Gaedhlic volumes; and in Belgium (between which and Ireland such intimate relations existed in past times),—and particularly in the Burgundian Library at Brussels,—there is a very important collection, consisting of a part of the treasures formerly in the possession of the Franciscan College of Louvain, for which our justly celebrated Friar, Michael O'Clery, collected, by transcript and otherwise, all that he could bring together at home of matters relating to the ancient ecclesiastical history of his country.

MSS. in the
Library of
St Isidore's,
in Rome.

The Louvain collection, formed chiefly, if not wholly, by Fathers Hugh Ward, John Colgan, and Michael O'Clery, between the years 1620 and 1640, appears to have been widely scattered at the French Revolution. For there are in the College of St. Isidore, in Rome, about twenty volumes of Gaedhlic MSS., which we know at one time to have formed part of the Louvain collection. Among these manuscripts now at Rome are some of the most valuable materials for the study of our language and history—the chief of which is an ancient copy of the *Féilire Aengusa*, the Martyrology, or Festology of Aengus *Céile Dé*, (pron: “Kéli Dé”), incorrectly called Aengus the Culdee, who composed the original of this extraordinary work, partly at *Tamhlacht*, now Tallaght, in the county of Dublin, and partly at *Cluain Eidhnech* in the present Queen's County, in the year 798. The collection contains, besides, the Festology of Cathal M'Guire,⁽¹⁹⁾ a work only known by name to the Irish scholars of the present day; and it includes the autograph of the first volume of the Annals of the Four Masters. There is also a copy, or fragment, of the Liber Hymnorum already spoken of, and which is a work of great importance to the Ecclesiastical History of Ireland; and besides these the collection contains several important pieces relating to Irish History, of which no copies are known to exist elsewhere. It may be hoped, therefore, that our Holy Father the Pope—who feels such a deep interest in the success of this National Institution—will at no distant day be pleased to take steps to make these invaluable

⁽¹⁹⁾ This is probably a copy of Aengus's Festology, with additional Notes by MacGuire, who died A.D. 1499.

works accessible to the Irish student, by placing them within the walls of the Catholic University of Ireland, where only they can be made available to the illustration of the early History of the Catholic Faith in this country.

LECT. I

Lastly should be noticed the Latin MSS. from which Zeuss drew the materials for the Irish portion of his celebrated *Grammatica Celtica* (Lipsiæ, 1853). The language of the Irish glosses in these codices is probably older, in point of transcription, than any specimens of Irish now left in Ireland, excepting the few passages and glosses contained in the Books of Armagh and Dimma, with the orthography and grammatical forms of which the Zeussian glosses correspond admirably. The following is a list of the Zeussian *Codices Hibernici*, which, as Zeuss himself observes, are all of the eighth or the ninth century, and were either brought from Ireland, or written by Irish monks in continental monasteries.

MSS. described by Zeuss.

I. A codex of Priscian, preserved in the library [at St. Gall in Switzerland, and crowded with Irish glosses, interlinear or marginal, from the beginning down to page 222. A marginal gloss at p. 194, shows that the scribe was connected with Inis Madoc, an islet in the lake of Templeport, county Leitrim.

II. A codex of St. Paul's Epistles, preserved in the library of the university of Würzburg, and containing a still greater number of glosses than the St. Gall Priscian.

III. A Latin commentary on the Psalms, formerly attributed to St. Jerome, but which Muratori, Peyron, and Zeuss concur in ascribing to St. Columbanus. This codex, which is now preserved in the Ambrosian library at Milan, was brought thither from Bobbio. It contains a vast amount of Irish glosses, and will probably, when properly investigated,⁽²⁰⁾ throw more light on the ancient Irish language than any other MS.

IV. A codex containing some of the venerable Bede's works, preserved at Carlsruhe, and formerly belonging to the Irish monastery of Reichenau. This MS. contains, besides many Irish glosses, two entries which may tend to fix its date: one is a notice of the death of Aed, king of Ireland, in the year 817; the other a notice of the death of *Muirchad mac Maledúin* at Clonmacnois, in St. Ciaran's *imda* or bed.

V. A second codex of Priscian, also preserved at Carlsruhe,

⁽²⁰⁾ Zeuss (Præf., xxxi.) mentions that he was unable to devote the necessary time either to this MS. or to the fragment of an Irish codex preserved at Turin, which, I believe, is a copiously glossed portion of St. Mark's Gospel.

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MSS. described by Zeuss.

and brought thither from Reichenau. It contains fewer Irish glosses than the St. Gall Priscian.

VI. A miscellaneous codex, preserved at St. Gall (No. 1395), and containing some curious charms against strangury, headache, etc., which have been printed by Zeuss. *Goibnenn* the smith, and *Diancecht* the leech, of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, are mentioned in these incantations.

VII. A codex preserved at Cambray, and containing, besides the canons of an Irish council held A.D. 684, a fragment of an Irish sermon intermixed with Latin sentences. This MS. was written between the years 763 and 790. A *fac-simile*, but inaccurate, of this Irish fragment may be found in Appendix A (unpublished) to the Report of the English Record Commission.⁽²¹⁾

It is, I may observe in conclusion, a circumstance of great importance, that so much of our ancient tongue should have been preserved in the form of glosses on the words of a language so thoroughly known as Latin. Let us avail ourselves of our advantages in this respect by collecting and arranging the whole of these glosses, before time or accident shall have rendered it difficult or impossible to do so.

I have thus endeavoured to place before you some evidences of an early cultivation of the language and literature of Ireland. The subject would require much more extensive illustration and much more minute discussion than can be given to it in a public Lecture; and time did not allow more than a rapid enumeration of the more ancient works, and a brief glance at their contents, such as you have heard. Sufficient, however, has been said in opening to you the consideration of the subject, to show what an immense field lies before us, and what abundant materials still exist for the illustration of the History and Antiquities of our country, and, above all, of that most glorious period in our Annals, the early ages of Catholicism in Ireland.

The materials are, I say, still abundant: we want but men able to use them as they deserve.

⁽²¹⁾ This Sermon is printed entire, together with corrections and a translation furnished by me some years ago (through the Rev. J. Miley, then President of the Irish College in Paris), in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 3^{me} serie, tome 3^{me}, Janv.-Févr., 1852, 3^{me} livraison, p. 193. [Paris: Dumoulin, 1852.]

LECTURE II.

[Delivered 15th March, 1855.]

Of the *Cuilmenn*. Of the *Táin bó Chuailgné*. Of Cormac *Mac Airt*. Of the Book of Acaill.

IN speaking of the earliest written documents of ancient Erin, of which any account has come down to us, I mentioned that we had incidental notices of the existence, at a very remote period, of a Book called the *Cuilmenn*. It is brought under consideration by references made to a very ancient tale, of which copies still exist. The first notices of the *Cuilmenn* have been already partly alluded to in the first lecture, but we shall now consider them at greater length; and in doing so, we shall avail ourselves of the opportunity thus afforded, to illustrate, in passing, a period of our history, remote indeed, and but little known, yet filled with stirring incidents, and distinguished by the presence of very remarkable characters.

According to the accounts given in the Book of Leinster, to which I shall presently refer, *Dallan Forgaill*, the chief poet and *Filé* of Erin, [see *ante*, note (2)] (author of the celebrated *Amhra* or *post mortem* Panegyric on St. Colum Cille), having died about the year 598, *Senchan Torpeist*, then a *Filé* of distinction, was called upon to pronounce the funeral elegy or oration on the deceased bard. The young *Filé* acquitted himself of this so much to the satisfaction of his assembled brethren, that they immediately elected him *Ard Ollamh* in *Filedocht*, that is chief *Filé* of Erin.

Some time after this, *Senchan* called a meeting of the *Fíles* of Erin, to ascertain whether any of them remembered the whole of the celebrated tale of the *Táin Bó Chuailgné*, or "Cattle spoil of Cuailgné" (a place now called Cooley, in the modern county of Louth). All the *Fíles* said that they remembered only fragments of it. On receiving this answer, *Senchan* addressed himself to his pupils, and asked if any of them would take his blessing and go into the country of *Letha* to learn the *Táin*, which a certain *Saoi* or professor had taken to the east after the *Cuilmenn* (that is, the Book called *Cuilmenn*), had been carried away. (*Letha* was the ancient name, in the Gaedhilg, for Italy, particularly that region of it in which the city of Rome is situated).—[See APPENDIX, No. XVIII.]

Of the
CUILMENN.

Of the recovery of the
Tale of the
*Táin Bó
Chuailgné*.

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The *Táin Bó
Cuailgne* re-
lated by Fer-
gus Mac
Róigh.

Eminé, the grandson of Ninené, and Murgén, Senchan's own son, volunteered to go to the east for that purpose.

Having set out on their journey, it happened that the first place to which they came was the grave of the renowned chief Fergus Mac Róigh, in Connacht; and Murgén sat at the grave while Eminé went in search of a house of hospitality.

While Murgén was thus seated he composed and spoke a *laidh*, or lay, for the gravestone of Fergus, as if it had been Fergus himself he was addressing.

Suddenly, as the story runs, there came a great mist which enveloped him so that he could not be discovered for three days; and during that time Fergus himself appeared to him in a beautiful form,—for he is described as adorned with brown hair, clad in a green cloak, and wearing a collared gold-ribbed shirt, a gold-hilted sword, and sandals of bronze: and it is said that this apparition related to Murgén the whole tale of the *Táin*, from beginning to end,—the tale which he was sent to seek in a foreign land.

This Fergus Mac Róigh was a great Ulster prince, who had gone into voluntary exile, into Connacht, through feelings of dislike and hostility to Conor Mac Nessa, the king of Ulster, for his treacherously putting to death the sons of *Uisnech*, for whose safety Fergus had pledged his faith according to the knightly customs of the time. And afterwards when the *Táin Bó Chuailgne* occurred, Fergus was the great guide and director of the expedition on the side of the Connacht men against that of Conor Mac Nessa, and, as it would appear, he was himself also the historian of the war.

This version of the story is from the Book of Leinster. However, according to another account, it was at a meeting of the *Filés*, and some of the saints of Erin, which was held near the Carn, or grave that Fergus appeared to them and related the tale; and St. Ciaran thereupon wrote down the tale at his dictation, in a book which he had made from the hide of his pet cow. This cow from its colour was called the *Odhar*, or dark gray; and from this circumstance the book was ever after known as *Leabhar na h-Uidhre* (pron: nearly “Levvar, or Lowr na heer-a”), or “The Book of the dark gray [Cow]”,—the form *Uidhre* being the genitive case of the word *Odhar*.

According to this account (which is that given in the ancient tale called *Imthecht na trom dúimhé*, or the Adventures of the Great Company, i.e., the company or following of Senchan), after the election of Senchan to the position of Chief *Filé*, he paid a visit to *Guairé* the Hospitable, King of Connacht, at his palace of Durlus, accompanied by a large retinue of atten-

dants, or subordinate filés, and pupils, as well as women, and servants, and dogs; so that their sojourn there was so oppressive, that at their going away, *Marbhan*, King Guairé's wise brother, imposed it as an obligation on Senchán to recover the Tale of the *Táin Bó Chuaílné*. Senchán accordingly went into Scotland to search for it, but having found no trace of it there, he returned home again; and then *Marbhan* advised him to invite the saints of Ireland to meet him at the grave of Fergus, where they were to fast three days and three nights to God, praying that he would send them Fergus to relate to them the history of the *Táin*. The story goes on to say that *St. Caillin* of *Fiodhnacha* (in the present county of Leitrim), who was Senchán's brother by his mother, undertook to invite the saints; and that the following distinguished saints came to the meeting, namely, *St. Colum Cille*, *St. Caillin* himself, *St. Ciarán* of *Clonmacnois*, *St. Brendan* of *Birra*, and *St. Brendan* the son of *Finnlogha*; and that after their fast and prayer, Fergus did appear to them, and related the story, and that *St. Ciarán* of *Clonmacnois*, and *St. Caillin* of *Fiodhnacha*, wrote it down.

This ancient tale is referred to in the Book of Leinster, a MS. of the earlier half of the twelfth century, though it remains to us only in the form preserved in copies of a much more modern date, one of which is in my possession.

The next notice of a *Cuilmenn*, as I have already shortly stated, is to be found in an ancient glossary, where the "seven Orders of Wisdom",—that is, the seven degrees in a literary college, including the student on his first entrance,—are distinguished by name and qualifications. The highest degree was the *Druimclí*, who, as it is stated, had knowledge "of all wisdom, from the greatest book which is called *Cuilmenn* to the smallest book which is called *Deich m-Breithir*, in which is well arranged the good Testament which God made unto Moses".—[See APPENDIX, No. V.]

What the *Cuilmenn* mentioned here was, we have no positive means of knowing; but as an acquaintance with both profane and sacred writings is set down amongst the qualification of each degree of the order of Wisdom, it may be assumed that the *Cuilmenn* embraced profane, as the *Deich m-Breithir* did sacred learning; since it appears that the *Drumclí* was versed in all profane and sacred knowledge.

Another instance of the occurrence of the word *Cuilmenn* is found in the lower margin of a page of the book now called the *Leabhar Breac*, the proper name of which was *Leabhar Mór Duna Doighré*, that is, the Great Book of Dun Doighré (a

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place on the Connacht side of the Shannon, some miles below the town of Athlone). In this book, which is preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, the following words appear in a hand three hundred years old:—"A trying of his pen by Fergal, son of William, on the great Cuilmend".—[See APPENDIX, No. XIX.] This "great Cuilmend" was of course the book on which he wrote these words, viz., the *Leabhar Duna Doighre* just mentioned; and this passage establishes the use of the word to designate a book, generally. It may be also observed that the word (*Cuilmenn*) in its original meaning literally signifies the skin of a cow.⁽²²⁾

To return to the *Táin Bó Chuailgne*.

This tale belongs to a period of considerable antiquity, and in it we find introduced in the course of the narration the names of several personages who acted a very important part in our history, and whose deeds are recorded by most of our annalists. As the tale is itself curious and interesting, and besides supplies a pretty good view of the customs and manners of the times, it will be interesting to give you here a brief sketch of it.

When the Argonautic Expedition, the Siege of Troy, or any others of the notable occurrences of the very old periods of the world's history, are brought under consideration, not the least interesting and valuable features which they present are the illustrations they furnish us of the habits and life of the various people to whom they relate, and it is of little moment to attempt to fix the precise year of the world's age in which they actually happened.

Some persons complain that our Irish Annals are too precise in the time and place assigned to remote events, to be altogether true; but this is a subject not to be disposed of in a cursory review like the present. At present my intention is only to draw briefly, for the purpose of illustration, from one of the oldest and most remarkable of our national historic tales. I do

⁽²²⁾ That the word *Cuilmenn* signified, in the first instance, a Cow-skin, appears from the following passage in an ancient Glossary in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy (MS. No. 74 of the collection, purchased from Messrs. Hodges and Smith): *Colamna fearb, .i. Cuilmenna fearb*; "the skins of cows",—from *cuilmenn* a skin, and *fearb* a cow. That the word *Cuilmenn* was applied to a Book, is proved not only by the passage above quoted, in which the *leabhar mór Dúna Doighre* is so called, but still more directly by an explanation of it which is to be found in another ancient Glossary, preserved in a MS. in the Library of Trin. Coll., Dublin (classed H. 3. 18.). In this Glossary the word occurs in reference to the lost book above mentioned, and to the quotation from it alluded to in the text:—" *Cuilmenn, i e., a Book*; ut est: 'Which the Professor carried to the East after the *Cuilmenn*'".—[See original in APPENDIX, No. XX.]

not propose here to enter into any critical discussion as to the historic accuracy of its details; but I may observe that, though often exhibiting high poetic colouring in the description of particular circumstances, it unquestionably embraces and is all through founded upon authentic historic facts. The *Táin Bó Chuailgne* is to Irish, what the Argonautic Expedition, or the Seven against Thebes, is to Grecian history.

Many copies of the tale still exist. As has been seen, we have traced it back to one of perhaps the oldest written records, one of which we now retain little more than the name. We know unfortunately nothing of the other contents of the *Cuilmenn*; but if we may judge from the character of the events detailed in the *Táin*, we may fairly suppose this Great Book to have been a depository of the most remarkable occurrences which had taken place in Ancient Erin up to the time of its composition.

We are told in our Annals and other ancient writings, that *Eochaidh Feidlech* closed a reign of twelve years as Monarch of Erin in Anno Mundi 5069, or a little above a hundred years before the Incarnation, according to the chronology of the Annals of the Four Masters. This prince was directly descended from Eremon (one of the surviving leaders of the Milesian colonists), and succeeded to the monarchy by right of descent.

Eochaidh had three sons and several daughters, and among his daughters one named *Meadhbh* (pron: "Méav"), who, from her early youth, exhibited remarkable traits of strength of mind and vigour of character. Méav, in the full bloom of life and beauty, was married to Conor, the celebrated provincial King of Ulster; but the marriage was not a happy one, and she soon left her husband and returned to her father's court. The reign of the monarch, her father, had at this time been embittered by the rebellion of his three sons, which was carried so far that he was at last compelled to give them battle; and a final engagement took place between the two parties at *Ath Cumair* (the ancient name of a ford near Mullingar), in which the king's arms triumphed, and his three sons were slain.

The victory over his sons brought but little peace to *Eochaidh*; for the men of Connacht, taking advantage of his weakened condition after it, revolted against him; and to overcome their opposition he set up his daughter Méav as Queen of Connacht, and gave her in marriage to Ailill, a powerful chief of that province, and son of Conrach, a former king—the same Conrach who built the royal residence of *Rath Cruachan*.⁽²³⁾ Ailill died soon after, and Méav finding herself a young widow,

⁽²³⁾ The remains of the Rath of Cruachan are still to be seen, near Carrick-on-Shannon, in the modern county of Roscommon.

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and an independent queen, proceeded to exercise her own right and taste in the selection of a new husband; and with this view she made a royal progress into Leinster, where Ross *Ruadh* was then king, residing at the residence of the Leinster kings, at Naas. Méav there selected, from the princes of the court, the king's younger son, who bore the same name as her previous husband, Ailill, and whom she married and made king-consort of her province.

Their union was happy, and Méav became the mother of many sons, and of one daughter.

One day, however (as the story runs), a dispute arose between Queen Méav and her husband about their respective wealth and treasures,—for all women at this time had their private fortunes and dowries secured to them in marriage. This dispute led them to an actual comparison of their various kinds of property, to determine which of them had the most and the best. There were compared before them then (says the tale) all their wooden and their metal vessels of value; and they were found to be equal. There were brought to them their finger rings, their clasps, their bracelets, their thumb rings, their diadems, and their gorgets of gold; and they were found to be equal. There were brought to them their garments of crimson, and blue, and black, and green, and yellow, and mottled, and white, and streaked; and they were found to be equal. There were brought before them their great flocks of sheep, from greens and lawns and plains; and they were found to be equal. There were brought before them their steeds, and their studs, from pastures and from fields; and they were found to be equal. There were brought before them their great herds of swine, from forests, from deep glens, and from solitudes; their herds and their droves of cows were brought before them from the forests and most remote solitudes of the province; and on counting and comparing them they were found to be equal in number and in excellence. But there was found among Ailill's herds a young bull, which had been calved by one of Méav's cows, and which, "not deeming it honourable to be under a woman's control", went over and attached himself to Ailill's herds. The name of this fine animal was *Finnbheannach* or the White-horned; and it was found that the queen had not among her herds one to match him. This was a matter of deep disappointment to her. She immediately ordered Mac Roth, her chief courier, to her presence, and asked him if he knew where a young bull to match the *Finnbheannach*, or White-horned, could be found among the five provinces of Erin. Mac Roth answered that he knew where there was a

better and a finer bull, namely in the possession of Daré, son of Fachtna, in the Cantred of Cuailgné and province of Ulster, and that his name was the *Donn Chuailgné*, or Brown [Bull] of Cuailgné. Go thou, then, said Méav, with a request to Daré from me, for the loan of the *Donn Chuailgné* for my herds for one year, and tell him that he shall be well repaid for his loan; that he shall receive fifty heifers and the *Donn Chuailgné* back at the expiration of that time. And you may make another proposition to him, said the queen, namely, that should the people of the district object to his lending us the *Donn Chuailgné*, he may come himself with his bull, and that he shall have the full extent of his own territory given him of the best lands in *Magh Ai* [Plains of Roscommon], a chariot worth thrice seven cumals (or sixty-three cows), and my future friendship.

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The courier set out with a company of nine subordinates, and in due time arrived in Cuailgné and delivered his message to *Daré Mac Fachtna*.

Daré received him in a true spirit of hospitality, and on learning his errand, consented at once to accept the terms. He then sent the courier and his company into a separate part of his establishment, furnishing them abundantly with the best of food and drink that his stores could supply.

In the course of the night, and when deep in their cups, one of the Connacht couriers said to another: It is a truth that the man of this house is a good man, and it is very good of him to grant to us, nine messengers, what it would be a great work for the other four great provinces of Erin to take by force out of Ulster, namely the *Donn Chuailgné*. Then a third courier interposed and said that little thanks were due to Daré, because if he had not consented freely to give the *Donn Chuailgné*, he should be compelled to do so.

At this moment Daré's chief steward, accompanied by a man laden with food and another with drink, entered; and overhearing the vaunt of the third courier, flew into a passion and cast down their meat and drink before them without inviting them to partake of it; after which he repaired to his master and reported to him what he had heard. Daré swore by his gods that they should not have the *Donn Chuailgné*, either by consent or by force.

The couriers appeared before Daré early on the following morning and requested the fulfilment of his promise; but he made answer that if it had been a practice of his to punish couriers for their impertinence, not one of them should depart alive from him. The couriers returned to their mistress to *Ruth Cruachan*, the royal palace of the kings of Connacht. On his

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arrival Mac Roth related to Méav the issue of his embassy and the cause of its failure; upon which Méav took up the words of her boastful messenger, and said that as Daré had not granted the request freely, he should be compelled to do so by force.

Méav accordingly immediately summoned her sons to her presence, as well as the seven sons of *Magach*, her relatives, with all their forces and followers. She also invited the men of Munster and Leinster to join her cause, and take vengeance on the Ulstermen for the many wrongs which they had of old inflicted on them. There was besides at this time a large body of exiled Ulstermen in Méav's service, namely, those who had abandoned Conor after his treachery to the sons of *Uisneach*. This body of brave men, amounting to fifteen hundred, was under the leadership of Fergus Mac Róigh and Conor's own son, Cormac *Conloingeas*, or the Exile.

All these forces met at Cruachain; and after consulting her Druid, and a *Bean sidhé* (pron: nearly "banshee"),⁽²⁴⁾ who appeared to her, Méav set out at the head of her troops, crossed the Shannon at Athlone, and marched through ancient Meath, till she had arrived at the place now called Kells (within a few miles of the borders of the modern county of Louth, in Ulster), where she encamped her army. Méav's consort, Ailill, and their daughter, *Finnabhair* (the Fairbrowed), accompanied the expedition. When they had encamped for the night, the queen invited all the leaders of the army to feast with her, and in the course of the evening contrived to enter into a private conversation with each of the most brave and powerful amongst them, exhorting them to valour and fidelity in her cause, and secretly promising to each the hand of her beautiful daughter in marriage. So far the plot of the tale as regards Queen Méav's movements.

(24) The word *bean ríoe* (literally, "woman of the fairy mansions"), meant a Woman from the fairy mansions of the Hills, or the land Immortality. In other words, it meant, according to the ancient legendary belief, a Woman of that *Tuath Dé Danánn* race which preceded the Milesians, and which, on their conquest by the latter, were believed to have retired from this life to enjoy an invisible immortality in the hills, fountains, lakes, and islands of Erin, where it was reported they are to remain till the last Judgment. From this state of existence they were of old believed to be able to reappear at pleasure in the ordinary forms of men and women; and this ancient belief respecting the *Tuath Dé Danánn* (whose sudden disappearance from our ancient history seems to have been only accounted for in this manner) still lingers among the people of modern Ireland, in the form of the superstitious reverence for what they now call the "Fairies" or "Good People". Some account of what they were anciently believed to be will be found in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick. A curious example of their appearance, as introduced in our ancient literature, occurs also in the tale of "The Clerk-bed of Cuchullainn", printed in the second number of the ATLANTIS, for July, 1858.—[See also APPENDIX, No. XXI.]

Although the Ulstermen had sufficient notice of the approach of such a formidable invasion, they exhibited no signs of defensive preparation. This singular inaction on their part is accounted for in another tale so often spoken of as the *Ceasnaidhean Uladh*, or Child-birth-debility of the Ultonians.

It happened that Méav's expedition into Louth occurred at the very time that Conor and all the warriors of Emania were suffering under the effects of the curse described in that tale, so that the border lay quite unguarded except by one youth. This youth was the renowned *Cuchulainn*, whose patrimony was the first part of Ulster that the hostile forces entered upon, and within it the owner of the *Donn Chuailgné* resided.

This part of the tale relates many wonderful and various stories of Cuchulainn's youthful achievements, which complicate it to no small extent, but on the other hand, make no small addition to its interest.

Cuchulainn confronts the invaders of his province, demands single combat, and conjures his opponents by the laws of Irish chivalry (the *Fir comhlainn*) not to advance farther until they conquered *him*. This demand, in accordance with the Irish laws of warfare, is granted; and then the whole contest is resolved into a succession of single combats, in each of which Cuchulainn was victorious.

Soon, however, Méav, impatient of this slow mode of proceeding, broke through the compact with Cuchulainn, marched forward herself at the head of a section of her army, and burned and ravaged the province up to the very precincts of Conor's palace at Emania. She had by this time secured the *Donn Chuailgné*; and she now marched her forces back into Meath and encamped at *Clartha* (pron: "Clárha",—now Clare Castle in the modern county of Westmeath).

In the meantime the Ulstermen having recovered from the temporary state of debility to which the curse above alluded to had subjected them, Conor summoned all the chiefs of his province to muster their forces and join his standard in the pursuit of the army of Connacht. This done, they marched in separate bodies, under their respective chiefs, and took up a position in the immediate neighbourhood of Méav's camp. The march and array of these troops, including Cuchulainn's,—the distinguishing descriptions of their horses, chariots, arms, ornaments, and vesture,—even their size, and complexion, and the colour of their hair,—are described with great vividness and power. In the story the description of all these details is delivered by Méav's courier, Mac Roth, to her and her husband; and the recognition of the various chiefs of Ulster as they arrived at

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Personal
description
of the Ulster
Chiefs in the
Tale of the
Twin Bo
Chualgnaid.

Conor's camp is ascribed to Fergus Mac Róigh, the exiled Ulster prince already spoken of. I may quote the following short passages, merely as specimens of the kind of description thus given by Mac Roth to Méav and Ailill:

"There came another company there, said Mac Roth; no champion could be found more comely than he who leads them. His hair is of a deep red yellow, and bushy; his forehead broad and his face tapering; he has sparkling blue laughing eyes;—a man regularly formed, tall and tapering; thin red lips; pearly, shiny teeth; a white, smooth body. A red and white cloak flutters about him; a golden brooch in that cloak, at his breast; a shirt of white, kingly linen, with gold embroidery at his skin; a white shield, with gold fastenings at his shoulder; a gold-hilted long sword at his left side; a long, sharp, dark green spear, together with a short, sharp spear, with a rich band and carved silver rivets in his hand. Who is he, O Fergus, said Ailill? The man who has come there is in himself half a battle, the valour of combat, the fury of the slaughter-hound. His is *Reochaid Mac Fatheman* (pron: "Faheman"), from Rigdomn [or Rachlainn], in the north [said Fergus].—[See original in APPENDIX, No. XXII.] And again:—

"Another company have come to the same hill, at Slémain of Meath, said Mac Roth, with a long-faced, dark complexioned champion at their head; [a champion] with black hair and long limbs, *i.e.*, long legs; wearing a red shaggy cloak wrapped round him, and a white silver brooch in the cloak over his heart; a linen shirt to his skin; a blood-red shield with devices at his shoulder; a silver-hilted sword at his left side; an elbowed gold-socketed spear to his shoulder. Who is he, O Fergus? said Ailill to Fergus. We know him well indeed, said Fergus; he is Fergna, the son of Finncona, chief of Burach, in Ulster⁽²⁵⁾.—[See original in APPENDIX, No. XXIII.]

And again: "Another company have come to the same hill in Sleamain of Meath, said Mac Roth. It is wild, and unlike the other companies. Some are with red cloaks; others with light blue cloaks; others with deep blue cloaks; others with green, or blay, or white, or yellow cloaks, bright and fluttering about them. There is a young red-freckled lad, with

(25) And here, lest it may be thought that these gorgeous descriptions of arms and ornaments are but idle creations of the poet or the *Seanchaidhe*, drawn from his imagination alone, I may recommend such of my hearers as are doubtful or sceptical on these points to visit and inspect for themselves the rich and beautiful collection of the Royal Irish Academy; when they will find that no pen could do justice to the exquisite workmanship, the graceful design, and delicate finish of those unrivalled relics of Ancient Irish Art, of which the best modern imitations fall so immeasurably short.

a crimson cloak, in their midst; a golden brooch in that cloak at his breast; a shirt of kingly linen, with fastenings of red gold at his skin; a white shield with hooks of red gold at his shoulder, faced with gold, and with a golden rim; a small gold-hilted sword at his side; a light, sharp, shining spear to his shoulder. Who is he, my dear Fergus? said Ailill. I don't remember, indeed, said Fergus, having left any such personages as these in Ulster, when leaving it,—and I can only guess that they are the young princes and nobles of Tara, led by Erc, the son of Conor's daughter *Feidilim Nuachruthach*, [or 'of the ever-new form'], and of Carbry Niasfear [the king of Tara].—[See original in APPENDIX, No. XXIV.]

LECT. II.

Mythical or
legendary
inventions in
the Tale of
the Tain Bo
Cuailgne.

With descriptions like these, more or less picturesque, the whole tale abounds. The most remarkable of these, but it is too long for insertion here, is that of Cuchulainn, his chariot, his horses, and his charioteer, at the battle of *Ath Firdiadh*, where he killed Ferdiadh in single combat; a circumstance from which the place has derived its name of *Ath Firdiadh*, or Ferdiadh's Ford (pronounced Ardee), in the modern county of Louth.

The armies of Queen Méav and Conor, her former husband, at length met in battle at the hill of Gairech, some distance south-east of Athlone, where the Ulstermen routed their enemies, and drove them in disorder over the Shannon into Connacht. Méav, however, had taken care to secure her prize, the *Donn Chuailgne*, by despatching him to her palace, at Cruachain, before the final battle; and thus, notwithstanding the loss of numbers of her best champions and warriors, she congratulated herself on having gained the two greatest objects of her expedition, namely, the possession of the *Donn Chuailgne*, and the chastisement of Conor, her former husband, and his proud Ulstermen, at the very gates of his palace at Emania.

This wild tale does not, however, end here; for it gravely informs us that when the *Donn Chuailgne* found himself in a strange country, and among strange herds, he raised such a loud bellowing as had never before been heard in the province of Connacht; that on hearing those unusual sounds, Ailill's bull, the *Finnbheannach* or White-horned, knew that some strange and formidable foe had entered his territory; and that he immediately advanced at full speed to the point from which they issued, where he soon arrived in the presence of his noble enemy. The sight of each other was the signal of battle. In the poetic language of the tale, the province rang with the echoes of their roaring, the sky was darkened by the sods of earth they threw up with their feet and the foam that flew from their mouths; faint-hearted men, women, and children hid themselves in caves,

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Historical
value of the
ancient Tale
of the *Táin*
Bó Chu-
ailgné.

caverns, and clefts of the rocks; whilst even the most veteran warriors but dared to view the combat from the neighbouring hills and eminences. The *Finnbheannach*, or White-horned, at length gave way, and retreated towards a certain pass which opened into the plain in which the battle raged, and where sixteen warriors bolder than the rest had planted themselves; but so rapid was the retreat, and the pursuit, that not only were all these trampled to the ground, but they were buried several feet in it. The *Donn Chuailgné*, at last, coming up with his opponent, raised him on his horns, ran off with him, passed the gates of Méav's palace, tossing and shaking him as he went, until at last he shattered him to pieces, dropping his disjointed members as he went along. And wherever a part fell, that place retained the name of that joint ever after. And thus it was (we are told) that *Ath Luain*, now Athlone, which was before called *Ath Mór*, or the Great Ford, received its present name from the *Finnbheannach's* *Luan*, or loin, having been dropped there.

The *Donn Chuailgné*, after having shaken his enemy in this manner from his horns, returned into his own country, but in such a frenzied state of excitement and fury, that all fled everywhere at his approach. He faced directly to his old home; but the people of the *bailé* or hamlet fled, and hid themselves behind a huge mass of rock, which his madness transformed into the shape of another bull; so that coming with all his force against it he dashed out his brains, and was killed.

I have dwelt, perhaps rather tediously, on the history of this strange tale; but one of the objects of this course of Lectures is to give to the student of the Gaedhlic language an idea of the nature of some of the countless ancient compositions contained in it; and notwithstanding the extreme wildness of the legend of the Bull, I am not acquainted with any tale in the whole range of our literature, in which he will find more of valuable details concerning general and local history; more of description of the manners and customs of the people; of the druidical and fairy influence supposed to be exercised in the affairs of men; of the laws of Irish chivalry and honour; of the standards of beauty, morality, valour, truth, and fidelity, recognized by the people of old; of the regal power and dignity of the monarch and the provincial kings, as well as much concerning the division of the country into its local dependencies; lists of its chieftains and chieftaincies; many valuable topographical names; the names and kinds of articles of dress and ornament; of military weapons; of horses, chariots, and trappings; of leechcraft, and of medicinal plants and springs; as well

as instances of, perhaps, every occurrence that could be supposed to happen in ancient Irish life: all of these details of the utmost value to the student of history, even though mixed up with any amount of the marvellous or incredible in poetical traditions.

LECT. II.

Great antiquity of the *Cuilmenn*.

The chief actors in this warfare are all well-known and undoubted historical characters, and are to be met with not only in our ancient tales, but in our authentic annals also.

Tighernach (the most credited in our days of all our annalists) mentions the *Táin Bó Chuailgne*, and gives the age of Cuchulainn as seventeen at the time he followed the *Táin*, which is calculated by O'Flaherty to have taken place about A.D. 39.—[See APPENDIX, No. XXV.]

As I have already stated, this tale may be traced back to the first record to which we find the name of Cuilmenn attached, but of which we have now no means of fixing the precise date, any more than the nature and character of its other contents.

I have ventured to assign the compilation of the Cuilmenn, or Great Book of Skins, to an earlier date than that of the *Saltair of Tara*, which was compiled about the middle of the third, and the *Cin Droma Snechta*, which has been traced to the close of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century; and for two reasons, among many others. The first is, that the manner in which the Cuilmenn is spoken of, in the time of Senchann and Saint Colum Cille, implies a belief on their part that the tale of the *Táin* had been written, in an authentic form, either in a separate volume, or into this book, at or immediately after the occurrence of the events so graphically narrated in it; and the fact, as related, of Saint Ciaran writing the recovered version of it, no matter from what source it was obtained at the time, on the skin of his pet cow, shows that this was done with the clear intention of handing it down to posterity as nearly as possible in the same form as that in which tradition had taught them to believe it had existed in the Cuilmenn.

The second reason is, that, from the part which is ascribed to Fergus in the conduct of the expedition, the frequent mention in the tale of his reading the Ogham writings, and using their characters himself, and the pretended revelation of it at his grave, to Seanchan's pupil, in the one version, as well as the recovery of it, according to another account, at a great meeting of poets and ecclesiastics, said to have taken place at his grave, it appears, to me at least, that there is sufficient ground to warrant the conjecture, that in the times of Seanchan and Saint Colum Cille, it was generally believed that Fergus was the original writer of the tale, that it had been written by him, or by some person of his time, into a great book, and that this book was at some sub-

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Of the
SALT AIR OF
TARA.

sequent period carried out of the country; and this, as we have said before, probably may have taken place in the early Christian times. It is also not impossible that it was followed by the owner or keeper of it, who, from his being called a *Saol*, that is, a Doctor or Professor in learning, was probably, it may be supposed, converted to Christianity, and went into Italy, as many certainly did in those times, carrying with him the only copy or copies then in existence. It would be curious to find this ancient book still existing in some neglected corner of the Vatican, or of one of the other great Libraries of Italy.

In the first lecture (to pass to the next of our oldest lost books), we partly considered the history of that very ancient record, now lost, known as the *SALT AIR OF TARA*. It was stated that its composition is referred to the period of the reign of Cormac Mac Art (*Cormac Mac Airt*, or son of *Art*), and that by some this king was actually supposed to have been its author.

To give full value to all the evidence we possess as to the nature of this record, the time at which it was said to have been composed, and its reputed author, it will be necessary for us to enter into a brief historical account of the period, and to give some particulars about this celebrated prince; from which I conceive it will be fully evident, that to attribute the composition of the *Saltair* to the time of Cormac, or even to state that he was its author, would be to make no extravagant assumption.

Of King
Cormac Mac
Airt.

The character and career of Cormac Mac Art, as a governor, a warrior, a philosopher, and a judge deeply versed in the laws which he was called on to administer, have, if not from his own time, at least from a very remote period, formed a fruitful subject for panegyric to the poet, the historian, and the legislator.

Our oldest and most accredited annals record his victories and military glories; our historians dwell with rapture on his honour, his justice, and the native dignity of his character; our writers of historical romance make him the hero of many a tale of curious adventure; and our poets find in his personal accomplishments, and in the regal splendour of his reign, inexhaustible themes for their choicest numbers.

The poet Maclmura, of Othna, who died A.D. 844, styles him Cormac *Ceolach*, or the Musical, in allusion to his refined and happy mind and disposition. *Cinaeth* (or Kenneth) O'Hartigan (who died A.D. 973) gives a glowing description of the magnificence of Cormac and of his palace at Tara. And Cuan O'Lochain, quoted in the former lecture, and who died A.D. 1024, is no less eloquent on the subject of Cormac's mental and personal qualities and the glories of his reign. He also, in the poem which has been already quoted, describes the con-

dition and disposition of the ruins of the principal edifices at Tara, as they existed in his time; for, even at this early period (1024), the royal Tara was but a ruin. Flann, of Saint *Buithé's* Monastery, who died A.D. 1056 (the greatest, perhaps, of the scholars, historians, and poets of his time), is equally fluent in praise of Cormac as a king, a warrior, a scholar, and a judge.

LECT. II.

History of
King Cormac
Mac Airt.

Cormac's father, Art, chief monarch of Erin, was killed in the Battle of *Magh Mucruimhé* that is, the Plain of *Mucruimhé* (pron: "Mucrivy") about A.D. 195, by Mac Con, who was the son of his sister. This Mac Con was a Munster prince, who had been banished out of Erin by Oilill Oluim, King of Munster; after which, passing into Britain and Scotland, he returned in a few years at the head of a large army of foreign adventurers, commanded chiefly by *Benné Brit*, son of the King of Britain. They sailed round by the south coast of Ireland, and landed in the Bay of Galway; and, being joined there by some of Mac Con's Irish adherents, they overran and ravaged the country of West Connacht. Art, the monarch, immediately mustered all the forces that he could command, and marched into Connacht, where he was joined by Mac Con's seven (or six) step-brothers, the sons of Oilill Olum, with the forces of Munster. A battle ensued, as stated above, on the Plain of *Mucruimhe* (between Athenree and Galway), in which Art was killed, leaving behind him an only son, Cormac, usually distinguished as *Cormac Mac Airt*, that is, Cormac the son of Art.

On the death of his uncle Art, Mac Con assumed the monarchy of Erin, to the prejudice of the young prince Cormac, who was still in his boyhood, and who was forced to lie concealed for the time among his mother's friends in Connacht.

Mac Con's usurpation, and his severe rule, disposed his subjects after some time to wish for his removal; and to that end young Cormac, at the solicitation of some powerful friends of his father, appeared suddenly at Tara, where his person had by this time ceased to be known. One day, we are told, he entered the judgment hall of the palace at the moment that a case of royal privilege was brought before the king, Mac Con, for adjudication. For the king in ancient Erin was, in eastern fashion, believed to be gifted with peculiar wisdom as a judge among his people; and it was a part of his duty, as well as one of the chief privileges of his prerogative, to give judgment in any cases of difficulty brought before him, even though the litigants might be among the meanest of his subjects, and the subject of litigation of the smallest value. The case is thus related: Certain sheep, the property of a certain widow residing near Tara, had strayed into the queen's private lawn, and eaten of its grass; they were captured

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description
of Cormac
Mac Airt.

by some of the household officers, and the case was brought before the king for judgment. The king, on hearing the case, condemned the sheep to be forfeited. Young Cormac, however, hearing this sentence, exclaimed that it was unjust; and declared that as the sheep had eaten but the fleece of the land, the most that they ought to forfeit should be their own fleeces. This view of the law appeared so wise and reasonable to the people around, that a murmur of approbation ran through the hall. Mac Con started from his seat and exclaimed: "That is the judgment of a king"; and, immediately recognizing the youthful prince, ordered him to be seized; but Cormac succeeded in effecting his escape. The people, then, having recognized their rightful chief, soon revolted against the monarch; upon which Mac Con was driven into Munster, and Cormac assumed the government at Tara. And thus commenced one of the most brilliant and important reigns in Irish history.

The following description of Cormac, from the Book of Ballymote (142, b.b.), gives a very vivid picture of the person, manners, and acts of this monarch, which it gives however on the authority of the older Book of *Uachongbhail*; and, even though the language is often high-coloured, it is but a picturesque clothing for actual facts, as we know from other sources,—[See original in APPENDIX, No. XXVI.]

"A noble and illustrious king assumed the sovereignty and rule of Erin, namely, Cormac, the grandson of Conn of the Hundred Battles. The world was full of all goodness in his time; there were fruit and fatness of the land, and abundant produce of the sea, with peace, and ease, and happiness, in his time, There were no killings nor plunderings in his time, but every one occupied his lands in happiness.

"The nobles of Erin assembled to drink the banquet of Tara, with Cormac, at a certain time. These were the kings who were assembled at that feast, namely, *Fergus Dubhdeadach* (of the black teeth), and *Eochaidh Gunnat*, the two kings of Ulster; Dunlang, son of Enna Nia, king of Leinster; Cormac Cas, son of Ailill Oluim,—and *Fiacha Muilleathan*, son of *Eoghan Mór*, the two kings of Munster; *Nia Mór*, the son of *Lugaidh Firtri*, Cormac's brother by his mother, and *Eochaidh*, son of Conall, the two kings of Connacht; Oengus of the poisoned spear, king of Bregia (East Meath); and *Feradach* the son of Asal, son of Conor the champion, king of Meath.

"The manner in which fairs and great assemblies were attended by the men of Erin, at this time, was: each king wore his kingly robe upon him, and his golden helmet on his head; for, they never put their kingly diadems on, but in the field of battle only.

“Magnificently did Cormac come to this great assembly; for no man, his equal in beauty, had preceded him, excepting *Coinnre Mór*, son of Edersgel, or Conor, son of *Cathbadh* (pron: nearly “Caa-fah”), or Aengus, son of the Daghdá. Splendid, indeed, was Cormac’s appearance in that assembly. His hair was slightly curled, and of golden colour: a scarlet shield with engraved devices, and golden hooks, and clasps of silver: a wide-folding purple cloak on him, with a gem-set gold brooch over his breast; a gold torque around his neck; a white-collared shirt, embroidered with gold, upon him; a girdle with golden buckles, and studded with precious stones, around him; two golden net-work sandals with golden buckles upon him; two spears with golden sockets, and many red bronze rivets, in his hand; while he stood in the full glow of beauty, without defect or blemish. You would think it was a shower of pearls that were set in his mouth; his lips were rubies; his symmetrical body was as white as snow; his cheek was like the mountain-ash berry; his eyes were like the sloe; his brows and eye lashes were like the sheen of a blue-black lance.

LECT. II.

Cormac Mac
Airt at Tara.

“This, then, was the shape and form in which Cormac went to this great assembly of the men of Erin. And authors say that this was the noblest convocation ever held in Erin before the Christian Faith; for, the laws and enactments instituted in that meeting were those which shall prevail in Erin for ever.

“The nobles of Erin proposed to make a new classification of the people, according to their various mental and material qualifications; both kings and ollamhs (or chiefs of professions), and druids, and farmers, and soldiers, and all different classes likewise; because they were certain, that, whatever regulations should be ordered for Erin in that assembly, by the men of Erin, would be those which would live in it for ever. For, from the time that Amergen *Gluingeal* (or of the White Knee), the *Filé* (or Poet) and one of the chiefs of the Milesian colonists, delivered the first judgment in Erin, it was to the *Fíles* alone that belonged the right of pronouncing judgments, until the disputation of the Two Sages, *Ferceirtné* the *Filé*, and *Neidhé*, son of *Adhna*, at Emania, about the beautiful mantle of the chief *Filé*, *Adhna*, who had lately died. More and more obscure to the people, were the words in which these two *Fíles* discussed and decided their dispute; nor could the kings or the other *Fíles* understand them. *Concobar* (or Conor), and the other princes, at that time present at Emania, said that the disputation and decision could be understood only by the two parties themselves, for that *they* did not understand them. It is manifest, said *Concobar*: all men shall have share in it from this day out for ever, but they

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The reign of
Cormac Mac
Airt.

[the *Filés*] shall have their hereditary judgment out of it; of what all others require, every man may take his share of it. Judgment was then taken from the *Filés*, except their inheritance of it, and several of the men of Erin took their part of the judgment; such as the judgments of *Eochaidh*, the son of *Luchta*; and the judgments of *Fachtna*, the son of *Senchadh*; and the (apparently) false judgments of *Caradniadh Teisethé*; and the judgments of *Morann*, the son of *Maen*; and the judgments of *Eoghan*, the son of *Durrthacht* [king of Farney]; and the judgments of *Doet* of *Neintheinn*, and the judgments of *Brigh Ambui* [daughter of *Senchadh*]; and the judgments of *Dian-cecht* [the *Tuath Dé Dandnn* Doctor] in matters relating to medical doctors. Although these were thus first ordered at this time, the nobles of the men of Erin (subsequently) insisted on judgment and eloquence (advocacy) being allowed to persons according to rank in the *Bretha Nemheadh* (laws of ranks); and so each man usurped the profession of another again, until this great meeting assembled around Cormac. They then again separated the professors of every art from each other in that great meeting, and each of them was ordained to his legitimate profession".

And thus when Cormac came to the sovereignty of Erin, he found that Conor's regulations had been disregarded; and this was what induced the nobles to propose to him a new organization, in accordance with the advancement and progress of the people, from the former period. And this Cormac did; for he ordered a new code of laws and regulations to be drawn up, extending to all classes and professions. He also put the state or court regulations of the *Teach Midhchuarta*, or Great Banqueting House of Tara, on a new and permanent footing; and revived obsolete tests and ordeals, and instituted some important new ones; thus making the law of Testimony and Evidence as perfect and safe as it could be in such times.

If we take this, and various other descriptions of Cormac's character as a man, a king, a scholar, a judge, and a warrior, into account, we shall see that he was no ordinary prince; and that if he had not impressed the nation with a full sense of his great superiority over his predecessors and those who came after him, there is no reason why he should have been specially selected from all the rest of the line of monarchs, to be made above all the possessor of such excellences.

Such a man could scarcely have carried out his various behests, and the numerous provisions of his comprehensive enactments, without some written medium. And it is no unwarrantable presumption to suppose that, either by his own hand,

or, at least, in his own time, by his command, his laws were committed to writing; and when we possess very ancient testimony to this effect, I can see no reason for rejecting it, or even for casting a doubt upon the statement.

LECT. II.

The laws
and legal
writings of
King Cormac
Mac Airt.

It is not probable that any laws or enactments forged at a later period, could be imposed on a people who possessed in such abundance the means of testing the genuineness of their origin, by recourse to other sources of information; and the same arguments which apply in the case of the *Saltair of Tara*, may be used in regard to another work assigned to Cormac, of which mention will be presently made. Nor is this all, but there is no reason whatever to deny that a book, such as the *Saltair of Tara* is represented to have been, was in existence at Tara a long time before Cormac's reign; and that Cormac only altered and enlarged it to meet the circumstances of his own times.

These bards and druids, of which our ancient records make such frequent mention, must have had some mode of perpetuating their arts, else it would have been impossible for those arts to have been transmitted so faithfully and fully as we know they were. It is true that the student in the learning of the *Filé* is said to have spent some twelve years in study, before he was pronounced an adept; and this may be supposed to imply that the instruction was verbal; but we have it from various writers, even as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that it was customary with the medical, law, and civil students of these times, to read the classics and study their professions for twenty years.

All this is indeed but presumptive evidence of the possession of writing by the Irish in the time of Cormac; but, from other sources we have reason to believe that the art existed here long antecedent to his reign: this subject is, however, of too great extent and importance to admit of its full discussion at present.

There still exists, I should state to you, a Law Tract, attributed to Cormac. It is called the Book of Acaill; and is always found annexed to a Law Treatise by *Cennfaelad* the learned, who died in A.D. 677. The following preface always prefixed to this first work gives its history.—[See original in APPENDIX, No. XXVII.]

“The *locus*⁽²⁶⁾ of the Book was *Aicill* (or *Acaill*, pron:

(26) It was always the habit of the old Irish writers to state four circumstances concerning the composition of their works: the place at which they were written (or the *locus* of the work, according to the form here used).—the date,—the name of the author,—and the occasion or circumstances which suggested the undertaking. These forms were adhered to by writers using the native language down even to the time of the Four Masters, as will be seen in a subsequent Lecture (VIII.), on the various works of the O'Clerys.

LECT. II.

Of the Book
of *Acaill*.

Akill'), near *Teamair* [Tara]; and the time of it was the time of *Cairbré Lifeachair* (Cairbre of the Liffey), son of Cormac, and the person [author] of it was Cormac; and the cause of making it was, the blinding of Cormac's eye by *Aengus Gabuaidech* (Aengus of the poisoned spear), after the abduction of the daughter of Sorar, son of Art Corb, by Cellach, the son of Cormac. This *Aengus Gabuaidech* was an *Airé Eghta* (an avenging chief) at this time, avenging the wrongs of his tribe in the territories of *Luighné* (Leyney); and he went into the house of a woman there, and forcibly drank milk there. "It would be fitter for you", said the woman, "to avenge your brother's daughter on Cellach, the son of Cormac, than to consume my food forcibly". And books do not record that he committed any evil upon the woman's person; but he went forward to *Teamair*; and it was after sunset he reached *Teamair*; and it was prohibited at *Teamair* to take a champion's arms into it after sunset; but only the arms that happened to be in it; and Aengus took Cormac's *Crimall* (bloody spear) down off its rack (as he was passing in) and gave a thrust of it into Ceallach, son of Cormac, which killed him; and its angle struck Cormac's eye, so that he remained half blind; and its heel struck in the back of the steward of *Teamair*, when drawing it out of Cellach, and killed him; and it was prohibited to a king with a blemish to be in *Teamair*; and Cormac was sent out to be cured to *Aicill*, near *Teamair*; and Teamar could be seen from *Aicill*, and *Aicill* could not be seen from Teamar; and the sovereignty of Erin was (then) given to *Cairbre Lifeachair*, the son of Cormac; and it was then this book was compiled; and that which is Cormac's share in it is every place where "*Blai*" (immunity) occurs, and "*A meic ara feiser*" (my son would you know); and *Cenndfaélad's* share is, everything from that out".

Of *Cennfae-
lad*.

Such is the account of this curious tract, as found prefixed to all the copies of it that we now know; and, though the composition of this preface must be of a much later date than Cormac's time, still it bears internal evidence of great antiquity.

Cormac's book is, as I have observed, always found prefixed to the laws compiled by *Cennfaelad* just mentioned. This *Cennfaelad* had been an Ulster warrior, but, happening to receive a fracture of the skull, at the battle of Magh Rath, fought A.D. 634, he was carried to be cured, to the house of Bricin⁽²⁷⁾ of

(27) The reader will please to observe, once for all, that the letter *c* is in the Gaedhlic always pronounced hard, or like the English *k*; it never has the soft sound of an *s*, even before an *e* or an *i*.

Tuaim Drecaín, where there were three schools, namely: a Literary (or Classical) school; a *Fenechas*, or Law school; and a school of Poetry. And, whilst there, and listening to the instructions given to the pupils, and the subtle discussions of the schools, his memory, which, before, was not very good, became clear and retentive, so that whatever he heard in the day (it is recorded) he remembered at night; and thus, he finally came to be a master in the arts of the three schools, reducing what he had heard in each to order, and committing it to verse, which he first wrote upon slates and tablets, and afterwards in a White Book, in verse. The *Fenechas*, or law part only, of this book, is that now found annexed to Cormac's treatise. These laws, however, are not in verse now. And, whether the laws at present known; in connection with *Cennfaeladh's* name, are of his own composition, or those he learned in the schools here mentioned, is not certain. The explanation of the word *Aicill*, as well as the circumstances just mentioned respecting *Cennfaeladh*, occurs in the following passage, in continuation of that last quoted.—[See original in APPENDIX, No. XXVIII.]

"*Aicill* [is derived] from *Uch Oll* [the Great Lamentation], which *Aicell*, the daughter of Cairbré [*Cairbre Niafear*, monarch of Erin], made there, lamenting Erc, the son of Cairbré, her brother; and here is a proof of it:—

"The daughter of Cairbré, that died,⁽²⁸⁾
And of Feidelm, the ever-blooming,
Of grief for Erc, beautiful her part,
Who was slain in revenge of Cuchulainn".

"Or, it was *Aicell*, the wife of Erc, son of Cairbré, that died of grief for her husband there, when he was killed by Conall Cearnach (in revenge of Cuchulainn); and this is a proof of it:—

"Conall Cearnach, that brought Erc's head
To the side of Temair, at the third hour;
Sad the deed that of it came,
The breaking of Acaill's noble heart".

"If there was established law at the time the *eric* (reparation) which was paid for this crime (against Cormac, etc.)—provided it was on free wages⁽²⁹⁾ *Magh Bregh* (Bregia) was held—was the

⁽²⁸⁾ These two verses are taken from the ancient DINNSENCHUS, but there is no authority for the second version to be found in the copy of that tract, preserved in the Book of Ballymote. The poem from which they are taken, and which gives the origin of the place called Acaill, was written by *Cinaeth* or Kenneth O'Hartigan, who died A.D. 973, and, consequently, this account, in its present state, of the Book of Acaill, was written after the writing of the poem.

⁽²⁹⁾ *Free wages*.—That is, if they had only held their lands and original stock,

LECT. II.

Of the Book
of *Acaill*.

same as if free wages had been given to half of them, and base wages to the other half, so that one half of them would be in free service, and the other half in base service.

“If free wages were not on them at all, the *eric* which should be paid there was the same as if free wages had been given to the half of them and base wages to the other half, so that half of them would be in free service, and the other half in base service.

“If there was not established law there, every one’s right would be according to his strength.⁽³⁰⁾

“And they (Aengus’s tribe) left the territory, and they went to the south. They are the *Deisé* (Decies or Deasys) of *Port Laeghaire* or *Port Lairgé* (Waterford) from that time down.

“Its (the book’s) *locus* and time, as regards Cormac, so far.

“In regard to Cennfaelad, however, the *locus* of [his part of] it was *Doire Lurain*, and the time of it was the time of [the Monarch] *Aedh Mac Ainmerech*, and its person [*i.e.* author] was Cennfaelad, and the cause of compiling it, his brain of forgetfulness having been extracted from Cennfaelad’s head after having been cloven in the battle of Magh Rath⁽³¹⁾ [A.D. 634].

“The three victories of that battle were: the defeat of Congal Claen, in his falsehood, by Domnall, in his truthfulness; and *Suibhné*, the maniac, to become a maniac; and it is not *Suibhné*’s becoming a maniac that is (considered) a victory, but all the stories and all the poems which he left after him in Erin; and it was not a victory that his brain of forgetfulness was extracted from Cennfaelad’s head, but what he left of noble book works after him in Erin. He had been carried to be cured to the house of [St.] Bricin, of *Tuaim Dreacain*, and there were three schools in the town, a school of classics, and a school of

which was the wages, or *rath*, on the condition of certain personal services, and the payment of a certain rent every third year,—which was called *saer-rath*, or free wages,—they should be now reduced, one half the tribe, to base wages, which amounted to a species of slavery, under which they were forced to pay every year what the parties on free wages paid but every third year. And even though according to the second clause the lands were not held by them on wages at all, but as independent inheritors (that is, owners owing only an acknowledgment to the king, with such contributions only as they pleased), which they were, being the descendants of *Fiacha Suidhé*, the brother of Conn of the Hundred Battles, and consequently cousins to Cormac himself,—even then they were reduced to the state of one half of them becoming free vassals, and the other half base vassals, their hereditary title to their lands having become for ever forfeited.

⁽³⁰⁾ There is a most curious and important account of the trial and decision in this ancient case, preserved in the ancient Irish Manuscript lately purchased in London for the Royal Irish Academy, through the liberality and fine national spirit of the Rev. Dr. Todd, of T.C.D.

⁽³¹⁾ See *The Battle of Magh Rath*, edited by John O’Donovan, LL.D., for the Irish Archaeological Society; 1842.

Fenechas (laws), and a school of *Filidhecht* (philosophy, poetry, etc.); and everything that he used to hear of what the three schools spoke every day he used to have of clear memory [*i.e.*, perfectly by rote] every night; and he put a clear thread of poetry to them [*i.e.*, put them into verse]; and he wrote them on stones and on tables, and he put them into a vellum-book".⁽³²⁾

LECT. II.
Of the Book
of *Acaill*.

The whole of this volume, comprising the parts ascribed to the King Cormac, and those said to be Cennfaelad's, form a very important section of our ancient national institutes, known as the Brehon Laws; but it does not, for the reason I before alluded to, fall within my province to deal with those laws farther on the present occasion.

⁽³²⁾ The latter portion of this passage is somewhat more minutely given in another MS. version (T.C.D. Library, H. 3. 18. p. 399), as follows:—

"And where he was cured was at *Tuaim Dreacain*, at the meeting of the three streets, between the houses of the three professors (*Sai*), namely, a professor of *Fenechas*, a professor of *Filidhecht*, and a professor of *Leighenn* (classics). And all that the three schools taught (or spoke) each day, he had, through the sharpness of his intellect, each night; and so much of it as he wished to show, he put into poetical arrangement, and it was written by him into white books". [See original in APPENDIX, No. XXVIII.]

LECTURE III.

[Delivered March 20, 1855.]

Of the synchronisms of Flann of Monasterboice. Of the Chronological Poem of *Gilla Caemhain*. Of *Tighernach* the Annalist. Of the foundation of Clonmacnois. THE ANNALS.—I. The Annals of *Tighernach*. Of the Foundation of Emania, and of the Ultonian dynasty.

IN shortly sketching for you some account of our lost books of history, and in endeavouring to suggest to you what must have been the general state of learning at and before the introduction of Christianity by our national Apostle, I have, in fact, opened the whole subject of these lectures: the MS. materials existing in our ancient language for a real history of Erin. Let us now proceed at once to the consideration of the more important branches of those materials; and, first, of the extent and character of our national annals, and their importance in the study of our history.

Of the ancient Annals.

The principal ANNALS now remaining in the Gaedhlic language, and of which we have any accurate knowledge, are known as:—the Annals of *Tighernach* (pron: nearly “Teernagh”);—the Annals of *Senait Mac Manus* (a compilation now better known as the Annals of Ulster);—the Annals of *Inis Mac Nerinn* in Loch Cé (erroneously called the Annals of Kilronan);—the Annals of Innisfallen;—the Annals now known as the Annals of Boyle;—the Annals now known as the Annals of Connacht;—the Annals of *Dun na n-Gall* (Donegall), or those of the Four Masters;—and lastly, the *Chronicum Scotorum*.

Besides these we have also the Annals of Clonmacnois, a compilation of the same class, which was translated into English in 1627, but of which the original is unfortunately not now accessible or known to exist.

With regard to annals in other languages relating to Ireland, I need only allude to the Latin Annals of Multifernan, of Grace, of Pembridge, Clyn, etc., published by the Irish Archaeological Society.

At the head of our list I have placed the Annals of Tighernach, a composition, as we shall presently see, of a very remarkable character, whether we take into account the early period at which these annals were written, namely, the close of the eleventh century, or the amount of historical research, the

judicious care, and the scholarlike discrimination, which distinguish the compiler. These annals have accordingly been considered by many to constitute, if not our earliest, at least one of the most important of our historical records now extant.

LECT. III.
Of the earlier
Chronologists and
Historians.

How far the arrangement of events and the chronology observed in most of our annals are to be ascribed to Tighernach, is a matter that cannot now be clearly determined. It is certain, however, that there were careful and industrious chroniclers and chronologists before his time, with whose works he was doubtless well acquainted.

From a very early period, we find notices of chroniclers and historical compilers. I have already mentioned the royal historian, Cormac Mac Art, and also the author of the *Cin Dromá Sneachta*. From the sixth to the eighth century we meet, amongst many others, the names of Amergin Mac Amalgaidh, author of the *Dinn Seanchas*; Cennfaeladh; and Aengus Céile Dé. From the year 800 to the year 1000, we find Maolmura of Othan; Cormac Mac Cuileannain; Flann Mac Lonan; Eochaidh O'Flinn; and Cinaeth or Kennett O'Hartigan. In the eleventh century the historical compilers are still more frequent: the chief names in this period are, those of Cuan O'Lochain; Colman O'Seasnan; Flann Mainistrech, or of the Monastery, and Gilla Caemhain. The two latter lived in the same century with Tighernach; Flann, the professor of St. Buithé's Monastery (or Monasterboice), who died A.D. 1056; and Gilla Caemhain, a writer who died A.D. 1072, the translator into Gaedhlic of Nennius' history of the Britons. Of these, as they were contemporaries of Tighernach, it will be necessary to give some account, before we proceed to consider more particularly the Annals of that author.

Flann compiled very extensive historical synchronisms, which have been much respected by some of the most able modern writers on early Irish history, such as Ussher, Ware, Father John Lynch (better known as Gratianus Lucius, the well known author of *Cambrensis Eversus*), O'Flaherty, and Charles O'Connor.

Of the Synchronisms of
Flann of Monasterboice
(XI. Century).

The synchronisms of Flann go back to the most remote periods, and form an excellent abridgment of universal history. After synchronizing the chiefs of various lines of the children of Adam in the east, the author points out what monarchs of the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, and Greeks, and what emperors of the Romans, were contemporary with the kings of Erin and the leaders of its various early colonists, beginning with Ninus, the son of Belus, and coming down to the first of the Roman emperors, Julius Cæsar, who was contemporary with

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Of the Syn-
chronisms of
Flann of Mo-
nasterboice
(XI. Cen-
tury).

Eochaidh Feidhlech, a monarch of Erin who died more than half a century before the Incarnation of our Lord. The parallel lines are then continued from Julius Cæsar and his Irish contemporary *Eochaidh Feidhlech*, down to the Emperors Theodosius the Third, and Leo the Third, and their contemporary *Ferghal*, son of Maelduin, monarch of Erin, who was killed A.D. 718.

Flann makes use of the length and periods of the reigns of the emperors to illustrate and show the consistency of the chronology of the Irish reigns, throughout this long list.

After this he throws the whole series, from Julius Cæsar down, into periods of 100 years each, grouping the emperors of Rome and the kings of Erin in each century in the following manner. Thus, he takes one hundred years, from the first year of Julius Cæsar to the twelfth year of Claudius. Five emperors will be found to have reigned within this time, namely, Julius, Octavius, Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius. The Irish parallel period to this will be found in the one hundred years from the eighth year of *Eochaidh Feidhlech* to the fifth year of the reign of *Lughaidh Riabh Derg*. Six monarchs ruled in Erin during that term, namely, *Eochaidh Feidhlech*, *Eochaidh Airemh*, his brother; *Edersgel Mac Iar*, *Nuadha Necht*, *Conairé Mòr*, and *Lughaidh Riabh Derg*.

A second period of one hundred years, in Flann's computations, extends from the second last year of Claudius to the eighteenth year of Antoninus Pius. Thirteen emperors reigned within that time. There were also one hundred years from the fifth year of *Lughaidh Riabh Derg*, monarch of Erin, to the end of the reign of Elin Mac Conrach, and seven monarchs governed in that space of time, namely, *Conchobhar* or *Conor*, *Crimthann*, *Cairbré*, *Fearadhach*, *Fiatach*, *Fiacha*, and *Elin MacConrach* himself.

And so Flann continues down to the time of the Emperor Leo, and *Ferghal Mac Maelduin*, King of Erin, who was killed A.D. 718. That portion of the work which carries down the synchronisms to Julius Cæsar is next summed up in a poem of which there are two copies, one of 1096, and the other of 1220 lines, intended no doubt to assist the student in committing to memory the substance of the synchronisms (*Lecain*; fol. 20. 36).

There is another chronological piece of curious interest and of very considerable value, which was also probably composed by Flann, or at least that portion of it which precedes A.D. 1056, the year of Flann's death. It comprises a list of the reigns of the monarchs of Ireland, with those of the contemporary provincial kings, and also of the kings of Scotland. This synchro-

ERRATUM.

[The error corrected below unhappily escaped the author's eye until after the sheet containing the List of Errata was printed off. It is one of the most unfortunate that could have occurred in copying for the press the original MS. of the Lectures; yet it is not one that can mislead scholars, who will at once detect it, as the descent of the two separate families of *Eochaidh Muinnreamhar* and *Colla Uais* happens to be so well known to readers both of Irish and Scottish History.]

At Page 55, line 9 (instead of the paragraph as it now stands, read:)

It was, he says, in the year 498 that *Fergus Mór* and his brothers went into Scotland. They were the sons of *Erc*, the son of *Eochaidh Muinnreamhar*, whose father *Aengus Firt* was the Twelfth in descent from *Eochaidh* or *Cairbré Riada*, from whom the "Dalriads" of Albain and of Erin derive their name. The renowned *Colla Uais*, who, with his brothers, overthrew the Ulster dynasty and destroyed the palace of Emania, had a son *Eochaidh*, who had a son *Erc*, whose son *Muirchertach Mac Eirc* was the ancestor of the MacDonnells, Lords of the Isles, and of other great families in Scotland. (*Eochaidh* and *Erc*, the son and grandson of *Colla Uais*, must not be confounded with *Eochaidh* and *Erc*, the son and grandson of *Aenghus Firt*.) Our tract says that, from the Battle of *Ocha*, A.D. 478, to the death of the monarch, *Diarmaid*, son of *Fergus Cerrbeoil*, there was a space of Eighty years. There were four monarchs, etc.

[As a passage of so much importance has been erroneously printed in the text, the reader will probably desire to have the very words of *Flann*, of whose account only an abstract was given in the Lecture. They are as follows,—from the Book of *Lecain*, (fol. 23, a, a.):—

fiche bliadain o cath Ochu con-
deátar clanna Eirc mic Echach
muinnreamhar in Albain .i. se mic
Eirc .i. da Aengus, da loorn, da
Fergus. xxxiii. bliadain o chath
Ocha co bar Diarmata mic Fer-
gusa Cerrbeoil. .iiii. rí for Erin,
Fuir in perin .i. Lugaid mac Lae-
ghaire, Muirchertach mac Eirc, Tu-
athal Maelgarbh, Diarmait mac Fer-
gusa Cerrbeoil. Coic rí for Al-
bain fú rín .i. Fergus mór mac
Eirc, Oengus mór mac Eirc, Do-
mangort mac Fergus, Comgall
mac Domangort, Gabran mac Do-
mangort.

Twenty years from the battle of
Ocha, till the sons of *Erc*, son of
Echaidh Muinnremar went into *Al-
bain*, i. e., the six sons of *Erc*, i. e.,
two *Aengus**, two *Loarns*, two *Fer-
gus**. Four Score* years from the
battle of *Ocha*, till the death of
Diarmait, son of *Fergus Cerrbheoil*.
Four kings upon Erin during that
time: i. e., *Lugaidh*, son of *Lae-
ghaire*; *Muirchertach*, son of *Erc*;
Tuathal Maelgarbh; *Diarmait*, son
of *Fergus Cerrbheoil*. Five kings upon
Albain during this time: i. e., *Fer-
gus Mór*, son of *Erc*; *Aengus Mór*,
son of *Erc*; *Domangort*, son of *Fer-
gus*; *Comgall*, son of *Domangort*;
Gabran, son of *Domangort*.

* The writer of the Book of *Lecain* writes this xxxiii, instead of iii.xx, by mistake.

nological list commences with *Laeghairé*, who succeeded to the sovereignty in the year of our Lord 429, and it is carried down to the death of *Muirheartach* O'Brien, in 1119, sixty-five years after Flann's death. Who the continuator of Flann may have been we do not now know.

LECT. III.

Of the Synchronisms of Flann of Monasterboice (XI Century).

It may be interesting to give the following abstract as a specimen of Flann's synchronisms of the kings of Scotland, as it shows their connection with the royal lines of Erin.

It was, he says, in the year 498 that Fergus Môr and his brothers went into Scotland. They were the sons of Erc, the son of *Eochaidh Muinreamhar*, whose father was the renowned *Colla Uais*, who, with his brothers, overthrew the Ulster dynasty and destroyed the palace of Emania. *Muirchertach Mac Eirc*, one of the brothers, was the ancestor of the MacDonnells, Lords of the Isles, and of other great families in Scotland. Our tract says that from the Battle of Ocha, A.D. 478, to the death of the monarch, *Diarmaid*, son of Fergus *Cerrbeoil*, there was a space of eighty years. There were four monarchs of Erin within that time, namely, *Lughaidh*, son of *Laeghairé*; *Muirchertach*, son of Erc; *Tuathal Mael Garbh*; and *Diarmaid*. There were five kings of Scotland to correspond with these four of Erin, namely, the above Fergus Môr; his brother, Aengus Môr; Domangort, the son of Fergus; Comgall, the son of Domangort; and Gabran, the son of Domangort.

The parallel provincial kings of Erin follow, but it is not necessary to enumerate them here.

The first part of the synchronisms ascribed to Flann is lost from the Book of Lecan, but it is preserved in the Book of Ballymote (fol. 6, a.); and as far as can be judged from their tenor in the latter book, they must have been those used by Tighernach, or they may possibly have been taken from an earlier work which was common both to Tighernach and to the compiler of this tract. It is, in fact, the synchronism of Flann, now imperfect, which we find at the commencement of Tighernach, but inserted there after having been first subjected to the critical examination and careful balancing of authorities which generally distinguish that learned annalist.

There is yet another important chronological composition in existence, to which I must here allude: I mean the Poem of *Gilla Caemhain*, who died A.D. 1072.

Of the Chronological Poem of *Gilla Caemhain*.

This writer begins by stating that he will give the annals of all time, from the beginning of the world to his own period. He computes the several periods from the Creation to the Deluge, from the Deluge to Abraham, from Abraham to David, and from David to the Babylonian Captivity, etc. From the

LECT. III.

Of the writings of Flann and *Gilla Caemhain* (XI. Century).

Creation to the Incarnation he counts 3952 years. (This is obviously the common Hebrew computation.) He then goes on to synchronize the Eastern sovereigns with each other, and afterwards with the Firbolgs and *Tuatha Dé Danann* of Erin, and subsequently with the Milesians.

He carries down the computation through several Eastern and Irish dynasties, giving the deaths of all the monarchs, and of several of the provincial kings of Erin, as well as of many remarkable persons: such as the death of *Finn Mac Cumhaill*, of Saint Patrick, and of Saint *Brigid*. He also notices the great mortality of the seventh century, the drowning of the Danish tyrant Turgesius, by King *Maelsechlainn* (or Malachy), etc.; continuing still to give the intervening years, down to the death of Brian *Boroimhé*, in 1014, and so on to the "Saxon" battle in which the king of the Danes was killed, five years before the date of the composition of his poem.

The names of many other early writers on Irish history, and even, in some instances, fragments of their works, have come down to us; but the two of whose compositions I have given the foregoing brief sketch, are in many respects the most remarkable.

The short notices we have given of the writings of Flann and *Gilla Caemhain* are quite sufficient to show that they were familiar with a large and extensive range of general history; and their chronological computations, parallels, and synchronisms, prove that they must have industriously examined every possible available source of the chief great nations of antiquity. Such learning will probably seem to you remarkable at so early a period (A.D. 1050) in Ireland; and even were it confined to churchmen, it must be admitted to be evidence of very considerable cultivation. But in the instance of Flann of the Monastery we have proof that this learning and cultivation were not confined to the Irish ecclesiastics; for though we always find the name of Flann associated with the Monastery of Saint *Buithé*, it is well known that he was not in orders. He is never mentioned as an ecclesiastic; and we know that he was married and left issue, as I have shown in the genealogical table published in the Celtic Society's edition of the Battle of Magh Lena. In fact, his employment was that simply of a lay teacher in a great school; and he filled the office of *Fer Leghinn*, or chief professor in the great College of Saint *Buithé* (a college as well lay as ecclesiastical), the ruins of which may still perhaps be seen at Monasterboice, in the modern county of Louth.

Flann's death is noticed by Tighernach, under the year 1056, thus:—"Flann, of the monastery, a Gadelian [*i.e.*, Gaedhlic,

or Irish] author in history, in genealogy, in poetry, and in eloquence, on the 7th of the kalends of December, the 16th day of the moon, happily finished his life in Christ".—[See original in APPENDIX, No. XXIX.] The O'Clerys, in the Book of Invasions (page 52), speak of him in the following terms:—*“Flann, a Saoi of the wisdom, chronicles, and poetry of the Gaels, made this poem on the Christian kings of Erin, from Laeghairé to Maelseachlainn Mór, beginning, ‘The Kings of faithful Temar afterwards’, etc.—[See original in APPENDIX, No. XXIX.]”*

LECT. III.

(Of Tighernach. (XI. Century).

It is to be observed that Flann was the predecessor of Tighernach; and without in the least degree derogating from the well-earned reputation of that distinguished annalist, enough of the works of Flann remain to show that he was a scholar of fully equal learning, and a historic investigator of the greatest merit.

Let us now return to Tighernach, whose name stands among the first of Irish annalists; and, as we shall see in investigating the portions of his works which remain to us, this position has been not unjustly assigned him. If we take into account the early period at which he wrote, the variety and extent of his knowledge, the accuracy of his details, and the scholarly criticism and excellent judgment he displays, we must agree with the opinion expressed by the Rev. Charles O'Connor, that not one of the countries of northern Europe can exhibit a historian of equal antiquity, learning, and judgment with Tighernach. “No chronicler”, says this author, “more ancient than Tighernach can be produced by the northern nations. Nestor, the father of Russian history, died in 1113; Snorro, the father of Icelandic history, did not appear until a century after Nestor; Kadlubeck, the first historian of Poland, died in 1223; and Stierman could not discover a scrap of writing in all Sweden older than 1159”.—[Stowe Catalogue, vol. i., p. 35.]

In this statement, I may however observe, the learned author makes no mention of Bede, Gildas, or Nennius. With the great ecclesiastical historian of the Saxons, the Irish annalist does not come into comparison, as he did not treat exclusively of Church history; but with the historians of the Britons, Tighernach may be most favourably compared.

As to Tighernach's personal history, but little, unfortunately, is known. Little more can be said of him than that he was of the *Siol Muireadhaigh*, or Murray-race of Connacht, of which the O'Conors were the chief sept; his own name was *Tighernach O'Braoin*. He appears to have risen to high consideration and ecclesiastical rank, for we find that he was Abbot of the

LECT. III.

Of *Tighernach* (XI. Century).

Monasteries of Clonmacnois and Roscommon, being styled the *Comharba* or "Successor" of Saint Ciaran and Saint Coman. The obituary notice in the *Chronicum Scotorum* runs thus:—"A.D. 1088, *Tighernach Ua Braoin*, of the *Siol Muireadhaigh* [the race of the O'Conors of Connacht,] *Comarba* of Ciaran of *Cluain-mic-nois* and of Coman, died".—[See original in APPENDIX, No. XXX.] The Annals of Innisfallen describe him as a *Saoi*, or Doctor in "Wisdom", Learning, and Oratory; and they record his death at the year 1088, stating that he was buried at Clonmacnois. These statements are confirmed by the Annals of Ulster.

Of the Monastery of Clonmacnois.

In speaking of Tighernach, I cannot pass without some notice the monastery over which he presided: an institution of great antiquity. It was one of those remarkable establishments, ecclesiastical and educational, which seem to have existed in great numbers, and to have attained a high degree of excellence in learning in ancient Erin. Clonmacnois would appear to have been amply endowed, and to have enjoyed a large share of royal patronage, several of the Kings and nobles of Meath and Connacht having chosen it as their place of sepulture. And we find it mentioned, that in many of the great establishments such as this, a very extensive staff of professors was maintained, representing all branches of learning. We have already seen, in the case of Flann of the Monastery, that it was by no means necessary that those professors should be always ecclesiastics.

Saint Ciaran was the founder of Clonmacnois. He was of Ulster extraction; but his father (who was a carpenter) emigrated into Connacht, and settled in *Magh Ai* (a plain, of which the present county of Roscommon forms the chief part); and here it was that young Ciaran was born, in the year 516. He studied at the great College of Clonard, in Westmeath, under the celebrated Saint Finnen; and after finishing his education there, he went into the Island of Arann, on the coast of Clare, to perfect himself in religious discipline under the austere rule of Saint Enna. He returned again to Westmeath, where he received from a friendly chief a piece of ground upon which to erect a church. The situation of this church was low, and hence the church and locality obtained the name of *Iseal Chiarain*, or Ciaran's low place.

Saint Ciaran, after some time, left one of his disciples to rule in this church, and, apparently for the purpose of greater solitude, retired into the island called *Inis Ainghin*, in the Shannon, now included in the barony of Kilkenny West, in the modern county of Westmeath. Here he founded another church, the

ruins (or site) of which bear his name to this day. But the fame of his wisdom, learning, and sanctity, soon brought round him such a number of disciples and followers, that the limits of the island were insufficient for them, and he therefore resolved once more to return to the main land of Westmeath. This was in the year 538, the last year of the reign of *Tuathal Maelgarbh*, monarch of Erin.

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This *Tuathal* (pron: "Too-hal") was the third in descent from the celebrated monarch Niall, known in history as Niall of the Nine Hostages; and at the time that he came to the throne there was another young prince of the same race and of equal claims to the succession of Tara, namely, *Diarmaid*, the son of Fergus *Cerrbheoil*.

The new king, *Tuathal*, feeling uneasy at the presence of a rival prince, banished *Diarmaid* from Tara, and ordered him to depart out of the territory of Meath. *Diarmaid*, attended by a few followers, betook himself in boats to the broad expansion of the Upper Shannon, living on the bounty of his friends at both sides of the river; and in this manner did he spend the nine years that his opponent reigned. It was about this time that Saint Ciaran returned with his large establishment from *Inis Ainghin* to the main land, and *Diarmaid*, happening to be on the river in the neighbourhood of the place where they landed, went on shore and followed them to *Druim Tibráit* (Hill of the Well), now called *Cluain-mic-nois*, or Clonmacnois, where they stopped. As he approached them, he found Saint Ciaran planting the first pole of a church. "What work is about being done here?" said *Diarmaid*. "The erecting of a small church", said Saint Ciaran. "Well may that indeed be its name", said *Diarmaid*, "*Eglais Beg*, or The Little Church". "Plant the pole with me", said Saint Ciaran, "and let my hand be above your hand on it, and your hand and your sovereign sway shall be over the men of Erin before long". "How can this be", said *Diarmaid*, "since *Tuathal* is monarch of Erin, and I am exiled by him?" "God is powerful for that", said Ciaran. They then set up the pole, and *Diarmaid* made an offering of the place to God and Saint Ciaran.

Diarmaid had a foster-brother in his train. This man's name was Maelmora. When he heard the prophetic words of the saint, he formed a resolution to verify them. With this purpose he set out, on horseback, to a place called *Grellach Eillti* (in the north part of the modern county of Westmeath), where he had learned that the monarch *Tuathal* then was; and having by stratagem gained access to his presence, he struck him in the breast with his spear, and killed him. It is scarcely necessary

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to say that Maclmora himself was killed on the spot. However, no sooner was Tuathal dead than *Diarmaid's* friends sought him out and brought him to Tara; and the very next day he was proclaimed monarch of Erin. [See APPENDIX, No. XXXI.]

Diarmaid continued to be a bountiful benefactor to Clonmacnois; and under his munificent patronage the *Eglais beg*, or Little Church, soon became the centre around which were grouped no less than seven churches, two *Cloictechs*, or Round Towers, and a large and important town, the lone ruins of which now form so picturesque an object on the east bank of the Shannon, about seven miles below Athlone.

Clonmacnois continued to be the seat of learning and sanctity, the retreat of devotion and solitude, and the favourite place of interment for the kings, chiefs, and nobles of both sides of the Shannon, for a thousand years after the founder's time, till the rude hand of the despoiler plundered its shrines, profaned its sanctuaries, murdered or exiled its peaceful occupants, and seized on its sacred property.

Fanciful as this account of the origin of the far-famed Clonmacnois may at first sight appear, there still exists on the spot evidence of its veracity, which the greatest sceptic would find it difficult to explain away. There stands within the ruined precincts of this ancient monastery, a stone cross, on which, amongst many other subjects, are sculptured the figures of two men, holding an erect staff or pole between them; and although the erection of this cross may belong (as I believe it does) to the beginning of the tenth century, and although it was then set up, no doubt, to commemorate the building of the Great Church by the monarch Flann and the Abbot Colman, there can be but little doubt, if any, that the two figures of men holding the pole were intended to perpetuate the memory of the manner of founding of the primitive *Eglais beg*, or Little Church, the history of which was then at least implicitly believed.

Many abbots and scholars of distinction will be found amongst the inmates of this retreat of piety and learning at various periods. I shall mention here the names of but a few:

A.D. 791. Saint *Colchu Ua Duinechda*, surnamed The Wise, died on the 20th February this year. He was supreme moderator or prelector, and master of the celebrated school of this abbey; he was also a reader of divinity, and wrote a work, to which he gave the name of *Scuap Crabhaigh*, or the Besom of Devotion; he obtained the appellation of chief scribe, and was master of all the Scots of Ireland. Albin, or Alcuin, bishop of Tritzlur, in Germany, and one of Charlemagne's tutors, in a letter to Saint Colchu, informs him that he had sent fifty shekels

(a piece of money of the value of 1s. 4d.) to the friars of his house, out of the alms of Charlemagne, and fifty shekels from himself.

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A.D. 887 died *Suibhné*, the son of *Maelumha*, a learned scribe and anchorite. Florence of Worcester calls him Suifneh, the most esteemed writer of the Scots, and says that he died in 892.

A.D. 924. On the 7th February, the Sage, Doctor, and Abbot, Colman Mac Ailill, died full of years and honour; he erected the Great Church where the patron saint lies interred.

A.D. 981. On the 16th of January died *Donnchadh O'Braoin*, having obtained a great reputation for learning and piety; to avoid the appearance of vain glory, he resigned the government of his abbey in the year 974, and returned to Armagh, where he shut himself up in a small enclosure, and lived a lonely anchorite till his death.

A.D. 1024. Fachtna, a learned professor and priest of Clonmacnois, Abbot of Iona, and chief Abbot of Ireland, died this year in Rome, whither he had gone on a pilgrimage, etc.

These are but a few of the distinguished children of Clonmacnois previous to the time of Tighernach.

Tighernach himself was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable of all the scholars of Clonmacnois. His learning appears to have been very varied and extensive. He quotes Eusebius, Orosius, Africanus, Bede, Josephus, Saint Jerome, and many other historic writers, and sometimes compares their statements on points in which they exhibit discrepancies, and afterwards endeavours to reconcile their conflicting testimony, and to correct the chronological errors of one writer by comparison with the dates given by others. He also collates the Hebrew text with the Septuagint version of the Scriptures.

These statements, which you will find amply verified when you come to examine the Annals of Tighernach in detail, will be sufficient to show the extent of his general scholarship. It is to be presumed that he was perfectly acquainted with the several historical compositions which had been written previous to his time.

The common era, or that computed from the Incarnation of our Lord, is used by Tighernach, though we have no reason to believe that it was so by the great Irish historical compilers who immediately preceded him.

Tighernach also appears to have been familiar with some of the modes of correcting the calendar. He mentions the Lunar Cycle, and uses the Dominical letter with the kalends of several years; but he makes no direct mention of the Solar Cycle or Golden Number.

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I shall now proceed to consider the several copies of the Annals of Tighernach which have come down to us, all of which are unfortunately in a very imperfect state.

Seven copies of these annals are now known to exist, besides the vellum fragment which I shall mention presently. Two of them in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, are described by Dr. O'Connor in his Stowe Catalogue; and one of these he has published, without the continuation, in the second volume of his "*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*", a work which cannot be mentioned without a tribute of respect to the industry, learning, and patriotism of the author, and the spirited liberality of the English nobleman (the late Marquis of Buckingham), at whose personal expense this work, in four volumes 4to, was printed.

Two copies of Tighernach, one of them in English characters, are to be found in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy; and one in the library of Trinity College. The last, although on paper, is the most perfect, the oldest, and the most original, of those now in Ireland. In the Trinity College Library there is however also preserved a fragment, consisting of three leaves of an ancient vellum MS., apparently of Tighernach, though it is now bound up with the vellum copy of the Annals of Ulster.⁽³³⁾

Two other but very inferior copies are to be found in the British Museum. The first of these (Egerton, 104,—Hardiman MS.) is in small folio on paper, and has evidently been made either from one of the Stowe copies or from that in Trin. Coll. Dublin. It is a bad copy in every way. The handwriting, both of the Gaedhlic text and of the inaccurate translation which accompanies it, are (as well as my memory serves me) identical with that of the bad translation mixed with Gaedhlic words in the first volume of the MS. Annals of the Four Masters in the Library of the R.I.A.,—the first of the two volumes in small folio. This copy of Tighernach commences at the same date as the T.C.D. copy, and comes down to 1163. The second in the British Museum (Egerton, 94,—Hardiman MS.) is but a bad copy of the last mentioned, made by a very inferior scribe.

It is believed that an eighth copy of these annals exists in the collection of Lord Ashburnham; but as that nobleman does not allow any access to his valuable Library of MSS., I am unable to say whether this is so or not.

⁽³³⁾ See APPENDIX, No. XXXII., in which will be found some valuable remarks upon this remarkable fragment kindly communicated to me by the Rev. Dr. Todd, S.F.T.C.D., while these sheets were passing through the press.

These annals are of such importance to the illustration of Irish History, that I shall offer no apology for introducing here some particular account of the copies which still remain.

Dr. O'Connor has carefully examined those in the Bodleian Library, and from his account of them, the following extracts are taken (Stowe Catalogue, Vol. I. p. 191, etc.).

"It has not been hitherto observed", says this writer, "that there are two Oxford copies, both imperfect: the first escaped Sir J. Ware, though he had the use of it, and entered it in his catalogue as another work. It is marked 'Rawlinson', No. 502. In a label prefixed to it, in Ware's hand, it is described thus:—'Annales ab Urbe condita usque ad initium Imperii Antonini Pii' (Annals from the building of the city to the reign of Antoninus Pius).

"This MS. begins, in its present mutilated condition, with that part of Tighernach's chronicle, where he mentions the foundation of Rome, and consists only of a few leaves ending with the reign of Antoninus; but it is valuable as a fragment of the twelfth century. Very brief are the notices of Ireland, which are mixed up with the early parts of Tighernach. He questions the veracity of all the most ancient documents relating to Ireland; and makes the historical epoch begin from *Cimbaoth*, and the founding of Emania, about the eighteenth year of Ptolemy Lagus, before Christ 289. 'Omnia Monumenta Scotorum', says he, 'usque Cimboeth incerta erant'. (All the monuments of the Scots to the time of Cimboeth were uncertain.)

"But yet he gives the ancient lists of the kings as he found them in the 'Vetera Monumenta'.

"In the fragment, Rawlinson, 502, fol. 1 b., col. 1, line 33, the end of the reign of *Cobthach*, the son of *Ugainé*, he synchronizes with the Prophet Ezechias, thus given:—Cobtach the Slender, of Bregia, the son of Ugan the Great, was burned with thirty royal Princes about him in *Dun Riga*, of the plain of Ailb, in the royal palace of the hill of *Tin-bath* (*Tin* is fire, *bath* is to slay), as the ancients relate, by Labrad, of ships, the beloved son of Ailill, the illustrious son of Laogaré the Fierce, son of Ugan the Great, in revenge for the murder of his father and grandfather, killed by Cobtach the Slender. A war arose from this between Leinster and the Northern half of Ireland.

"The second copy of Tighernach in the Bodleian, 'Rawlinson', 488, has not this passage, neither has it any part of this MS. preceding the time of Alexander. But from thence both agree, to where the first ceases, in the reign of Antoninus; the loss of the remainder of that MS. is the more

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lamentable, as the MS., No. 488, is imperfect and very ill transcribed. 'The quotations from Latin and Greek authors in Tighernach are very numerous; and his balancing their authorities against each other, manifests a degree of criticism uncommon in the iron age in which he lived. He quotes Maelmura's poem, thus:

"Finit quarta ætas, incipit quinta, quæ continet annos 589, ut Poeta ait:—The fourth age of the world finishes, the fifth commences, which contains 589 years as the poet says".—[See original in APPENDIX, No. XXXIII.]

[From the bondage of the people to the birth of the Lord,
Five hundred and eighty nine years of a truth;
From Adam to the birth of Mary's glorious Son,
Was three thousand nine hundred and fifty-two years.]

"This is a quotation from the Irish poem of Maelmura already mentioned; from which it appears that both followed the chronology of the Hebrew text, rejecting that of the Seventy.

"Several leaves of this MS. are missing at the beginning. In its present state, the first words are, 'regnare inchoans', and then follows the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, king of Egypt, the successor of Alexander, from whose eighteenth year he dates the founding of Eomania. The leaf paged 4 by Ware, is really the third leaf of the book; so that in Ware's time it appears to have had one leaf more than at present. The leaf marked 5, is the 4th—that marked 6, is the 5th—that marked 7, is the 6th. The next leaf is numbered 8; but this is an additional error, for one folio is missing between it and the preceding; so that it is neither the 8th in its present state (but the 7th), nor was it the 8th in Ware's time, or at any time. Its preceding leaf ends with an account of St. Patrick's captivity, and the reign of Julian; whereas the first line of the leaf paged 8, relates the death of St. Ciaran, of Duleek, to whom St. Patrick committed his copy of the Gospels; so that there is a whole century missing, from St. Patrick's captivity, A.D. 388, to Ciaran's death in 490.

"In the MS., Rawlinson, 488, the years are frequently marked on the margins in Arabic numerals, opposite to leading facts—thus, at fol. 7, col. 3, of the MS., counting the leaves as they now are, opposite to the words 'Patricius nunc natus est', the margin bears the date 372; and opposite the words, 'Patricius captivus in Hiberniam ductus est' (col. 4), the margin bears the date 388; and opposite to the words kal. iii. Anastasius Regnat, annis xxviii. 'Patricius Archiepiscopus et Apos-

tolus Hiberniensium anno ætatis suæ, cxx. die. xvi. kal. April, LECT. III.
quievit, folio, paged 8, col. 1, the margin bears the date 491.

“The two former of these dates are accurate; but the latter is repugnant to the mind of Tighernach, who quotes a very ancient Irish Poem on St. Patrick’s death, to prove that he died in 493, thus [see original in APPENDIX, No. XXXIV.]:

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“From the birth of Christ—happy event,
Four hundred and fair ninety,
Three noble years along with that,
Till the death of Patrick, Chief Apostle.

“The next year is erroneously marked on the margin 492; it ought to be 494.

“The marginal annotator has marked the years in Arabics, opposite to all the subsequent initials of years, in conformity with his calculation of 491 for the death of St. Patrick, and he errs also by omitting some of Tighernach’s dates in that very page. Tighernach’s work ends at page 20, col. 1, of this MS. The remainder, to folio paged 29 inclusive, is the *Continuation* of Tighernach’s Annals, from his death in 1088, to 1178 inclusive. The whole is in one hand.

“It is also to be observed that one leaf is missing after that marked 14; the next is marked 16; and the hiatus is to be lamented, extending from 765 inclusive, to 973—a period of 228 years.

“From this account”, says Dr. O’Conor, “it is clear that no good edition of Tighernach can be founded on any copy in the British Islands; for that of Dublin, and all those hitherto discovered, are founded on the Oxford MS., which is imperfect and corrupted by the ignorance of its transcriber. Innes, speaking of this MS., says—‘The Chronicle of Tighernach, which Sir J. Ware possessed, and is now in the Duke of Chandos’ Library, is a very ancient MS., but seems not so entire as one that is often quoted by O’Flaherty’—*Critical Essay*, vol. ii. p. 504.

“O’Flaherty’s copy is quoted in the *Journal des Searans*, tom. iv. p. 64, and tom. vi. p. 51, year 1764, in these words:—‘Many learned strangers, in acknowledging the history of Ireland, give her annals as of an antiquity very considerable and an universally approved authenticity. This is the judgment given by Stillingfleet in the preface to his *Antiquities*, where he appears, on the contrary, to make of very little consequence all the monuments of the Scotch. Mr. Innes, who never flatters the Irish, acknowledges the antiquity as well as the authenticity of their Annals, particularly those of Tighernach,

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Inisfallen, and of several others. He remarks that the copy of the Annals of Tighernach, which belonged to Mr. O'Flaherty, author of the *Ogygia*, appears more perfect than that found in the library of the Duke of Chandos. I believe it my duty to declare here, continues this writer, that I possess actually this same copy of the Annals of Tighernach, which was possessed by Mr. O'Flaherty, with an ancient Apograph of the Chronicle of Clonmacnois, which is well known under the title of *Chronicon Scotorum Cluanense*, and which belonged also to the same Mr. O'Flaherty, who cites it very often in his *Ogygia*. I possess also a perfect and authentic copy of the Annals of Inisfallen".

The copy of Tighernach's Annals here last alluded to, there is every reason to believe, is that now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin [H. 1. 18]. The anonymous writer in the *Journal des Sçavans* was, I have scarcely any doubt, the Abbé Connery; though he may possibly have been the Rev., afterwards the Right Rev., Dr. J. O'Brien, Bishop of *Cluain Uamha* (Cloyne).

How the MS. passed from the hands of R. O'Flaherty into those of the Abbé, we know not, nor is it certain what their destination was after his decease. I believe it likely that they were for some time the property of the Chevalier Ó'Gorman, though at what period they came into Ireland is not clear; but they appear to have been at one time in the possession of the above-mentioned Dr. O'Brien (the author of an Irish-English Dictionary, printed at Paris in 1768), who probably brought them to Ireland about that time.

The copy in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, underwent a pretty careful and accurate examination at the hands of the Rev. Dr. O'Connor, and he has left an autograph account of his investigation of it, which is now prefixed to the volume. This critical examination is the more important as having been made by one so familiar with the other copies of this codex in the Bodleian Library, and as it well shows the actual state and comparative value of the Trinity College MS., it is well worthy the attention of the student.⁽³⁴⁾

The Trinity College MS. appears to have almost exactly the same defects as those in the Rawlinson MS., No. 488 in the Bodleian Library. Both, Dr. O'Connor says, begin with the same words; but this we do not find to be accurately and literally the case, comparing the Trinity College MS. with the version of the Rawlinson MS., 488, printed in the second volume of the *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*. Doctor O'Connor enters

⁽³⁴⁾ The greater part of this MS. account by Dr. O'Connor of the MS. in T.C.D. will be found in the APPENDIX, No. XXXIV.

with much detail into an argument to show that the T.C.D. MS. was copied, and, as he thinks, by a very illiterate scribe, from the Bodleian MS. (Rawlinson, 488). He points out various faults in the Irish and Latin orthography and grammar peculiar to both, and indeed identical in the two copies.

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We have already mentioned that there are two copies of the Annals in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, but both, it is much to be regretted, are exceedingly imperfect. One, that in the Irish character, is probably from the hand of the Abbé Connery already alluded to.

From all that has been said, it will appear that not any one, nor even a collation and combination of all the copies of these annals now known to be extant, afford us any possibility of forming even a tolerably complete text. In their present state, all the copies want some of the most important parts relating to our early history, and many chasms exist at several of our most memorable epochs.

The authority of Tighernach is commonly appealed to by modern writers on Irish affairs, in fixing the date at which our national records should be deemed to fall within the domain of credible and authentic history. His well-known statement that the monuments of the Scoti before the time of *Cimbaoth* and the founding of Emania (about 300 years before the birth of our Lord) were uncertain, has been almost universally accepted and servilely copied without examination. And yet, on examining the remains of his Annals which we now possess, we shall find it extremely difficult to decide how he was led to this conclusion, as to the value of our records previous to this period, records which we know to have existed in abundance in his time. [See APPENDIX, No. XXXII.] We have now no means of knowing why he was induced to adopt this opinion, or what may have been the grounds of it; or why, again, he fixed on this particular event—one remarkable not in the general national annals, but in those of a single province—as that from which alone to date all the true history of the whole country. It is, at all events, exceedingly remarkable that he should have assumed a provincial era instead of a general national one, and that he should have chosen the building of the palace of Emania, in the province of Ulster, near Ardmagh, instead of some event connected with the great national palace of Tara, the existence and preëminence of which he himself admits in the first passage of the fragments which remain to us.

In the Rawlinson MS., 488, as printed by Dr. O'Connor, we find the passage runs thus:

“In anno xviii. Ptolemæi, initiatus est regnare in EAMAIN

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(*i.e.*, in Emania Ultoniæ Regia), CIMBAETH, filius FINTAIN, qui regnavit annis xviii. Tunc in Temair, EACHACH-BUADHACH ATHAIR UGAINE (*i.e.*, Tunc in Temoria totius Hiberniæ Regia regnabat Eochadius Victor, pater Ugaini)". That is (for the explanatory words in the parentheses are O'Connor's): "In the 18th year of Ptolemy, Cimbaoth, son of Fintan, began to reign in Emania, who reigned eighteen years. Then *Eochaidh*, the Victorious, the father of *Ugainé*, reigned in Tara". [But see APPENDIX, No. XXXV.] But he immediately after says, "all the monuments of the Scoti to the time of Cimbaoth were uncertain": ("Omnia monumenta Scotorum usque Cimbaoth incerta erant").

Of this singular preference of the provincial to the national monarch as the one from whose reign to date the commencement of credible Irish history, we can offer no solution. It is, moreover, to be remarked that, at least in the copies of his Annals now extant, Tighernach continues to give the succession of the Emanian monarchs in regular order through ten successive generations, without noticing the contemporary rulers at Tara, of whom no mention is again made until we come to the reign of *Duach Dalta Deadhgha*, whom he makes king of Erin about 48 years before the birth of our Lord, when *Cormac Mac Laghteghi*, or *Loitigh*, reigned in Emania. This period he synchronizes with the battle between Julius Cæsar and Pompey.

The next kings of Erin he mentions are the two *Eochaidhs*, whom he makes contemporary with *Eochaidh Mac Dairé*, twelfth king of Emania. But throughout it is to be remarked, and not without great cause for surprise, that the Emanian dynasty is given the place of precedence, which, as far as we know, is not to be found assigned to it in the works of any other historian of an earlier or later period. It is also to be observed, that this preference for the Emanian dynasty is quite inconsistent with his own statement as given under the reign of *Findchadh mac Baicheda*, eighth king of Emania, about 89 years before the Christian era, when he says: "Thirty kings there were of the Leinster men over Erin from *Labhraidh Loingsech* to *Cathair Mór*".—[See original in APPENDIX, No. XXXVI.] Now according to the best Irish chronologists, *Labhraidh Loingseach* reigned A.M. 4677 (B.C. 522), and *Cathair Mór* died A.D. 166. By this it is evident, that Tighernach here recognizes the existence of a supreme dynasty at Tara, ruling over Erin at least 200 years before the founding of Emania, or the period at which he in a former statement says that the credible history of Erin commences.

It is also to be noticed, that while the details of foreign history given by Tighernach relating to remarkable occurrences

at and preceding the Christian era are very ample, his accounts of Irish events down to the third or fourth century, are exceedingly meagre and scanty.

Thus, he only mentions by name many of the kings whose reigns, from other sources, we know to have been filled with remarkable and important acts. He barely notices the birth and death of *Cuchulainn*, and gives but a few passing words to the *Táin bó Chuailgne*, a national event, as we have already shown, of such interest and importance; and all these events, be it remarked, falling within the historic period as limited by himself.

We may also observe that there is reason to think, from some few facts exclusively mentioned by him, that he had before him at the time of compiling his annals, ancient records not available to subsequent writers, as is shown by his account of the manner of Conor Mac Nessa's death, and his notice of the battle of "Craunagh" (*vide* O'Conor's Annals of Tighernach, Anno Domini 33).

Tighernach undoubtedly takes the succession of the kings of Emania from *Eochaidh* O'Flinn's poem, which enumerates them from *Cimbaoth* to Fergus *Fogha*. A fine copy of this curious poem is preserved in the Book of Leinster (fol. 11.), and two in the Book of Lecan. These different copies give us an important instance of the irregularities which must, almost of necessity, creep into dates and records which depend on irresponsible transcription, where the smallest departure from accuracy, particularly in the enumeration of dates, will lead to confusion and inconsistency. In the copy of this poem preserved in the Book of Leinster,—a compilation of the middle of the twelfth century,—the duration of the Ulster dynasty, from *Cimbaoth* to Conor Mac Nessa, is set down at 400 years, and the duration from *Cimbaoth* to the final overthrow of the Ulster sovereignty by the Three Collas, at 900 years. Now the destruction of this power by the Collas in the Battle of *Achaidh Leithderg*, in Farney, took place in A.D. 331, which number, added to the four hundred years from *Cimbaoth* to Conor, would make but 731 years instead of 900.

Again, in each of the copies in the Book of Lecan, the space from *Cimbaoth* to Conor is set down as 450 years, and still they give the entire duration as 900 years.

Indeed the dangers of error in transcription are admitted in a very ancient poem in the Book of Leinster itself (folio 104), in which many matters of actual occurrence, but raised to fabulous importance, though not affecting chronology, are explained away. This curious poem consists of 111 stanzas, and its

LECT. III.

Of the
ANNALS OF
TIGHER-
NACHThe Chrono-
logical poem
of *Eochaidh*
O'Flinn.

LECT. III.

Of the
ANNALS OF
TIGHER-
NACH.

authorship is ascribed to *Gilla-an-Chomdech Ua Cormaic*, of whom I know nothing more. It begins:—

“O, King of Heaven, clear my way”.—[See original in APPENDIX, No. XXXVII.]

However laboriously Tighernach may have worked to fix a starting date for Irish chronology, it is quite evident that the materials from which he drew, were those records, poems, and other compositions of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, in which the length of reigns of the kings of Tara and of Emania are set out. For, having once fixed, say, the date of the founding of Emania, and the Roman era, and the corresponding king of Tara, he seems to have done little more, and indeed to have had occasion to do little more, than to correct the errors of dates, chiefly given in round numbers, and which after any considerable lapse of time must have led to errors in computation and to false chronology. But as far as we can judge, Tighernach had not put the finishing hand to his work at the time of his death, and, his observations on the ante-Emanian period being lost, we are left very much in the dark as to the grounds of his views.

From all that has been said, I think it is not unreasonable to conclude, that this great annalist was surprised by the hand of death, when he had but laid down the broad outlines, the skeleton as it were, of his annals; and that the work was never finished.

Of the Found-
ation of
Emania.

The founding of the palace of Emania, taken as the starting point of credible Irish history by Tighernach, is an event of such importance as to warrant a digression here, and to require us to give some account of the circumstances which led to the erection of this seat of royalty in the north. The following is a nearly literal account of the event, from a tract in the Book of Leinster.—[See the text of the original, with an exact translation, in APPENDIX, No. XXXVIII.]

“What is the origin of the name *Emhain Macha*?” begins the writer. “Three kings that were upon Erin in co-sovereignty. They were of the Ulstermen, namely, *Dithorba*, the son of Diman, from *Uisnech*, in Meath; *Aedh Ruadh*, the son of Badurn, son of *Airgetmar*, of *Tir Aedh* [now Tir-Hugh, in Donegal]; and *Cimbaoth*, the son of Fintan, son of Argetmar, from *Finnabair*, of *Magh Inis*”.

These kings made a compact, that each of them should reign seven years in turn, and this compact was confirmed by the guarantee of seven druids, seven *filés*, and seven young chiefs (or champions); the seven druids to crush them by their

incantations, the seven *filés* to lacerate them by their satires, and the seven young champions to slay and burn them, should the proper man of them not receive the sovereignty at the end of each seventh year. And the righteousness of their sovereignty was to be made manifest by the usual accompaniments of a just government, namely, abundance of the fruits of the earth, an abundance of dye-stuffs for all colouring, and that women should not die in childbirth.

They lived until each reigned three times in his turn, that is, during the space of sixty-three years. *Aedh Ruadh* was the first of them that died, having been drowned in the great cataract named from him *Eas Ruaidh* (or *Easroe*), at Ballyshannon, near Sligo, and his body was carried to the hill there; hence *Aedh's Hill*, and *Easruaidh*. *Aedh* left no sons and but one daughter, who was named *Macha Mongruadh* (or *Macha* the red-haired), who after her father's death claimed his place in the sovereignty; but *Dithorba* and *Cimbaoth* said that they would not allow a woman to have any share in the government.

Macha thereupon raised an army amongst her friends, marched against the two kings, gave them battle and defeated them, and then took her turn of seven years of the monarchy.

Dithorba was killed in battle soon after, but left five sons who also claimed their turn of the sovereignty. *Macha* said she would not admit them, as it was not under the former guarantee that she had obtained her sovereignty, but by right of battle. The young princes therefore raised an army and engaged the queen in battle, in which they were defeated with the loss of all their followers. *Macha* then banished them into the wilds of Connacht, after which she married her co-sovereign *Cimbaoth*, to whom she resigned the command of the national, or perhaps more correctly, the provincial army.

Macha having now consolidated her power, and secured her throne against all claimants but the sons of *Dithorba*, laid a plan for their destruction; and, with this intention, she went into Connacht, where she soon discovered their retreat, captured and carried them prisoners into Ulster. The Ulstermen demanded that they should be put to death, but *Macha* said that that would make her reign unrighteous, and that she would not consent to it, but that she would enslave them, and condemn them to build a rath or court for her, which should be the chief city of Ulster for ever. And she then marked out the foundations of the court with her golden brooch, which she took from her breast (or neck); and hence the name of Emain, or rather *Eomuin*, from *Eo* a breast-pin or brooch, and *Muin* the neck,—which when compounded make *Eomuin*,—now

LECT. III. inaccurately Latinized Emania, instead of Eomania. Ulster was then erected into a kingdom with *Cimbaoth* for its first king.

This occurred, according to some authorities, 405 years before the Incarnation of our Lord (O'Flinn's poem makes it 450 years), and it was not till the year 331 of the Christian era that Emania was destroyed by the Collas, and the Ultonian dynasty overthrown.

Of the
Destruction
of Emania;
and of
"The Three
Collas".

The princes known in the ancient Chronicles of Erin as the Three Collas, make such an important figure in history in connection with the destruction of Emania, that it is but proper to give a brief account of them.

Cairbré Lifechair succeeded his father, the celebrated Cormac Mac Art, in the sovereignty of Erin, A.D. 267. This Cairbré, who was killed in the Battle of *Gabhra*, or *Gawra*, left three sons, namely, *Fiacha Srabtné*, *Eochaidh*, and *Eochaidh Domhlén*. *Fiacha Srabtné* succeeded his father, *Cairbré*; but his reign, though long, was not peaceable, being disturbed by the sons of his brother, *Eochaidh Domhlén*, namely, the Three Collas (*Colla Uais*, or the Noble,—*Colla Meann*, or the Stammerer,—and *Colla Fóchrí*, or of the Earth, earthy, claylike), who revolted against him, and at last, at the head of a large number of followers, gave him battle at *Dubh-Chomar*, near *Tailltín* (now Telltown, in the modern county of Meath), where they overthrew and killed him, after which *Colla Uais* assumed the monarchy of Erin, which he held for four years.

Fiacha, the late monarch, had, however, left a son, *Muireadhach*, who, in his turn, made war on *Colla Uais*, drove him from the sovereignty, and forced himself and his brothers and their followers to fly into Scotland. Here they led such a life of turmoil and danger, that in three years' time they returned into Ireland and surrendered themselves up to their cousin, the monarch, to be punished as he might think fit, for the death of his father. *Muireadhach*, however, seeing that they were brave men, declined to visit them with any punishment; but, making friends with them, he took them into his pay and confidence, and gave them command in his army. After some years, however, he proposed to them to establish themselves in some more independent position than they could attain in his service, and pointed to the conquest of the kingdom of Ulster as a project worthy of their ambition. The Collas agreed to make war on Ulster, and for that purpose marched with a numerous band of followers into that country, and encamped at the Carn of *Achaidh Leith derg*, in *Fearnmhaigh* (Farney, in the modern county of Monaghan). From this camp they ravaged the country around

them, until the Ulstermen, under their king Fergus *Fogha*, came to meet them, when a contested battle was fought for six days, in which, at length, the Ulstermen were defeated, and forced to abandon the field. They were followed by their victorious enemies, and driven over Glen *Righé* (the valley of the present Newry Water), into the district which forms the modern counties of Down and Antrim, from which they never after returned. The Collas destroyed Emania, and then took the whole of that part of Ulster (now forming the modern counties of Armagh, Louth, Monaghan, and Fermanagh) into their own hands as Swordland; and it was held by their descendants, the Maguires, Mac Mahons, O'Hanlons, and others, down to the confiscation of Ulster under the English king, James the First.

LECT. III.
Of the
Destruction
of Emania.

Thus ended the Ultonian dynasty, after a period of more than seven hundred years' duration, and the glories of Emania and of the House and Knights of the Royal Branch were lost for ever.

LECTURE IV

[Delivered March 22, 1855]

THE ANNALS (continued). 2. The Annals of Inisfallen. 3. The Annals called the Annals of Boyle. The Poems of *O Huidhrin*. 4. The Annals of *Senait* Mac Manus, called the Annals of Ulster.

ACCORDING to the order I have prescribed to myself, we proceed now to the consideration of the Annals compiled subsequent to the period of *Tighernach* (pronounced nearly "Teer-nah").

It is generally supposed that a considerable interval of time elapsed between the year 1088, in which this great Irish historian died, and the appearance of any other body of historic composition deserving the name of Annals; and it will be necessary for us to inquire whether any writers on Irish affairs existed within this period requiring notice at our hands, in order that we may follow the chain of historic composition with some degree of uniformity

Continuation of the Annals of *Tighernach*.

It is, however, to be observed here, that in the existing copies of *Tighernach* we find the annals continued to the year 1407; that is, to a date more than three hundred years subsequent to *Tighernach*'s own time. It is not improbable that the original body of these annals was gradually and progressively enlarged; but we have no reliable information as to the precise manner in which, or the persons by whom, the earlier parts of the continuation were made.

In the commencement of the fifteenth century we find recorded the death of a certain Augustin MacGrady, who, it is well known, laboured at the continuation of these annals; but we again find them continued after his death, which happened in 1405, down to the year 1407 (where they end imperfect), though by what hand is not certain.

The following entry is found in the Annals themselves at the end of the year 1405:—

“Augustin Ma Gradoigh, a canon of the canons of the Island of the Saints [in Loch *Ribh* in the Shannon], a *Saoi* (or Doctor) during his life, in divine and worldly Wisdom, in Literature, in History, and in various other Sciences in like manner, and the Doctor [*Ollamh*] of good oratory, of western Europe,—the man who compiled this book, and many other books, both of

the Lives of the Saints and of historical events,—died on the Wednesday before the first day of November, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, on the sixth day of the moon. May the mercy of the Saviour Jesus Christ come upon his soul". [See original in APPENDIX, No. XXXIX.]

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Of the
Annals
subsequent
to Tigher-
nach.

It is not improbable that the subsequent continuation of Tighernach may have been carried on by some member of the same fraternity.

In enumerating those of our national records to which the name of Annals has been given, we have commenced with those of Tighernach, because these annals seemed naturally to claim our attention in the first place, not only on account of their extent and importance, but in consideration of the scholarship and judgment exhibited in their composition. It is by no means certain, however, that they were the first in order of time. There is great reason to believe that both local and general annals were kept, even long before the time of Tighernach, in some of the great ecclesiastical and educational establishments, and also by some of those accomplished lay scholars of whom mention is so frequently made as having flourished in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries.

We have before, in the remarkable instance of Flann *Mainistrech*, called attention to the great learning and the devotion to scholarly pursuits which were to be found in Irish laymen of the tenth and eleventh centuries. And when we reflect that this learning and this devotion to the pursuit of knowledge were often combined with exalted social rank, sometimes even princely, and with the enjoyment of extensive territorial sway, I think the fact offers evidence of a cultivation and diffusion of literature, which, at so early a period, would do honour to the history of any country. We shall have frequent occasion to speak of this class of Irish scholars.

The next existing compilation after that of Tighernach, in order of time, is the very extensive body of ecclesiastical as well as general historic records, known as the ANNALS OF INISFALLEN. The composition of these Annals is usually attributed to the early part of the thirteenth century (about A.D. 1215), but there is very good reason to believe that they were commenced at least two centuries before this period.

Of the
ANNALS OF
INISFALLEN.

The Monastery of *Inis Faithlenn* (pron: "Inish Fah-len"), or Inisfallen, on the island of the same name, in Loch *Léin* (the Lake of Killarney), is of great antiquity, dating from the sixth century, in the latter part of which it was founded by

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Of the
Monastery of
INISFALLEN.

Saint Finán *Iobhar*, who was also the founder of Ard Finan (in the modern County of Tipperary), and other churches. The festival of the Saint was observed on the 16th of March, according to the Martyrology of Aengus *Céile Dé*.

Amongst those who flourished in this monastery, at the close of the tenth century, we find the name of *Maelsuthain O'Cearbhaill* (pron: "Maelsoohan O'Carroll"). This remarkable man was Lord of the *Eoganacht* or Eugenic Tribes of the territory of Loch Léin. It is probable that he had received his early education within the walls of Inisfallen; and at the close of his days, after an eventful life, we find him again amongst its inmates, as was not unusual with princes in those times. *Maelsuthain* appears to have attained great eminence as a scholar. He is styled the chief *Saoi* or Doctor of the western world, in the notice of his death, under the year 1009, in the Annals of the Four Masters. He attained also a high degree of consideration amongst his contemporary princes.

There is reason to think that Brian *Boróimhé* was educated under the care of this *Maelsuthain*; and at a subsequent time we find him named the *Anmchara*, or Counsellor, of that great Dalcassian chief, when monarch of Erin. His association with Brian is well evidenced by a curious note still legible in the Book of Armagh. This note was written about 1002, by *Maelsuthain's* own hand, in the presence of the king. This valuable entry shall be brought under your more immediate consideration on a future occasion; I only mention it at present, as affording proof of the important rank and position of O'Carroll.

Legend of
Maelsuthain
O'Carroll.

Amongst some few other notices of *Maelsuthain* which I have met with, the following is altogether so singular, and throws light on so many subjects of interest to the Irish historian, that, though of a legendary character, I think it worthy of a place here. [See original in APPENDIX, No. XL.] I may observe that I have seen but one copy of the tract in which it is found.⁽³⁵⁾

"There came three students at one time", says the narrator, "from *Cuinnire*" [the ancient church from which the diocese of Conor, in Ulster, is now named] "to receive education

⁽³⁵⁾ This tract is in a MS. on vellum, in two parts or volumes quarto, written in the year 1434 (part i. fol. 63, a.) The writing is often apparently that of an unprofessional scribe, who seems to have copied largely from sources now lost to us. These MSS. belong to James Marinus Kennedy, Esq., of 47 Gloucester Street, Dublin, to whom they were handed down from his ancestor, Dr. Fergus. They are known by the name of the "*Liber Flavus Fergusorum*". These MSS. were lent me a few years ago by the owner, and a general list of their contents will be found in the APPENDIX, No. XLI.

from the *Anmchara* of Brian Mac Kennedy (or Brian *Bó-roimhé*); that is *Maelsuthain* O'Carroll, of the Eoganachts of Loch Léin, because he was the best sage of his time. These three students resembled each other in figure, in features, and in their name, which was Donnall. They remained three years learning with him. At the end of three years, they said to their preceptor: 'It is our desire', said they, 'to go to Jerusalem, in the land of Judea, in order that our feet may tread every path which the Saviour walked in when on Earth'. The master answered: 'You shall not go until you have left with me the reward of my labour'.

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Legend of
Maelsuthain
O'Carroll.

"Then the pupils said: 'We have not', said they, 'anything that we could give, but we will remain three years more, to serve you humbly, if you wish it'. 'I do not wish *that*', said he; 'but you shall grant me my demand, or I will lay my curse upon you'. 'We will grant you that', said they, 'if we have it'. He then bound them by an oath on the Gospel of the Lord. 'You shall go in the path that you desire', said he, 'and you shall die all at the same time together, on the pilgrimage. And the demand that I require from you is, that you go not to Heaven after your deaths, until you have first visited me, to tell me the length of my life, and until you tell me whether I shall obtain the peace of the Lord'. 'We promise you all this', said they, 'for the sake of the Lord'; and then they left him their blessings (and departed).

"In due time they reached the land of Judea, and walked in every path in which they had heard the Saviour had walked.

"They came at last to Jerusalem, and died together there; and they were buried with great honour in Jerusalem. Then Michael the Archangel came from God for them. But they said: 'We will not go, until we have fulfilled the promise which we made to our preceptor, under our oaths on the Gospel of Christ'. 'Go', said the angel, 'and tell him that he has still three years and a half to live, and that he goes to Hell for all eternity, after the sentence of the day of judgment'.

"'Tell us', said they, 'why he is sent to Hell'. 'For three causes', said the angel, 'namely, because of how much he interpolates the canon; and because of the number of women with whom he has connexion; and for having abandoned the *Altus*'.⁽³⁶⁾

⁽³⁶⁾ The *Altus*. This was the celebrated poem or hymn written by Saint Colum Cille at Iona, in honour of the Trinity, when the messengers of Pope Gregory came to him with the great cross and other presents. This poem is published in Colgan's "*Acta Sanctorum*", and is now (1859) again in course of publication, with notes and scholia, for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, under the editorship of the Rev. Dr. Todd, S.F.T.C.D.

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Legend of
Maelsuthain
O'Carroll.

"The reason why he abandoned the Altus", says the narrator of this singular story, "was this: He had a very good son, whose name was Maelpatrick. This son was seized with a mortal sickness; and the Altus was seven times sung around him, that he should not die. This was, however, of no avail for them, as the son died forthwith. *Maelsuthain* then said that he would never again sing the Altus, as he did not see that God honoured it. But", continues the narrator, "it was not in dishonour of the Altus that God did not restore his son to health, but because he chose that the youth should be among the family of Heaven, rather than among the people of Earth.

"*Maelsuthain* had then been seven years without singing the Altus.

"After this his three former pupils came to talk to *Maelsuthain*, in the forms of white doves, and he bade them a hearty welcome. 'Tell me', said he, 'what shall be the length of my life, and if I shall receive the Heavenly reward'. 'You have', said they, 'three years to live, and you go to Hell for ever then'. 'What should I go to Hell for?' said he. 'For three causes', said they; and they related to him the three causes that we have already mentioned. 'It is not true that I shall go to Hell', said he, 'for those three vices that are mine this day, shall not be mine even this day, nor shall they be mine from this time forth, for I will abandon these vices, and God will forgive me for them, as He Himself hath promised, when He said: "*Impietas impii in quacumque hora conversus fuerit non nocebit ei*" [Ezek., xxxiii. 12.] (The impiety of the impious, in whatever hour he shall be turned from it, shall not injure him.) I will put no sense of my own into the canons, but such as I shall find in the divine books. I will perform an hundred genuflections every day. Seven years have I been without singing the Altus, and now I will sing the Altus seven times every night while I live; and I will keep a three days' fast every week. Go you now to Heaven', said he, 'and come on the day of my death to tell me the result'. 'We will come', said they; and the three of them departed as they came, first leaving a blessing with him, and receiving a blessing from him.

"On the day of his death the three came in the same forms, and they saluted him, and he returned their salutation, and said to them: 'Is my life the same before God that it was on the former day that ye came to talk to me?' 'It is not, indeed, the same', said they, 'for we were shown your place in Heaven, and we are satisfied with its goodness. We have come, as we promised, for you, and come now you with us to the place which is prepared for you, that you may be in the presence of God,

and in the unity of the Trinity, and of the hosts of Heaven, LECT. IV.
till the day of judgment'.

"There were then assembled about him many priests and ecclesiastics, and he was anointed, and his pupils parted not from him until they all went to Heaven together. And it is this good man's manuscripts ("screptra") that are in Inisfallen, in the church, still".

Of the
ANNALS OF
INISFALLEN.

This singular, and, undoubtedly, very old legend, offers to our minds many interesting subjects of consideration; amongst which, not the least remarkable is that of this early pilgrimage from Ireland to the Holy Land. On these points, however, we shall not dwell at present, farther than to observe that the story furnishes evidence of the reputation for learning enjoyed by *Maelsuthain*, and also of the belief that manuscripts compiled by his hand were to be found in Inisfallen at his death.

Whether by the word "Screptra", thus mentioned, is meant a single volume, or a collection of writings constituting a library, it is not easy to determine. We find the word used in the account of the burning of the *Teach Screptra*, or House of Writings, of Armagh (A.D. 1020); and in that of the collection of MSS. of *O'Cuirnín*, the largest known to exist in Ireland in the fifteenth century (1416).

There has always existed in the south of Ireland a tradition that the Annals of Inisfallen were originally composed by *Maelsuthain*; and a similar statement is made by Edward O'Reilly in his Irish writers.

Taking into account the acknowledged learning of O'Carroll, the character of his mind, his own station, and the opportunities afforded him by his association with the chief monarch of Erin, there is certainly no improbability in connecting him with the composition of these annals; and, for my own part, I have no doubt that he was either the original projector of them, or that he enlarged the more meagre outlines of ecclesiastical events kept in the Monastery of Inisfallen, as probably in most others, into a general historic work.

Of the continuations of these annals, in the two centuries subsequent to *Maelsuthain*, down to the year 1215, little is known. Unfortunately no genuine copy of this important body of annals is now to be found in Ireland, and we must therefore draw from the description of Dr. O'Connor.

A compilation of the latter half of the last century by John O'Mulconry, has also received the name of Annals of Inisfallen. Why they have been thus named is not sufficiently clear; but any notice that we shall take of them must be reserved for another occasion.

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ANNALS OF
INISFALLEN.

The Bodleian Library copy of the Annals of Inisfallen is a quarto MS. on parchment. It is thus described by Dr. O'Connor, under the No. 64, in the Stowe Catalogue [Vol. I., p. 202]:

“It contains fifty-seven leaves, of which the three first are considerably damaged, and the fourth partly obliterated. Some leaves also are missing at the beginning. In its present state, the first treats of Abraham and the Patriarchs down to the sixth, where the title is—‘*Hic incipit Regnum Græcorum*’. At the end of this leaf another chapter begins thus—‘*Hic incipit Sexta ætas Mundi*’. The leaves follow in due order from folio nine to the end of folio thirty-six, but, unfortunately, there are several blanks after this. On the fortieth leaf two lines occur in Ogham characters, which have been thus deciphered [by Dr. O'Connor]—‘*Nemo honoratur sine nummo, nullus amatur*’. Towards the end the writing varies considerably, and is unquestionably more recent and barbarous.

“Indeed”, adds Dr. O'Connor, “the latter part of this valuable MS., from folio thirty-six, where the division of each page into three columns ceases, and where a leaf is missing, appears to be written by a more recent hand; so that from inspection it might be argued, that the real original ended with the year 1130, and that the remainder has been added by different Abbots of Inisfallen afterwards. Down to 1130, the initials are rudely adorned and coloured, and the writing is elegant; but from thence to the end, there is no attempt at any species of ornament, and the writing declines from barbarous to more barbarous still, in proportion as we approach the end. The last leaf is the fifty-seventh of the manuscript, and ends with the year 1319.

“The few scattered notices relative to the pagan history of Ireland, which are occasionally introduced and synchronized with the universal history in the first leaves of this chronicle, have been carefully collated and published in the ‘*Rerum Hibernicarum*’, vol. I., and from a collation of these fragments with those preserved in the same manner by Tighernach, it is very clear that both are founded on a common source, since several of the quotations and several sentences are exactly in the same words. What this common source was, it would be difficult to define. Tighernach quotes a great number of Irish authors of the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries.

“The following account of this MS. is given by Innes, who saw it when it was preserved in the Duke of Chandos’ library”—[I still quote the author of the Stowe Catalogue.] “In the same Chandos library are the Annals of Inisfallen and Tighernach. These, indeed, want some leaves in the beginning and

elsewhere, and begin only about the time of Alexander the Great. But till St. Patrick's time, they treat chiefly of the general history of the world. The Annals of Inisfallen, in the same library, contain a short account of the history of the world in general, and very little of Ireland till the year 430, where the author properly begins (at folio nine) a chronicle of Ireland, thus—'*Laogaire* Mac Neil regnavit annis xxiv.', and thenceforward it contains a short chronicle of Ireland to 1318. These three manuscript chronicles, the Saltair of Cashel, Tighernach, and Inisfallen, are written in Irish characters, and in the Irish language intermixed with Latin. They were formerly collected, with many other valuable MSS. relating to Ireland, by Sir J. Ware, and came first to the Earl of Clarendon, and then to the Duke of Chandos.

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ANNALS OF
INISFALLEN.

"To all this account by Innes", says Dr. O'Connor, "the compiler of this catalogue, after a most patient examination, willingly subscribes. He only adds, what escaped Innes, that this MS. is not all in one hand, nor all the work of one author".

In the same manuscript as that which contains the Annals of Inisfallen, there is a copy of those known as the ANNALS OF BOYLE, of which I shall have to say something in a future lecture in correction of the mistakes of Dr. O'Connor and others, as to the name thus attributed to the annals in question. No copy of these annals exists in Ireland; and I must again quote Dr. O'Connor for a brief notice of the Bodleian MS.

Of the
ANNALS OF
BOYLE.

"The ancient Monastery of Boyle was founded by St. Columba, and called *Eas-mac-n-Eire*, a name which it derived from its pleasant situation, near a cataract, about a mile from where the river Boyle discharges itself into Loch Cúi. The Cistercian Monastery of Boyle was founded, not exactly on the site of the ancient monastery, but not far from it, in the year 1161.

"The writers on Irish antiquities frequently confound the Annals of Boyle with the Annals of Connacht. To prevent mistakes of this kind, we must observe, that the manuscript in the Cotton Library (Titus A, xxv.), quarto, part on paper, part on parchment, and consisting of 138 leaves of both, is the original from which this Stowe copy was transcribed. The first article of that MS. is on parchment, and is entitled—'*Annales Monasterii de Buellio in Hibernia*'. It is part in Irish, part in Latin, beginning from the Creation; treating briefly of universal history to the arrival of St. Patrick, and from thence of Irish history down to 1253".

It is to be regretted that we have no means of fixing, with any degree of precision, the period at which the Annals of

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BOYLE.

Inisfallen, or those here called the Annals of Boyle, were composed. The difficulty is referrible, not to any paucity of authors in the centuries to which they are usually assigned, but rather to the impossibility of fixing upon any one out of the hosts of writers whose names have come down to us, to whom their compilation may be with tolerable certainty attributed.

With regard to the Annals of Inisfallen, there is, as we have just seen, a high degree of probability, that some body of records was compiled by O'Carroll in his time; but we do not know who continued them in the two following centuries. Less is unfortunately to be ascertained about the Annals called those of Boyle. The periods, however, within which the compilation of both may be comprised, were very fertile in men of learning, as will sufficiently appear from the following list, which comprises but a few only of the more remarkable historic writers of the period which intervened between the time of the composition of the Annals of Tighernach and that of the next body of historic records which we shall have to notice. They are selected from the very numerous writers whose deaths are recorded by the Four Masters, in almost every year of this period.

Historic writers of the
XII., XIII.,
and XIV.
Centuries.

A.D. 1136. Died *Maelisa Mac Maelcoluim*, the chief keeper of the calendar at Armagh, and the chief topographical surveyor and librarian of that see. In the same year died *Neidhé O'Mulconroy*, the historian.

A.D. 1168. Died Flannagan *O'Dubhthaigh* [or O'Duffy], a bishop and chief professor of the men of Ireland, in history, genealogy, eloquence, and every species of knowledge known to man in his time. He died at *Cunga* [or Cong], in Connacht.

A.D. 1232. Died *Tipraité O'Braoin* [or O'Breen], a man deeply learned in theology and in law. He was successor of Saint Coman of Roscommon, and died in *Inis Clothrann* on his pilgrimage.

A.D. 1279. *Giolla Iosa Mór Mac Firis*, one of the chief historians of *Tir Fiachra*, or North-western Connacht, died.

[This author, we are well aware, was succeeded by a line of historians and chroniclers of his own family, ending with the learned *Dubhaltach* (or Duaid) Mac Firis, in the year 1668.]

A.D. 1372. Died Shane O'Dugan, a distinguished poet and historian of Connacht, whose poems on the Cycles, Calendar, Epact, Dominical Letter, Golden Number, etc., are so well known.

A.D. 1376. Conor O'Beaghan and *Ceallach Mac Curtin*, the two chief historians of Thomond, died. John *O'Ruanaidh* [or O'Rooney], chief poet to Magenis, died. Melaghlin O'Mulvany, chief poet and historian to O'Cane, died. Donogh Mac Firis, a good historian of Connacht, died.

A.D. 1390. *Duibhgenn* O'Duigenan, chief historian of East Connaught, died. LECT. IV.

A.D. 1398. David O'Duigenan, chief historian to the Mac Dermots, etc., a man of all science and knowledge, and a wealthy *Brugaidh* [or farmer], died. Of *Giolla*
na Naemh
O'Huidhrin.

A.D. 1400. Gregory, the son of *Tanaidhé* O'Mulconry, chief chronicler to the *Siol Muiredhaidh* [or O'Conors of Connacht], and a master in various kinds of knowledge, was accidentally killed by William Mac David, who was condemned to pay a fine of 126 cows for the act.

A.D. 1405. [We have already noticed the death of Augustin M'Grady, the continuator of Tighernach at this date.]

Giolla na Naemh O'Huidhrin, a native of Leinster, who died A.D. 1420, was the author of several valuable historical poems and tracts. The most remarkable of them is his well known Irish topographical poem.

Among his other compositions are, first, a tract and poem on the names, reigns, and deaths of the Assyrian emperors, from Ninus to Sardanapalus, synchronizing them with the monarchs of Erin, from its earliest reported colonization down to the death of the monarch *Muineaman*, in the year of the world 3872. Second, a tract on the names and length of the reigns of the kings of the Medes, from Arbactus to Astyages, and of the corresponding monarchs of Erin, from the abovementioned *Muineaman* to *Nuada Finnfaíl*, in the year of the world 4238. Third, a tract or poem on the length of the reigns of the Chaldean kings, from Nebuchadnezzar to Baltazar, and the corresponding monarchs of Erin, from the abovementioned *Nuada* to *Lughaidh Iurrdonn*, in the year of the world 4320, etc. And thus he goes on with the Persian, Greek, and Roman emperors in succession, and the succession of the contemporary monarchs of Erin, down to Theodosius and *Laoghairé* Mac Neill, who was monarch of Erin when Saint Patrick came in A.D. 432.

The Annals of *Senait* (pron: "Shanat") Mac Manus, commonly called the ANNALS OF ULSTER, form the next great body of national records which we have to consider; and from the preceding list of writers, subsequent to the time of Tighernach, it will be apparent, that abundant materials must have been accumulated in this long interval, which lay ready to the hand of the compiler. Of the
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Of these annals there are five copies known to exist at present—one in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, written on vellum, and classed as Rawlinson, 489; a second (only a small fragment), in the British Museum, classed Clarendon, 36; a

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third (also but a small fragment), in the same museum, written on paper, and classed Ayscough, 49—4795; a fourth, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, written on vellum, and classed H. 1. 8; and a fifth copy, on paper, in the Library of Trinity College (E. 3. 20), which, however, extends only to A.D. 665.³⁷

The reason why these annals are called the Annals of *Senait Mac Maghnusa* is, because they were originally compiled by *Cathal Mac Guire*, whose Clann or Chieftain title was *Mac Maghnusa*, and whose residence and property lay chiefly in the Island of *Senait* (pron: “Shanat”), in Loch Erne, between the modern Counties of Donegall and Fermanagh; and it was in this island that the annals were written. They have received the arbitrary name of Annals of Ulster, merely because they were compiled in Ulster, and relate more to the affairs of Ulster than to those of any of the other provinces.

The death of the original compiler is recorded by his continuator in these annals, at the year 1498, in a passage of which the following is a strict translation. [See original in APPENDIX, No. XLII.]

“Anno Domini 1498. A great mournful news throughout all Ireland this year, namely the following: Mac Manus Maguire died this year, *i.e.*, *Cathal óg* (*Cathal*,—pron: “Cahal”,—the younger), the son of *Cathal*, son of *Cathal*, son of Giolla-Patrick, son of Matthew, etc. He was a *Biatach* (or Hospitaller), at *Seanadh*, a canon chorister at Armagh, and dean in the bishopric of Clogher; Dean of Lough Erne, and Rector of *Inis Caein*, in Lough Erne; and the representative of a bishop for fifteen years before his death. He was a precious stone, a bright gem, a luminous star, a casket of wisdom; a fruitful branch of the canons, and a fountain of charity, meekness, and mildness, a dove in purity of heart, and a turtledove in chastity; the person to whom the learned, and the poor, and the destitute of Ireland were most thankful; one who was full of grace and of wisdom in every science to the time of his death, in law, divinity, physic, and philosophy, and in all the Gaedhlic sciences; and one who made, gathered, and collected this book from many other books. He died of the *Galar Breac* [the small pox] on the tenth of the calends of the month of April, being Friday, in the sixtieth year of his age. And let every person who shall read and profit by this book, pray for a blessing on that soul of Mac Manus”.

(37) I may mention that a sixth copy was made by myself in 1841, for the Rev. Dr. Todd, from the vellum copy in T.C.D., with all the contractions expanded in full.

Harris, in his edition of Ware's Irish Writers, p. 90, has LECT. IV.
the following notice of this remarkable man.

“Charles [the Gaedhlic name *Cathal* is often so translated Of the
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in English] Maguire, a native of the county of Fermanagh, Canon of the Church of Armagh (and Dean of Clogher), was an eminent divine, philosopher, and historian, and writ *Annales Hibernicæ* to his time. They are often called *Annales Senatenses*, from a place called Senat-Mac-Magnus, in the County of Fermanagh, where the author writ them, and oftener *Annales Ultonienses*, the Annals of Ulster, because they are chiefly taken up in relating the affairs of that province. They begin anno 444, and are carried down by the author to his death, in 1498; but they were afterwards continued by Roderic Cassidy to the year 1541. Our author writ also a book, intituled, *Aengusius Auctus*, or the Martyrology of Aengus enlarged; wherein from Marian Gorman, and other writers, he adds such saints as are not to be met with in the composition of Aengus. He died on the 23rd of March, 1498, in the sixtieth year of his age”.

Seanadh, or Senait, where these annals were compiled, and from which, as we have said, they are often called *Annales Senatenses*, was the ancient name of an island situated in the Upper Lough Erne, between the modern baronies of Magherastephana and Clonawley, in the County of Fermanagh. It is called Ballymacmanus Island in various deeds and leases, and by the natives of Clonawley, who speak the Irish language; but it has lately received the fancy name of Belle Isle. [See Note in O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1498.]

After the death of *Mac Maghnusa*, the annals were continued by *Ruaidhridhe O'Caisidé*, or Rory O'Cassidy, down to the year 1537, or 1541, according to Ware. They were continued after this (I mean the Dublin copy) by some other persons, probably the O'Luinins, down to the year 1604, where they now end. I say probably by the O'Luinins, because the Dublin copy was transcribed by *Ruaidhrighe*, or Rory O'Luinin, as appears from two insertions which occur in that volume in a blank space, at the end of the year 1373. The first is written in a good hand, as old at least as the year 1600, in the following words: “Let every one who reads this little bit, bestow a blessing on the soul of the man that wrote it”. And this is immediately followed by these words: “It is fitter to bestow it on the soul of Rory *O'Luinin*, who wrote the book well”. [See original in APPENDIX, No. XLIII.]

From another note which is written in this copy, in the lower margin of folio 35, col. a, it is evident that the writer of this latter note was engaged in making a transcript of the volume at the time, but we have no means of knowing who he was.

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The O'Luinins [the name is now sometimes Anglicised Lyne-gar] were physicians, historians, and genealogists, chiefly to the MacGuires of Fermanagh, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century. One of that family, named Gillapatriek *O'Luinín*, of *Ard O'Luinín*, in the County of Fermanagh, chief chronicler to MacGuire, assisted the friar Michael O'Clery, the chief of the "Four Masters", in the compilation of the *Leabhar Gabhala* (or Book of Invasions and Monarchical Successions of Erin), for Brian *Ruadh* MacGuire, first Baron of Iniskillen, in the year 1630 or 1631.

"The Bodleian MS. (Rawlinson, 489) is called the original copy of those annals", says Dr. O'Connor, "because, it is the matrix of all the copies now known to exist. But it is not meant that there were not older manuscripts, from which *Cathal Maguire* collected and transcribed, before the year 1498.

"Nicolson says that the Ulster Annals begin at 444, and end, not at 1041, as the printed catalogues of our MSS. assert, but at 1541. Mr. Edward Llhwyd [the celebrated Welch antiquarian] mentions a copy of these annals which he calls *Senatenses*, which he had from Mr. John Conry, written on vellum in a fair character, but imperfect at the beginning and end, for it begins, says he, at the year 454, ten years later than the Duke of Chandos', and ends several years sooner, at 1492.

"The truth is, as stated in the *Rerum Hibernicarum*, vol. I., that neither Maguire nor Cassidi was the author of these annals, but only the collector. Augustin Magriadan had preceded both in the same task, and continued to his own time, says Ware, the chronicle, which the monks of his monastery in the island of All Saints, in the Shannon, had commenced; and he died in 1405.

"We have seen that MacGraidagh was in all probability the continuator of Tighernach; but I know of no reason for assigning to him any part in the compilation of the Annals of Ulster.

"In the Bodleian MS. (Rawlinson, 489), better known by the name of the Chandos MS., four folios are missing after the leaf paged 50. That leaf concludes with the seventh line of the year 1131, and the next leaf (numbered 55) begins with the conclusion of 1155, so that there is an *hiatus* of 24 years. The copy now before us concludes with the year 1131, where that *hiatus* occurs.

"The first page of the Oxford MS. is nearly obliterated. By some unaccountable barbarity the engraved seal of the University is pasted over the written page, so as to efface all the writing underneath: the words which are illegible there have been restored in this Stowe transcript, by the aid of the copy in

the British Museum, which is imperfect and interpolated. LECT. IV.
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ULSTER. The folios of the original Bodleian are paged from 1 to 134, in modern Arabics, and they are rightly paged down to the year 1131, after which four leaves are missing down to the year 1156. The leaf containing the first part of 1131, is rightly paged 51, and the next is rightly paged 55. How the four intermediate leaves have been lost, it is impossible now to ascertain. Folio 66 is erroneously paged 67, as if one leaf were missing there, which is not the case. Folio 70 is paged 80, as if ten leaves were missing, whereas not one is lost. One folio is missing from the year 1303 to 1315 inclusive, and the paging is then incorrect to the end. In its present state the folios of this MS. are precisely 126.

“We must be cautious”, continues Dr. O’Conor, “in asserting that the whole of this MS. was written by one person, or at one time. Down to 952, the ink and characters are uniform, but then a finer style of writing follows down to 1001.

“When the transcriber comes to 999, he states on the opposite margin, that really this was the year of our æra 1000; for that the Ulster Annals precede the common æra by one year, —a clear proof that the transcriber was not the compiler or author; for this note is in the same ink and characters with the text. He annexes the same remark frequently to the subsequent years; as at 1000, where he says, *alias* 1001.

“It is remarkable that these are uniform in antedating the Christian æra by one year only, down to the folio numbered 68, year 1263, and that there, instead of preceding our æra by only one year, they precede by two; so that the year 1265 is really 1264, as stated on the margin in Ware’s hand: this precedence of two years is regular to 1270. From thence to 1284, the advance is of three years; from 1284, the advance is of four years, down to 1303, which is really 1307. Then a folio is missing which has been evidently cut out, and we pass on to 1313, which is marked by Ware on the margin 1316, an advance only of three years. This advance of three years continues from that to 1366, which is marked on the margin by Ware 1370, an advance of four years again, which continues to 1379, where the following note is in Ware’s hand:—‘From this year 1379, the computation of years is well collected’.

“It is pretty clear that the writer of this latter part of the Ulster Annals, who thus antedates even the latter ages of the Christian æra, must be very different from the writer of the first part down to the year 1263.

“Johnston has published Extracts from a Version, part English and part Latin, in the British Museum, which he has in-

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serted in his '*Antiquitates Celto-Normannicæ*', Copenhagen, 4to, 1786, p. 57. Of this version he says very truly, that the language is extremely barbarous; that it is often hard to discover whether the transcriber means the Scots, *Mc Eres*, *Dalriad*, *Cruachne*, *Athacliath* of Ireland, or the Scots, *Mc Eres*, *Dalriedæ*, *Cruithne*, and *Alacluoith* of Britain; that it is with great diffidence that he ventures to print these extracts, and that his principal inducement was a hope that such a specimen might suggest to some Irish gentleman the idea of publishing, at least, the more material parts of these valuable records, in the original.

"After such a modest avowal, no man can find pleasure in noticing the many errors in Mr. Johnston's work. But historical truth demands that those errors which affect the very foundations of history, should be rectified.

"At 471, Mr. Johnston's edition states, 'The Irish plundered the Saxons. Matthew, in the book of the Cuanac, says it was in 472'.

"Now", continues Dr. O'Connor, "the very words of the original are: '*Preda secunda Saxonum de Hibernia, ut alii dicunt, in isto anno deducta est, ut Mocteus dicit. Sic in Libro Cuanac inveni*'. That is, 'In 471, Ireland was plundered a second time by the Saxons this year, as some say, as Mocteus says. I found it so in the Annals of Cuanac' [sic.]—In Johnston's two short lines there are four material errors.—First, he makes the Irish plunder the Saxons; whereas the truth is, that the Saxons a second time plundered them.—Secondly, he makes the annals quote Matthew; whereas even the interpolated copy in the museum has Mactenus: the original is properly Mocteus, who was an Irish writer of the fifth century. Thirdly, he makes this Matthew a writer in the book of Cuanac.—Fourthly, he makes the book of Cuanac refer these transactions to 472!

"At 473, Johnston's edition gives only 'The Skirmish of Bui'; whereas the original has some foreign history under that year, and then adds: '*Quies Docci Episcopi Sancti, Brittonum Abbatis*. [The death of Docci, a holy bishop, Abbot of the Britons.] *Dorngal Bri-Eile f. Laigniu ria n Alill Molt*. [The Battle of Bri Eile was gained over the Leinster men by Alill Molt.]'

"At 482, Johnston's edition has "The Battle of Oche. From the time of Cormac to this battle, a period intervened of 206 years'.

"Now here the original is strangely perverted and falsified.

"The words of the original are—'A.D. 482—*Bellum Oche*

la Lug. mac Laegaire agus le Muircearta mac Erca, in quo cecidit Alill Moll [recte, Molt]. A Concobaro filio Nesse usque ad Cormacum filium Airt anni cccviii., a Cormaco usque ad hoc bellum cxvi., ut Cuana scripsit'. [That is, A.D. 482—The Battle of Ocha by Lughaidh, the son of Laegaire, and Muirceartach, son of Eare, in which Alill Molt fell. From Concobar, son of Nesse, to Cormac, son of Airt, 308 years. From Cormac to this battle 116 years, as Cuana has written.]

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"It would require", says Dr. O'Connor, "a quarto volume as large as Mr. Johnston's whole work, to point out the errors of his edition, with such illustrations as these unexplored regions of Irish history seem to require.—The Ulster Annals", he continues, "are written part in Latin, and part in Irish, and both languages are so mixed up, that one sentence is often in words of both; a circumstance which renders a faithful edition of the original difficult. In some instances the Irish words are few, in others numerous,—in both, the version must be included in hyphens, to separate it from the text. The author of this Catalogue has most faithfully adhered to the original—transcribing the whole of this, and of the preceding MS. from the Bodleian MS., Rawlinson 489, and inserting literal versions of the Irish words in each sentence, so as to preserve not only the meaning, but the manner of the author, from the year 431 to 1131".—Stowe Catalogue, vol. i., p. 174.

Another copy of these annals noticed by Dr. O'Connor, "contains", he says, "117 written folios. This volume has copious extracts from the Bodleian original, from 1156 to 1303, inclusive; and it has the merit, also, of marginal collations with the copy in the British Museum, Clarendon, tom. 36, in Ayscough's Catalogue, No. 4787; which appears from this collation to be in many places interpolated. It has been collated, also, with a copy in the British Museum, written by one O'Connel, who was still more ignorant than the former transcriber, as may be seen by inspecting the MS.—Ayscough, tom. xlix., 4795".—Ibid., p. 176.

[There is an English translation of the Annals of Ulster in the British Museum—Clarendon MS., vol. xlix., Ayscough's Catalogue, No. 4795; commencing with the coming of Palladius into Ireland, A.D. 431, and coming down to A.D. 1303 (or 1307), as thus written; but there is a defect from 1131 to 1156, at page 65. The writing appears to be of Sir James Ware's time (XVII. Century), and the Latin of the original is not translated. This is the volume with which Doctor O'Connor says that he made marginal collations of the above manuscript; but it will be seen that his library reference is wrong, as well as that to the number in Ayscough's Catalogue.]

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I examined this translation with great care, and I could not find any translator's name to it; no "one O'Connel". I think it possible that the reverend doctor never saw it. The Clarendon MS., xxxvi., British Museum, with which Dr. O'Connor says the Stowe copy of the Annals of Ulster was collated, is only a collection of short historical pieces, and extracts from unacknowledged Annals. The writing is like Ware's, as may be seen from the volume i., No. 4787. The reverend doctor does not appear to have seen this volume any more than the other; or if he did really see them, it is very strange that he should leave his readers to believe that they were both full copies, and written in the original Irish hand.]

That the reverend doctor is quite correct in these strictures on Johnston's publication, he has given ample proof here; but his own inaccurate readings of the original text are full of contradictions, and are often as erroneous as those of Johnston; and his translations and deductions are as incorrect and unjustifiable. And, notwithstanding the respect in which his name and that of his more accurate grandfather, the venerable Charles O'Connor of Belanagare, are held by every investigator of the history and antiquities of Ireland, still it must be admitted, that his own writings—as regards matters in the Irish language, in his Stowe Catalogue, and in his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*,—would require very copious corrections of the inaccuracies of text, as well as of the many erroneous translations, unauthorized deductions, and unfounded assumptions which they contain.

To return to the Annals of Senait Mac Manus.

The volume in vellum containing the beautiful copy of these annals now in the library of Trinity College, commences with three leaves which appear to be a fragment of a fine copy of *Tighernach* [see APPENDIX, No. XLIV.] After this the Annals of Senait Mac Manus, which begin with a long line of calends or initials of years, some of which are very briefly filled up, but without dates, except occasionally the years of the world's age, while others remain totally blank.

These Annals begin thus—"Anno ab Incarnatione Domini ccccxxxi., Palladius ad Scotos a Celestino urbis Rome Episcopo, ordinatur Episcopus, Aetio et Valeriano Coss. Primus mittitur in Hiberniam, ut Christum credere potuissent, anno Theodosii viii." That is: "In the year from the Incarnation of our Lord four hundred and thirty-one, Palladius is ordained bishop to the Scoti by Celestine, Bishop of the City of Rome, in the consulship of Aetius and Valerianus. He was the first who was sent to Ireland, that they might believe in Christ, in the eighth year of Theodosius".

"Anno ccccxxxii.—Patricius pervenit ad Hiberniam in anno Theodosii junioris, primo anno Episcopatus Sixti xlii., Rom. Eccl., sic enumerant Beda, et Marcellinus, et Isidorus in Chronicis suis. in xii. an. *Leaghairé mic Neill*". "Anno 432—Patrick came to Ireland in the ninth year of Theodosius the Younger, and first of the episcopacy of Sixtus, the forty-second Bishop of Rome, so Bede and Marcellinus and Isidore enumerate them in their Chronicles, in the twelfth year of Laeghaire Mac Neill".

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"Anno ccccxxxiv. Prima preda Saxonum in Hibernia.

"Anno ccccxxxv. Mors Breasail regis Lageniæ.

"Anno ccccxxxvi. Vel hic mors Breasail".

"Vels", or aliases, occur very frequently in the early part of these annals, but they are generally written in a later and inferior hand. Doctor O'Connor notices them in the Bodleian copy, but has not observed whether they are written in the original hand or not.

The following additional early notices are interesting.

"Anno 437. Finbar Mac Hui Bardene [a Saint] died.

"Anno ccccxxxviii. Chronicon Magnum Scriptum est".

This was the *Seanchas Mór*, or great law compilation, referred to in my former lecture.

"Anno ccccxxxix. Secundinus, Auxilius, et Iserminus mittuntur Episcopi ipsi in Hiberniam, in auxilium Patricii".

It is not until the middle of the sixth century that these annals begin to notice more than two or three events, often merely of an ecclesiastical character. Not even the early battles with the Danes are given with anything more than the simple record of the fact, and the chief persons concerned, or the names of those who fell on such occasions. Nor is it until the beginning of the ninth century that they commence to group events, and narrate them to any considerable extent; but after the year 1000, they become diffuse enough, if not in narrative, at least in the mention of distinct events, and sometimes in both, particularly as we approach the fifteenth century.

The book is written on fine strong vellum, large folio size, and in a very fine style of penmanship.

There is a loss of forty-eight years between the years 1115 and 1163, the beginning of the former and conclusion of the latter only remaining. There is another defect between the years 1373 and 1379; and the volume ends imperfectly with the year 1504.

The whole manuscript volume, in its present condition, consists of 121 folios or 242 pages; the first folio being paged 12, and the last 144, from which it appears that there are 11 folios, or twenty-two pages, lost at the beginning, and 12 folios,

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or 24 pages more, deficient between the years 1115 and 1163. The missing years between 1373 and 1379 do not interrupt the pagination, from which it may be inferred that they were lost from the original MS. of the Annals of Ulster, of which this part of the MS. is but a transcript. The first three folios are, I believe, a portion of the Annals of *Tighernach*. The third leaf belongs to neither compilation. The fourth leaf begins the MS. of the Annals of Ulster. [See APPENDIX, No. XLIV.]

Throughout this MS. the annals have the year of our Lord prefixed to them, but they are antedated by one year. This error is, however, generally corrected in a later hand throughout the volume.

Throughout the earlier portion especially of these Annals of Ulster, the text is a mixture of Gaedhlic and Latin, sometimes being written partly in the one language and partly in the other.

It may be remarked also, that throughout the entire MS. blank spaces had been left by the original scribe at the end of each year, and that in these spaces there have been added by a later hand several events, and *aliases* or corrections of dates.

It will have been seen from Dr. O'Connor's remarks in the Stowe Catalogue, that the copy which Bishop Nicholson described, in his work called "Nicholson's Irish Library", was carried down to the year 1541, whilst the Dublin copy in its present state ends with 1504. [See Nicholson's Irish Library, p. 37.] There is, however, every reason to be certain that this is the identical volume or copy of the same Annals mentioned by him in his Appendix (6; p. 243). [See discussion on the Annals of *Loch Cé*; infra.]

It may seem that I have dwelt with too much prolixity on the technical details of the Annals hitherto considered; but I believe their importance fully warrants this. They form the great framework around which the fabric of our history is yet to be built up. The copies of them which now remain are unfortunately all imperfect and widely separated, in different libraries and MSS. collections; and in the critical examination of them (short as such an examination must be in lectures such as the present), and the collation of all the evidences we can bring together about them, I believe that I am doing good service to the future historian of Ireland.

LECTURE V.

[Delivered June 19, 1856.]

The Annals (continued). 5. The Annals of *Loch Cé*, hitherto sometimes called The Annals of Kilronan. Of the Plain of *Magh Slecht*. 6. The Annals of Connacht. Remarks on the so-called Annals of Boyle.

IN my last Lecture I gave you some account of the Annals of Innisfallen, and those of Senait MacManus, commonly called the Annals of Ulster: having on the previous day commenced with the earlier compilation of Tighernach. Thus we have disposed of the most of the earlier compilations in that list of the more important annals, which I named to you as the sources of our history, which it was my intention, in accordance with the plan of these Lectures, to bring under your notice.

Before, however, we reach the last and greatest monument of the learning of the Gaedhils, called the Annals of the Four Masters, there remain at least four other remarkable collections for your consideration: the Annals of Kilronan,⁽³⁸⁾ or rather of *Inis Mac Nerinn* in *Loch Cé*, as they ought to be called; the Annals of Boyle; those called the Annals of Connacht; and Mac Firbis' *Chronicum Scotorum*; and it is to these works that, proceeding in regular order, I shall have this evening to direct your attention.

And first, of the Annals which have been known for some time under the name of the Annals of Kilronan, but which, I think, it will presently be seen should be called the Annals of *Inis Mac Nerinn* in *Loch Cé*. Of the
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The only copy of these Annals known to exist at present is that in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, Class H. 1, 19. It is on vellum, of small folio size; the original writing in various hands, but all of them fine and accurate. Several leaves having, however, been lost from the original volume in various parts of it, the chasms are filled up, sometimes with paper and sometimes with vellum, and some of the missing annals re-

⁽³⁸⁾ It is only within the last few years that this name "Annals of Kilronan" was applied to these Annals, which are referred to by the Four Masters (see Ann. IV. Masters, Preface, p. xxviii.) as the 'Book of the O'Duigenans of Kilronan'. [They are so referred to by Dr. O'Donovan at p. 778 of the Annals, note (b) to A.D. 1013.] Kilronan was in the country of the Mac Dermotts, in the present County of Roscommon.

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stored, although in an inferior style of penmanship. These restorations are principally in the handwriting of Brian Mac Dermot. The chief defects in the body of the book are observable from the year 1138 to 1170, where thirty-two years are missing; and from the year 1316 to 1462, where 142 years are missing. The year 1468 is also omitted.

The following notices will sufficiently show the names of the chief transcriber, of the owner, and the time of transcribing the volume.

At the end of the year 1061 we find this notice:—"I am fatigued from Brian Mac Dermot's book; Anno Domini 1580. I am Philip Badley".—[See original in APPENDIX, No. XLV.]

The Christian name of the scribe appears in several places from this to the end of the year 1588; but a memorandum at the end of the year 1515 is conclusive in identifying not only the chief transcriber, but the date of the original transcript, as well as the place in which, and the person for whom, the volume was transcribed or compiled:—

"I rest from this work. May God grant to the man [that is, the owner] of this book, to return safely from Athlone; that is Brian, the son of *Ruaidhrigh* Mac Dermot. I am Philip who wrote this, 1588, on the day of the festival of Saint Brendan in particular. And *Cluain Hi Bhraoin* is my place".—[See original in APPENDIX, No. XLVI.]

Of this Badley, if that be his real name, I have never been able to learn anything more than what he has written of himself in this volume. I may observe, however, that the name of Philip was not uncommon in the learned family of *O'Duibhghenainn* or Duigenan; and *Cluain I Bhraoin*, where Philip wrote this book, was at this time the residence of a branch of the *O'Duibhghenainn* or O'Duigenans, as will appear from the following entry in these Annals, in the handwriting of the owner of the book, Brian Mac Dermot, at the year 1581:—"Fearcaogadh O'Duigenan, the son of Fergal, son of Philip, died at *Cluain I Bhraoin*".—[See original in APPENDIX, No. XLVII.]

We find, too, the name of *Dubhthach* O'Duigenain, set down as a scribe in the book at the end of the year 1224.

The following memorandum at the end of the page at which the year 1462 commences (the book is not paged), gives us further reason still for supposing that the O'Duigenans had some connection with this book. It runs thus:—"Three leaves and five scores of vellum that are contained in this book, per me, Daniel Duignan".—[See original in APPENDIX, No. XLVIII.] This memorandum is without date; and I may observe that, as the book contains at present but ninety-nine of the original

leaves, four leaves must have been lost since this memorandum was written. LECT. V.

I have not, however, quoted these memoranda merely in order to show by what particular scribe the Annals in question were written. A mistake has, it appears to me, been long current with regard to the identity of the MS., and I believe I am in a position to correct it.

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It is my opinion that the notices just referred to are sufficient to show that these are not those Annals, or that 'Book of the *O'Duibhgenainns* of Kilronan', which was one of the books mentioned by the Four Masters as having been used by them in their compilation, and which extended from the year 900 to the year 1563. The present volume begins with the year 1014, and in its original form ends (imperfectly) with the year 1571; and we find that one of the O'Duigenan family was a transcriber in the early part of it, and that it was transcribed at *Cluain I Bhraoin*. But it is, I think, more than probable that the volume is but a transcript of the original Book of the O'Duigenans of Kilronan, made, as far as it went, for Brian Mac Dermot; and that to the text of this transcript that noble chief himself, and other scribes, made several additions, carrying the annals down to the year 1590, or two years before his death in 1592. Such is the opinion at which I have arrived as to this manuscript.

That the present volume was carried down to the year 1590, I am rather fortunately in a position to prove beyond any doubt, having myself discovered a part of the continuation in the British Museum in the year 1849. This part contains sixteen consecutive years, and part of a dislocated year, extending from the latter part of 1568 to 1590, but still leaving a chasm in the volume from 1561 to 1568. This continuation is written partly on vellum and partly on paper, in various hands, among which that of Brian Mac Dermot is still very plainly distinguishable; and the following translation of an entry, at the year 1581, with Brian's note on it, seems to complete the identification of the volume:—

"Calvagh (*Calbhach*), the son of Donnell, son of Teige (*Tadhg*), son of Cathal O'Connor, the heir of Sligo and of Lower Connacht, without dispute, died on the Friday between the two Easters [that is, between Easter Sunday and Low Sunday] in this year".—[See original in APPENDIX, No. XLIX.]

To this article Brian Mac Dermot adds the following note:—

"And the death of this only son of Donnell O'Connor and *Mór Ní Ruairc* is one of the most lamentable events of Erin. And there never came, of the descendants of Brian *Lúighneach*

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[O'Connor] a man of his years a greater loss than him, nor is it likely that there will come. And this loss has pained the hearts of all Connacht, and especially it has pained the scholars and poets of the province of Connacht. And it has divided my own heart into two parts. Uch! Uch! how pitiable my condition after my comrade and companion, and the man most dear and truthful to me in the world!

“I am Brian Mac Dermot, who wrote this, upon Mac Dermot's Rock; and I am now like *Olioll Oluim* after his sons, when they were slain, together with Art *Aenfhir*, the son of Conn of the Hundred Battles, in the battle of *Magh Mucruimhé* by Mac Con, the son of *Mac Niadh*, son of *Lughaidh*; or like *Deirdré* after the sons of *Uisneach* had been treacherously slain in *Eamhain Mhacha* [Emania] by *Conchobhar* the son of *Fachtna*, son of *Ruadh*, son of *Rudhraidhé* [Conor Mac Nessa]; for I am melancholy, sorrowful, distressed, and dispirited, in grief and in woe. And it cannot be described or related how I feel after the departure of my companion from me, that is the *Calvach*. And it was on the last day of the month of March that he was interred in *Sligeach* (Sligo).—[See original in APPENDIX, No. XLIX.]

Mac Dermot's Rock (*Carraig Mhic-Diarmada*), and the Rock of Loch Cé (*Carraig Locha Cé*) were the popular names of a castle built on an Island in Loch Cé, near Boyle, in the present County of Roscommon. This castle was the chief residence and stronghold of Mac Dermot, the native chief and prince of *Magh Luirg* (or Moylorg), an extensive territory in the same County of Roscommon.

The above Brian Mac Dermot, the owner, restorer, and continuator of these Annals, was chief of *Magh Luirg* between the years 1585 and 1592, though in what year he succeeded his father, Rory (*Ruaidhri*), the son of Teige (*Tadhg*), I am not able to say. The father was chief in 1540 and 1542.

Of Brian Mac Dermot himself, we find in the Annals of the Four Masters,—under the year 1585 (in which year all the native chiefs of Erin were called by proclamation to a parliament in Dublin),—that *Tadhg* the son of *Eoghan* Mac Dermot attended this Parliament as deputy from Mac Dermot of *Magh Luirg*; that is, Brian the son of *Ruaidhri*, son of *Tadhg*, son of *Ruaidhri Og*, which Brian was then a very old man. And at the year 1592 the same Annals record the death of this Brian Mac Dermot in the following words:

“Mac Dermot of *Magh Luirg*,—Brian the son of *Ruaidhri*, son of *Tadhg* Mac Dermot, died in the month of November; and the death of this man was the more to be lamented, be-

cause there was no other like him of the clann *Maolruanaidh* ['Maelrúny', the tribe name of the Mac Dermots,] to succeed him in the chieftainship".—[See original in APPENDIX, No. L.]

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It would then appear, I think, that these cannot be the so-called Annals of Kilronan; but that they are those called the Annals of Loch Cé, quoted by Sir James Ware in his work on the Bishops of Erin, is by no means certain.

Dr. Nicholson (Protestant Bishop of Derry, and afterwards Archbishop of Cashel), in his valuable "Irish Historical Library", published in Dublin in 1724, p. 36, thus speaks of the Annals of Loch Cé, quoted by Sir James Ware:

"The Annals of this monastery are frequently quoted by Sir James Ware; but all that he ever saw was a Fragment of them (part in Latin and part in Irish) beginning at 1249 and ending at 1408. He supposes the author to have been a Canon-Regular of the said Abbey, and to have lived about the middle of the Fifteenth Century. His copy, perhaps, has had some farther loss since it fell into other hands; seeing all that can be now said of it is '*Pars Annalium Canobii S. Trin. de Loghkeea, incipiens ab An. 1249. et desinens An. 1381. ex Hibernico Idiomate in Anglicum versa*'".

The same writer (Appendix No. 6, page 243) says:

"The most valuable collection of Irish MSS. that I have met with, in any private hand, here in Dublin, next to that of the Lord Bishop of Clogher, was communicated to me by Mr. John Conry; who has great numbers of our Historico-Poetical Composures, and (being a perfect master of their language and prosodia) knows how to make the best use of them. Amongst these, there's

"1. An ancient copy of the *Annales Senatenses* (Annals of Ulster), written on Vellum and in a fair character; but imperfect at the beginning and end: for it begins at the Year 454, ten Years later than the Duke of Chandois's, and ends (about 50 years sooner) at 1492.

"2. There is also, in the same Letter and Parchment, and the same folio Volume, a copy of the Annals of the Old Abbey of *Inch-Maccreen*, an island in the Lake of *Loghkea*, very different from those of the Holy Trinity, an abbey (in the same Loch) of a much later foundation. This book commences at the year 1013, and ends with 1571.

"3. He has likewise the original Annals of Donegal (or the *Quatuor Magistri*), signed by the proper hands of the four Masters themselves, who were the Compilers of that Chronicle", etc., etc., etc.

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This, indeed, is a most valuable notice from the very candid Bishop Nicholson.

The Annals of the Old Abbey of Inis Maccreen, properly *Inis Mac Nerinn*, an island in *Loch Cé*, which he mentions, are beyond any doubt those which I have already identified as such. According to Conry's report to the bishop, these Annals commenced with the year 1013, and ended with 1571; but it is quite clear that the year 1013 is a mere mistake for 1014, with which the book commences in its present, and I am sure in its then condition. For it commences with an account of the battle of Clontarf; and as the original page is much defaced and the date totally illegible, and as the date of that great event is given by the Four Masters under the year 1013, it seems probable that, without looking to the copy of the whole annal, and the date mentioned below, Conry gave that year as the commencement of the book to the bishop. The last page of the year 1571, with which the volume (without the British Museum addition) ends, is also illegible, showing plainly that the book had been a long time lying without a cover, probably in the ruined residence of some departed member of the Mac Dermot family, before it passed into Conry's hands. Still, notwithstanding that Conry gave this book the name of the Annals of the Abbey of *Inis Mac Nerinn* of *Loch Cé*, it is quite clear from the circumstances under which they were written, that they were not the annals of that abbey, if any such annals ever existed.

There is some mystery as to the way this volume passed from the hands of John Conry. It was, however, purchased at the sale of the books of Dr. John O'Fergus, in 1766, by Dr. Leland, the historian, along with the Annals of Ulster,—a transcript made for the doctor of the first volume of the Annals of the Four Masters,—and the imperfect autograph of the second volume, described above by Dr. Nicholson,—and placed by him (Dr. Leland) in the College Library, where the group may now be seen together. It is fortunate that we actually have still in existence a copy of the printed catalogue of the books of the patriotic Doctor O'Fergus, which is preserved along with several other memorials of him, by his worthy great-grandson, my esteemed friend, James Marinus Kennedy, Esq. (of 47 Lower Gloucester Street, in this city), who has kindly permitted me to consult this interesting catalogue. On examining it, I found included in it the Annals of Ulster,—a transcript of the first volume of the Annals of the Four Masters, by Hugh O'Mulloy, an excellent scribe, in two volumes,—and the imperfect autograph copy of the second volume,—among

several other MSS. of less value, set down for sale; but no account of the Annals of the Abbey of *Inis Mac Nerinn*, mentioned by John Conry in his communication to Dr. Nicholson. So far indeed we have lost the direct evidence of the volume being that which Conry had mentioned to the bishop; but the fact of its having been purchased by the College along with the other books and transcripts belonging to Conry's collection, the identity in the years of its beginning and ending, and the original locality to which it was referred, which, though erroneous, was approximately correct, can leave no rational doubt of its being the reputed Annals of the Abbey of *Inis Mac Nerinn* in *Loch Cé*, though the internal evidences clearly prove it to be the Annals of the Rock of *Loch Cé*, or Mac Dermot's Rock, the residence of the owner and part-compiler, Brian Mac Dermot, in 1590. Indeed even the wanting link above alluded to is supplied in a contemporary list or catalogue of the Irish books sold at Dr. O'Fergus's sale, which is preserved in (pasted into) a MS. volume in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy (commonly known by the name of "Vallancey's Green Book"), and contains the names of the persons to whom and the prices at which the various Irish MSS. there were sold. For in that list I find it mentioned that Dr. Leland bought "No. 2427, Annals of the 4 Masters, 3 vols. [the two volumes of transcription and one of autograph before mentioned], a fine MS., £7 19s."; and also, "2410, Annals of Ulster, by the 4 Masters [sic], a very ancient MS. on vellum"; and "2411, Continuation of the Annals of Tighernach, very ancient, on vellum", both together for £18. The last mentioned MS. was, I have no doubt, the one of which we have been speaking, mistaken by the maker of the catalogue for a "Continuation of Tighernach", probably only because he could make no better guess at what it really was. And it is singular that this volume is now lettered "Tighernaci Continuation" on the back (H. 1. 19, T.C.D.)

I have thus, I think, conclusively identified the MS. spoken of by Dr. O'Donovan as the "Annals of Kilronan", and I have identified it as one different from the original Book of the O'Duigenans of Kilronan, referred to by the Four Masters. Whether that MS. is or is not the same as the Annals of *Loch Cé*, referred to by Sir James Ware, does not, however, appear to me to be by any means clearly settled by Nicholson, the accuracy of whose descriptions of Irish MSS. is not always implicitly to be depended on. Certainly Sir James Ware does quote from what he calls the Annals of *Loch Cé* at the year 1217, as we shall presently see, though in the passage before quoted from Nicholson, that writer positively says that "all he

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(Ware) ever saw was a fragment of them, beginning at 1249 and ending at 1408".

The references by Ware to these Annals are in his "History of the Bishops". In the first volume of this important work (as edited by Walter Harris, pp. 84, 250, 252, 271), we find it stated on the authority of the Annals of "Lough Kee" (*Loch Cé*), that Adam O'Muirg (*Annadh O'Muireadhaigh*), Bishop of Ardagh (*Ardachadh*), died in the year 1217; Cairbré O'Scoba, Bishop of Raphoe (*Rath Bhotha*), in the year 1275; William Mac Casac, Bishop of Ardagh, in the year 1373; and John Colton, Archbishop of Armagh, in the year 1404. On reference to our volume of Annals, we find the death of *Annadh O'Muireadhaigh* and *Cairbré O'Scoba* under the respective years of 1217 and 1275. The other years, 1373 and 1404, are now lost, though these lost sheets were probably in existence in Ware's time.

The following little note, written in the lower margin of the eleventh page of the fragment in the British Museum, is not without interest in tracing this very volume of Annals to the possession of the family of Sir James Ware.

"Honest, good, hospitable Robert Ware, Esq., of Stephen's Green; James Magrath is his servant for ever to command".

This Robert was the son of the very candid writer on Irish history just mentioned, Sir James Ware; and it is pretty clear that this entry was made in the book, of which the fragment in the British Museum formed a part, while it was in the hands of either the father or the son.

Having thus endeavoured, and I trust successfully, to identify for the first time this valuable book of Irish Annals, I now proceed to consider the character of its contents, so as to form a just estimate of its value, as a large item in the mass of materials which still exist for an ample and authentic History of Ireland.

These Annals of *Loch Cé*, as I shall henceforth call them, commence with the year of our Lord 1014, containing a very good account of the Battle of Clontarf; the death of the ever memorable Brian *Boroimhé*; the final overthrow of the whole force of the Danes, assisted as they were by a numerous army of auxiliaries and mercenaries; and the total destruction of their cruel and barbarous sway within the 'Island of Saints'.

The first page of the book is nearly illegible, but it was restored on inserted paper in a very good hand, at *Carn Oilltriallaigh* in Connacht, on the 1st of November 1698, by *S. Mac Connmidhe*.

The account of the Battle of Clontarf just alluded to, is especially interesting because it contains many details not to be found in any of the other annals now remaining to us.

In chronology as well as the general character, the Annals of Loch Cé resemble the Annals of Tighernach, the Annals of Ulster, and the *Chronicum Scotorum*; but they are much more copious in details of the affairs of Connacht than any of our other annals, not excepting even, perhaps, the Chronicle now known as the Annals of Connacht,—a collection which will presently engage our attention. And as all these additional details involve much of family history and topography, every item of them will be deemed valuable by the diligent investigator of our history and antiquities.

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The dates are always written in the original hand, and in Roman numerals, represented by Irish letters.

The text is all in the ancient Gaedhlic characters, and mainly in the Gaedhlic language, but mixed occasionally with Latin, particularly in recording births and deaths, when sometimes a sentence is given partly in both languages, as at A.D. 1087, which runs thus:

“The Battle of *Connchail* in the territory of Corann (in Sligo), was gained by Rory O'Connor of the yellow hound, son of Hugh of the gapped spear, over Hugh the son of Art O'Ruaire; and the best men of the *Conmaicne* were slaughtered and slain.—[See original in APPENDIX, No. LI.]

“In this year was born Torloch O'Conor”.—[See APPENDIX, No. LII.]

The following specimen of the style and copiousness of the Annals of Loch Cé, may be appropriately introduced. The same events are given in but a few lines in the Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 1256. It is the account of the celebrated Battle of *Magh Slecht* (or Plain of Genuflexions).—[See original in APPENDIX, No. LIII.]

“A great army was raised by Walter Mac Rickard Mac William Burke, against *Fedhlim*, the son of *Cathal Crobhdhearg* [or Cathal O'Connor of the red hand], and against *Aedh* [or Hugh] the son of *Feidhlim*; and against the son of *Tighernan* O'Ruaire. And it was a long time before this period since a host so numerous as this was collected in Erin, for their number was counted as twenty thousand to a man. And these great hosts marched to *Magh-Eo* [Mayo] of the Saxons, and from that to Balla, and from that all over *Luighne* [Leyney], and they ravaged *Luighne* in all directions around them. And they came to *Achadh Conaire* [Achonry], and sent messengers thence to the *O'Raghallaigh* [O'Reillys], calling upon them to come to meet them at *Cros-Doire-Chaoin*, upon the south end of *Brat-Shliabh* in *Tir-Tuathal*. And the O'Reillys came to *Clachan Mucadha* on *Sliabh-an-Iarainn*, but they turned back without having obtained a meeting from the English.

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“It was on that very day, Friday precisely, and the day of the festival of the Cross, above all days, that *Conchobhar* the son of *Tighernan O'Ruaire*, assembled the men of *Breifné* and *Conmaicné*, and all others whom he could, under the command of *Aedh O'Conor*, as were also the best men of *Connacht*, and of the *Siol Muireadhaigh* [the O'Conors]. And the best (or noblest) that were of that host were *Conor* the son of *Tighernan O'Ruaire*, King of the *Ui Briuin* and *Conmaicné*; *Cathal O'Flaithbheartaigh* [O'Flaherty], and *Murchadh Finn O'Ferghail*; and *Ruaidhri O'Floinn* of the wood; and *Flann Mac Oireachtaigh*; and *Donn óg Mac Oireachtaigh*; and a great body of the O'Kellys; and *Mac Dermot's* three sons; and *Dermot O'Flannagan*; and *Cathal* the son of *Duarcán O'Heaghra* (O'Hara); and the two sons of *Tighernan O'Conor*, and *Giolla-na-Naomh O'Taidhg* [O'Teige.] And numerous indeed were the warriors of *Connacht* there. And where the van of that host overtook the O'Reillys was at *Soiltean-na-nGasan*; and they pursued them to *Alt Tighe Mhic Cuirin*. Here the new recruits of the O'Reillys turned upon the united hosts, and three times drove them back. The main body of the hosts then came up, but not till some of their people had been killed, and among them *Dermot O'Flannagan*, and *Mac Maonaigh*, and *Coiclé O'Coiclé* [Cokely O'Cokely], and many more.

“Both armies now marched to *Alt-na-h-Eilti*, and to *Doirin Cranncha*, between *Ath-na-Beithighe* and *Bél an Bheallaigh*, and *Coill Eassa*, and *Coill Airthir*, upon *Sliabh an Iarainn*. Here the O'Reillys turned firmly, ardently, furiously, wildly, ungovernably, against the son of *Feidhlim* [O'Conor], and all the men of *Connacht* who were with him, to avenge upon them their wrongs and oppression. And each party then urged their people against the other, that is the *Ui Briuin* and the *Connacht* forces. Then arose the *Connacht* men on the one side of the battle, bold, expert, precipitate, ever moving. And they drew up in a bright-flaming, quick-handed phalanx, valiant, firm, united in their ranks, under the command of their brave, strong-armed, youthful prince, *Aedh* [Hugh] the son of *Feidhlim*, son of *Cathal* the red-handed. And, certainly, the son of the high king had in him the fury of an inflamed chief, the valour of a champion, and the bravery of a hero upon that day.

“And a bloody, heroic, and triumphant battle then was fought between them. Numbers were killed and wounded on both sides. And *Conor*, the son of *Tighernan* (O'Ruaire), King of *Breifné*, and *Murchadh Finn O'Ferghaill* [Murrough Finn O'Ferall], and *Aedh* [Hugh] O'Ferall, and *Maolruanaidh* [Maclrone] *Mac Donnogh*, with many more, were left

wounded on the field. And some of these died of accumulated wounds in their own houses; among whom were Morrogh Finn O'Ferall; and *Flann Mac Oireachtaigh* was killed in the deadly strife of the battle, with many others. And now what those who had knowledge of this battle [who witnessed this battle] say, is, that neither the warriors on either side, nor the champions of the great battle themselves, could gaze at the face of the chief king; for there were two great royal, torch-like, broad eyes, flaming and rolling in his forehead; and every one feared to address him at that time, for he was beyond speaking distance in advance of the hosts, going to attack the battalions of the *Ui Briuin*. And he raised his battle-cry of a chief king and his champion shout aloud in the middle of the great battle; and he halted not from his career until the force of the *Ui Briuin* utterly gave way.

"There were killed on this spot Cathal O'Reilly, King of the *Muintir Maoilmordha*, and of the clan of *Aedh Finn*, and his two sons along with him, namely—Donnell Roe and Niall; and his brother *Cuchonnacht*; and *Cathal Dubh* O'Reilly's three sons, Geoffry, Fergal, and Donnell. And *Annadh*, the son of Donnell O'Reilly, was killed by Conor, the son of Tighernan (O'Ruaire), and the Blind O'Reilly, that is, Niall; and Tighernan Mac Brady, and Gilla-Michael Mac Taichly, and Donogh O'Bibsaigh, and Manus Mac Gilla-Duibh, and over three score of the best of their people along with them. And there were sixteen men of the O'Reilly family killed there also.

"This was the Battle of *Magh Slecht*, on the brink of *Ath Dearg* [the Red Ford] at *Alt na hEillti* [the Hill of the Doe] over *Bealach na Beithighe* [the Road of the Birch]".

The precision with which the scene of this domestic battle (which took place in the modern county of Cavan) is laid down in this article, is a matter of singular interest, indeed of singular importance, to the Irish historian. *Magh Slecht* [that is, the Plain of Adoration, or Genuflexions], the situation and bearings of which are so minutely set down here, was no other than that same plain of *Magh Slecht* in which stood *Crom Cruach* (called *Ceann Cruach* in the Tripartite Life), the great Idol of Milesian pagan worship, the Delphos of our Gadelian ancestors, from the time of their first coming into Erin until the destruction of the idol by Saint Patrick, in the early part of his apostleship among them. The precise situation of this historical locality has not been hitherto authoritatively ascertained by any of our antiquarian investigators; but it is pretty clear, that, if any man fairly acquainted with our ancient native documents, and practised in the examination of the ruined monuments of antiquity, so thickly

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scattered over the face of our country,—if, I say, such a man, with this article in his hand, and an extract from the Life of St. Patrick,⁽³⁹⁾ should go to any of the points here described in the route of the belligerent forces, he will have but little difficulty in reaching the actual scene of the battle, and will there stand, with certainty, in the veritable Magh Slecht; nay, even may, perhaps, discover the identical *Crom Cruach* himself, with his twelve buried satellites, where they fell and were interred when struck down by St. Patrick with his crozier, the *Bachall Iosa*, or Sacred Staff of Jesus!

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Much could be said on the value of these and of others of our local and independent chronicles, concerning the vast amount they contain of cumulative additions to what is recorded in other books, and of minor details, such as could never be found in any general compilation of national annals. Space will not, however, in lectures such as these, permit us to dwell longer on the subject at present, and we shall, therefore, pass on at once from the Annals of *Loch Cé* to the consideration of those commonly called by the name of the ANNALS OF CONNACHT.

The only copies of the chronicle which bears this title now known to exist in Ireland are, a large folio paper copy, in two volumes, in the library of T.C.D. [class H. 1. 1. and H. 1. 2.]; and a large quarto paper copy, in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, No. 25.4; 25.5; both in the same handwriting. The writing is tolerably good, but the orthography is often inaccurate, owing to the ignorance of the copyist, whose name appears at the end of the second volume in T.C.D., in the following entry:

“Written out of an ancient vellum book, and finished the 29th day of the month of October, in the year of the age of the Lord 1764, by Maurice O’Gorman”.—[See original in APPENDIX, No. LV.]

This Maurice O’Gorman, a well-known though a very incompetent scribe, flourished in Dublin before and for some time after this year of 1764. The Trinity College copy was made by him for Dr. O’Sullivan, F.T.C.D., and Professor of Law in the University; the two volumes in the Royal Irish Academy, for the Chevalier Thomas O’Gorman, of the county of Clare, in the year 1783, in the house of the Venerable Charles O’Conor, of Belanagare, in the county of Roscommon, as appears from a notice in English prefixed to the first volume. The scribe’s name does not appear in this copy.

These annals in their present condition begin with the year of

(39) The passage in the Life of St. Patrick will be found, with translation, in the APPENDIX, No. LIV.

our Lord 1224, and end with the year 1562; but the years 1394, 1395, 1396, 1397, are missing; and this is the more to be regretted as the same years are also missing from the Annals of *Loch Cé*. At what time, or by what authority this chronicle received the name of the Annals of Connacht, it is now, perhaps, impossible to ascertain.

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Usher quotes both from the Annals of Connacht, and from those of Boyle (*Primordia*, pp. 895, 966); but it is to be feared that Usher was his own authority, as we shall see presently.

Sir James Ware gives the name of Annals of Connacht to the chronicle now known as the Annals of Boyle, in these words: "An anonymous monk of the Cœnobium Buelliensis, added an index to the Annals of the affairs of Connacht up to the year 1253, at which time he lived. The MS. book exists in the Cottonian Library, the gift of Oliver late Viscount Grandison, of Limerick". [Ware's *Irish Writers*, 4to, 1639, p. 60]. And in Ware's Catalogue of his own manuscripts (Dublin, 4to, 1648), p. 14, No. 44, he says, "A copy of the Annals of Connacht, or of the Cœnobium Buelliensis, to the year 1253. The autograph exists in the Cottonian Library of Westminster".

The book of which Ware makes mention in both these extracts, under the names of an index to the Annals of Connacht, and as the Annals of Connacht themselves, and the autograph of which, he says, was then in the Cottonian Library of Westminster, is certainly that now known as the Annals of Boyle. The autograph which was then in Westminster is now in the British Museum (under the library mark of Titus A. 25), and has been published by the Rev. Charles O'Connor, in his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*.

When alluding to these Annals of Boyle in a former Lecture, I was reluctantly obliged to take the Rev. Charles O'Connor's very unsatisfactory account of them from the Stowe Catalogue; but since that time, and during the summer of the last year (1855), I had an opportunity of examining the original book itself in the British Museum. As there is very much to correct in Dr. O'Connor's account, I am tempted shortly to state here the result of my own examination of the MS., but I shall do so only in the briefest manner.

The book (the pages of which measure about eight inches in length, by five and a-half in breadth) contains, as I find, about 130 leaves, or 260 pages; and of these the Annals form the 34 first leaves, or 68 pages, of good, strong, but somewhat discoloured vellum; the remainder of the book is written in the English language on paper, and has no concern with Ireland. It is written in a bold, but not elegant hand, chiefly in the old

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black letter of (as I should think) about the year 1300. The capital letters at the commencements of years and articles, and sometimes proper names, are generally of the Gaedhlic alphabet, and so gracefully formed that it appears to me unaccountable how the same hand could have traced such chaste and graceful Gaedhlic and such rude and heavy black letters, in one and the same word.

The annals commence fourteen years before the birth of Lamech, the Father of Noah; but those years are only marked by the letters "Kl.", which stand for the kalends or first day of January of the year. They then give the years from Adam to Lamech as 974. These blank kalends contain the dates (almost uninterruptedly) down to Noah; then Abraham; Isaac; the Incarnation of our Lord; and so to the coming of St. Patrick on his mission into Ireland, in the fourth year of the monarch *Laeghaire*, A.D. 432. Even from this time down to their present termination at the year 1257, the record of events is very meagre, seldom exceeding a line or two, generally of Latin and Irish mixed, until they reach the year 1100; indeed even from that year down to the end of the annals, the entries are still very poor, and without any attempt at description.

The years throughout, to near the end, are distinguished by the initial kalends only, excepting at long intervals where the year of our Lord and the corresponding year of the world are inserted. In one instance the computation is from the Passion of our Lord, thus: "From the beginning of the world to the death of St. Martin, according to Dionisius, 5611 years; from the Passion of the true Lord, 415". The year of the world is always given according to Dionisius, but in one instance the Hebrew computation is followed, and this is where the chronology begins to agree with the common era; as thus, at the year 939: "Here begin the wars of Brian, the son of Kennedy, son of Lorcan, the noble and great monarch of all Erin, and they extend as far as the year 1014 from the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. From the beginning of the world, according to Dionisius, 6000 years, but according to the Hebrew, 5218 years".

There is so much irregularity and confusion in the chronological progress and arrangement of these annals (a confusion which the Rev. Doctor O'Connor appears to me to have made more confused), that it would have been hopeless to attempt to reduce and correct them, without an expenditure of time, and a facility of collation with other annals, which a visit to London for other and weightier purposes would not admit of. Nor should I have deemed it necessary to revert to them a second time in the course of these Lectures, but that I feel bound to cor-

rect, as far as I can, any small errors into which such distinguished scholars as Ussher, Ware, Nicholson, and O'Connor, may have fallen for want of a closer examination of these annals.

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In the first place we have seen that Ussher, Sir James Ware, his editor Walter Harris, Bishop Nicholson, and Doctor O'Connor, call them the Annals of Boyle; and it may, I think, be believed that Ussher was the father of the name, and that his successors followed him implicitly.

As far as the annals themselves can show, there is nothing whatever in them to indicate that they are annals of Boyle, except the words "Annales Monasterii in Buellio in Hibernia", which are written on the original vellum fly-leaf at the beginning of the book, in a fine bold English hand, apparently of the early part of the last century.

In a note by Doctor O'Connor on the death of Saint *Maedhog* of Ferns, at the year 600 of his published copy of these annals, he says, it is evident that Ussher must have had another copy of them in his possession, because he places the death of Saint *Maedhog* at the year 632 on their authority. Now it is singular enough that here the doctor is wrong and Ussher right, for the year of our Lord 605 appears distinctly in the original text in correspondence with the year of the world 5805. The doctor gives this annal 605, which is in Latin, correctly, but, in accordance with his adopted system, places it under the year 573. The record runs thus: "In hoc anno Beatus Gregorius quievit. Scilicet in DCVto anno Dominice Incarnationis, ut Beda dicit in Historia sua. Beatus vero Gregorius XVI. annis, et mensibus VI. et diebus X. rexit Ecclesiam, Anni ab initio mundi VDCCCV". [*i.e.* "In this year the blessed Gregory rested. That is to say, in the 605th year of the Incarnation of our Lord, as Bede says in his History. Truly the blessed Gregory ruled the Church 16 years, 6 months, and 10 days—Five thousand eight hundred and five years from the beginning of the world".]

As I had occasion to fix the date of a particular occurrence in Irish history according to these annals, and as no other date appears in them from 605 down to the record of that event, I wrote out the number of blank kalends, with a few of their leading records down to the occurrence in which I was interested. Among the items that I took down was the death of Saint *Maedhog* of Ferns, and by counting the number of kalends between that event and the above date of 605, I find it to be 27; so that both numbers when added make 632, the precise year at which Ussher places it on the authority of these annals. This then, as far as Dr. O'Connor's observation goes, is the book that Ussher quotes from.

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It is only at the year 1234 that the regular insertion of the day of the week on which the kalends of January fell, and the year of our Lord in full, begin to be inserted in the text, and these Doctor O'Connor gives, down to 1238; after which he passes without observation to the year 1240, and concludes with 1245.

The learned doctor has fallen into a confusion of dates here, as the event which he places at the year 1251, and the three years that follow it in O'Connor, precede it in the original in regular order.

The year 1251 is the last that can at present be read in these annals, but there are six distinct but illegible years after that, bringing down the records to the year 1257.

There is but one occurrence recorded under the year 1251, and as it may be found, in connection with a few other facts, to throw some probable light on the original locality and history of the work, it may be well to give it in full. The record is in Latin, and runs as follows:

“KL. ENAIR FOR DOMNACH, M.CC.L^o.I^o.”

“Clarus, Archidiaconus Elphinensis vir prudens et discretus qui carnem suam jejuniis et orationibus macerabat, qui pauperes orfanos defendebat, qui patientiæ coronam observabat, qui persecutionem a multis propter justitiam patiebatur, venerabilis fundator locorum Fraternitatis sanctæ Trinitatis per totam Hiberniam, et specialiter fundator monasterii sanctæ Trinitatis apud Loch Ché ubi locum sibi sepulturi elegit. Ibidem in Christo quievit Sabbato Dominice Pent. anno Domini M.CC.L^o.I^o. Cujus animæ propitietur Deus omnipotens in cælo cui ipse servivit in seculo. In ejus honorem Ecclesiam de Renduin et Monasterium Sanctæ Trinitatis apud Loch Uachtair, Ecclesiam Sanctæ Trinitatis apud Ath Mogi, Ecclesiam Sanctæ Trinitatis apud KELLRAS edificavit, pro cujus anima quilibet librum legens, dicat Pater Noster”.

[THE CALENDERS OF JANUARY ON SUNDAY, M.CC.L^o.I^o.

Clarus, Archdeacon of Elphin, a man prudent and discreet, who kept his flesh attenuated by prayer and fasting, who defended the poor orphans, who waited for the crown of patience, who suffered persecution from many for the sake of justice; the venerable founder of the places of the Confraternity of the Holy Trinity throughout all Ireland, especially the founder of the Monastery of the Holy Trinity of Loch Cé, where he selected his place of sepulture; there he rested in Christ, on the Saturday before Pentecost Sunday, in the year of our Lord 1251. May the Almighty God in Heaven be propitious to his soul, whom he served in the world, in whose honour he built the Church of *Renduin* and the Monastery of the Holy Trinity at Loch *Uach-*

tair (Upper Lake), also of the Holy Trinity at *Cellrais*, for whose soul let whoever reads this book say a Pater Noster.] LECT. V.

It is quite apparent from this honourable and feeling tribute paid to Clarus Mac Mailin, as he is called in the Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 1235,—but who was a member of the learned family of O'Mulconry,—that the annalist, whoever he may have been, had a high veneration, if not a personal friendship, for him; and it is equally clear, or at least it is much more than probable, that an annalist of the Abbey of Boyle, with which he had no known connexion whatever, would not speak so warmly and affectionately of one who perhaps was the light of a rival establishment. Of the
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It is certain that he was a dignitary of the ancient church of Elfinn, which was founded by Saint Patrick, and the oldest foundation in that district, situate on the southern borders of Mac Dermot's country, though not in it; that, among several others, he founded the Monastery of the Holy Trinity on an Island in Loch Cé; and that he was buried in that monastery. It is evident that the annals in which these events and personal memorials are so affectionately and religiously recorded, must have belonged to the immediate locality. It is also clear that they are not the annals of the Island of Saints in Loch Ribh [Ree], because the annals of that island, as recorded by the Four Masters, came down but to the year 1227, and because that island did not belong to Mac Dermot's country. It is equally clear, if we are to credit the venerable Charles O'Connor, of Belanagar, that they cannot be the Annals of Connacht, compiled in the Cistercian Abbey of Boyle, since that chronicle commenced with the year 1224, and ended with the year 1546.

We have no account of any annals of the Island of Saints in *Loch Gamhna*, and even if we had, we could not, without positive evidence, believe that these could be they, *Loch Gamhna* being in the County of Longford, a different district and province.

Taking, then, all these circumstances into account, I cannot avoid coming to the conclusion that this ancient and curious chronicle must have belonged to some church situated within Mac Dermot's country, and that probably it belonged to the Island of Saints in Loch Cé, though we have no record of the time at which the church of that island became ruined and abandoned.

I must confess that this idea would never probably have occurred to me, if it had not been suggested by what I found in the book itself; for at the lower margin of folio 14 b, I found this record, in a good hand, of the period to which it refers—1594.

“*Tomaltach*, son of Owen, son of Hugh, son of Dermot, son of Rory *Caech* (the blind), died in the last month of this year,

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in his own house in *Cluain Fraoich*". [See original in APPENDIX, No. LVI.]

This is a remarkable entry to be found in this book. *Cluain Fraoich*, near Strokestown, in the County of Roscommon, was the name of the ancient palace of the O'Connor family, Kings of Connacht down to the sixteenth century; but the name of the man and the pedigree which are given in this obituary are not found among the O'Connor pedigrees, as far as I have been able to discover, though I have examined all the accessible old genealogical tables of authority of that family; and as there is no such line of pedigree as the present to be found among them, it naturally follows that this *Tomaltach*, the son of Owen, must have been a member of some other important family situated in the same country, and in a residence of the same name. And such was the fact; for we find in Cucogry O'Clery's Book of Pedigrees (R. I. Academy) the following curious line of a branch of the great Mac Dermot family, which must have struck off from the parent chieftain tree in the person of Dermot, the son of Rory *Caech* (or the blind) Mac Dermot, which Rory the blind must have flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century, as we find in the annals that his son Rory *óg*, or junior, Lord of Moylurg, died in the year 1486.

O'Clery says: "The *Slíocht Diarmada* are descended from Dermot, the son of Rory *Caech* (the blind), son of Hugh, etc., viz.—*Tomaltach*, the son of Owen, son of Hugh, son of Dermot, son of Rory (the blind), son of Hugh, son of Conor", etc. Now we find that the *Tomaltach* [or Thomas], the first, or rather the last, link in this line of pedigree preserved by O'Clery, is precisely the same *Tomaltach* whose death is so circumstantially recorded, in a post insertion, in what have been called the Annals of Boyle, at least since Ussher's time, that is for nearly 250 years.

This record shows pretty clearly that at the time of making it the book was in the possession of the Mac Dermot family; and that it was so, there are still stronger proofs in the book itself to show; for in several parts of it—towards the end, but particularly at folios 10, 20, 30, 31, 33,—we find emendations and additions in the handwriting of Brian Mac Dermot, who made the additions to the Annals of Loch Cé, which have already been noticed in speaking of that important chronicle. These insertions are sufficient to show that the original book, now in the British Museum, and known as the Annals of Boyle, was at the close of the sixteenth century in the possession of the chief, Brian Mac Dermot, lord of the territory in which Boyle is situated; and this would and should be received as evidence enough for their

being the Annals of Boyle, if really any such annals had ever existed. There is, however, in the lower margin of folio 30, page a, or 33, page b,—I am not certain at present which,—a memorandum, in a few words, which is incontestably fatal to the name of Annals of Boyle. The words, which are written in a bad but old hand, run thus: “The historical book of the Island of the Saints”.—[See original in APPENDIX, No. LVII.] And to connect them still further with some Island of the Saints, we find the following words in a good hand of the latter part of the sixteenth century, in the lower margin of folio 13, b, of the book: “Four score years from the death of Saint Patrick to the death of Dermot *Mac Cerbhaill* [monarch of Erin], according to the Martyrology of the Island of the Saints”.—[See original in APPENDIX, No. LVIII.]

It must be confessed that, although these words prove clearly enough that this book of annals did not belong to the Abbey of Boyle, still they do not show with equal clearness to what place they really did belong, any more than that they must, according to these evidences, have belonged to some place in or about Loch Cé, in Mac Dermot's country.

That they belonged to some *island* is plain enough, and that they are not the Annals of the Island of the Saints in Loch Ree in the Shamon, is evident, as the Four Masters say of that book of annals, that it came down but to the year 1227, whereas these came down to 1257; and if we may rely on the word of the venerable Charles O'Connor of Belanagar, they cannot be the Annals of Connacht; for in a list of Irish manuscripts in his possession about the year 1774, and which list is in his own handwriting, I find—“The Annals of Connacht, compiled in the Cistercian Abbey of Boyle, beginning at the year 1224 and ending 1546”. [M.S. in the Royal Irish Academy, No. 23. 6; p. 126.]

By the aid of my learned and esteemed friend, Denis H. Kelly, Esq., of Castle Kelly, in the county of Roscommon, I find that there really is an *Oilean na Nuemh*, or Saints' Island, in Loch Cé, close to Mac Dermot's rock or castle, and about two miles from Boyle; and that the local tradition is, that the ruined church which still remains on it, was founded by Saint Colum Cille, about the same time, probably, that he founded the church of *Eas Mac nEire*, at the mouth of the river Boyle, in the same neighbourhood, and the church on *Oilean na Nuemh*, or Saints' Island in *Loch Gamhna*, in the County of Longford. Tradition also has it that the church was occupied by “Culdees”, or *Ceilidé Dé*, down to the twelfth century.

That Saint Colum Cille founded a church on some island in

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Loch Cé, some time about the year 550, will also clearly be seen from the following extract from O'Donnell's remarkable collection of ancient tracts, relating to the life and acts of that eminent saint.

"On one occasion that Colum Cille was staying upon an island in *Loch Cé* in Connacht, and a poet and man of science came to visit him, and conversed with him for a while, and then went away from him. And the monks wondered that Colum Cille did not ask for a specimen of his composition from the poet, as he was wont to ask from every man of science who visited him. And they asked him why he had acted so. Colum Cille answered them, and said, that it would not be proper for him to ask for pleasant things from a man to whom sorrow was near at hand; and that it should not be long before they should see a man coming unto him (Colum Cille) to tell him that that man had been killed. Scarcely had this conversation ended when they heard a shout at the port of that island (that is, the landing place on the main land opposite to it), and Colum Cille said that it was with an account of the killing of the poet the man came who raised that shout. And all was verified that Colum Cille had said; and the names of God and of Colum Cille were magnified on that account".—[See original in APPENDIX, No. LIX.]

From this notice, as well as from several other references that could be adduced, it is certain that Saint Columba founded a monastery on the island in *Loch Cé*, which is now called the Island of the Saints.

The Annals of the Four Masters, in the Testimonium, and again at the year 1005, mention and quote the Annals of the Island of Saints in *Loch Ribh* [Ree]. (*Loch Ree* is an expansion of the river Shannon between Athlone and Lanesborough.) And the second continuation after the year 1405 of the chronicle now called the Annals of Tighernach, states in that work, that Augustin Mac Grady (the continuator probably, from 1088 to 1405), was a canon of the Island of the Saints, but he does not say where this island was situated. There can be no doubt, however, that this Island of the Saints was the one situated in *Loch Ribh* [Ree], to the north of *Inis Clothrann*, and belonging to the County of Longford,—an island which still contains venerable though ruined monuments of ancient Catholic piety and taste.

It is stated by Colgan, Ware, and Doctor Lanigan, that *Inis Ainghin*, an island situated in the Upper Shannon, above Athlone, and belonging to Westmeath, was this Island of the Saints. This, however, is not correct, as that island continued

to bear its original name down to a recent period,—as it does still with the Irish-speaking neighbours, though it is called Hare Island by English speakers.

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Archdall, in his *Monasticon*, says that the Island of the Saints in *Loch Gamhna* in Longford, on which Saint Colum Cille founded his church, was anciently called *Inis Ainghin*; but I have shown in a former lecture, from indisputable authority, that the church of *Inis Ainghin*, the ruins of which remain still, was founded by the great Saint Ciaran, before the founding of his celebrated ecclesiastical city of Clonmacnois.

To return to the ANNALS OF CONNACHT. These annals, or rather the existing fragment of them, extend from the year 1224 to the year 1562.

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It is unfortunate that neither the transcriber, nor the person for whom they were transcribed, has left us any notice of the extent or history of the old vellum MS. from which they were copied. There is reason, however, to believe that they are a fragment of the book of Annals of the O'Duigenanns, of Kilronan, in the county of Roscommon, mentioned, as we have already said, by the Four Masters as having been used by them in their great compilation, and which extended from the year 900 to the year 1563.

The original of this fragment, however, was in the late Stowe collection, and passed, by purchase, into the hands of Lord Ashburnham, an English nobleman, in whose custody they are as safe from the rude gaze of historical investigators as they were when in the hands of His Grace of Buckingham, who got possession of them by accident, and sold them as part of the ducal furniture, to the prejudice of the late Mathew O'Connor, Esq., of Dublin, the true hereditary owner.

The following observations on this ancient vellum fragment will be found in the Rev. Dr. O'Connor's catalogue of the Stowe manuscripts, vol. I., no. 9, p. 73.

"Annals of Connacht, folio, parchment.—The written pages are 174, beginning with the year 1223, and ending with 1562. Ireland produces no chronicle of the affairs of Connacht to be compared with this. The narrative is in many instances circumstantial; the occurrences of the different years in every part of the province are noticed; as are the foundations of castles and churches, and the chronology is every where minutely detailed.

"There is no history of the province of Connacht; neither is there of any town or district of that most populous part of Ireland, except this unpublished chronicle.

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"This chronicle is, therefore, invaluable. Many are the inducements which it holds out to dwell upon some of its events; many the notices which would inform and instruct the people to whose country they refer. But in the vast variety of matter *hitherto unpublished*, the difficulty of making a selection, and the danger of exceeding the limits of a catalogue, forbid the attempt.

"Those who have been misled by elaborate discussions on the antiquity of Irish castles and churches, will find the errors of ponderous volumes corrected in this MS. with a brevity which leaves no room for doubt, and an accuracy which leaves none for conjecture. The pride and dogmatism of learning must bow before the 'barbarous' narrative which gives the following information".

[Here follow the dates of the creation and destruction of castles and monasteries from the year 1232 to 1507, with some particulars respecting them, after which the article concludes in the following words:]

"It is to be lamented that the first part of the Annals of Connacht are missing in this collection; they are quoted by Ussher in his *Primordia*, and confounded with the Annals of Boyle by Nicholson". [Nicholson, p. 34.]

The same learned writer gives also the following extract, original and translation, in illustration of his observations on these annals, at page 76 of the above-mentioned volume:

"A.D. 1464, *Tadhg O'Connor* died, and was buried in Roscommon, the nobility of Connacht all witnessing that interment; so that not one of the Connacht kings, down from the reign of *Cathal* of the red hand, was more honourably interred; and no wonder, since he was the best of the kings of Connacht, considering the gentleness of his reign. There was no king of Connacht after him—they afterwards obtained the title of O'Connor, and because they were not themselves steady to each other, they were crushed by lawless power and the usurpations of foreigners. May God forgive them their sins. Domine ne status nobis hoc peccatum. This extract is taken from the book of Kilronan, which has the approbation of the Four Masters annexed to it, by me *Cathal O'Connor* (of Belanagare), 2 August, 1728".

It is very plain from the style of this article, in the Gaedhlic of Mr. O'Connor of Belanagare, that it was an abstract of the original record of this event, made by himself, and this will appear more decidedly from the following translation of the entire article, made by me from the copy of the book which he had then before him, which he calls the Annals of Kilronan, and which we have now, under the name of the Annals of Connacht:

“A.D. 1464. *Tadhg* O’Conor, half-king of Connaght, mortuus est on the Saturday after first Lady Day in autumn, et sepultus in Roscommon, so honourably and nobly by the *Sil Muiredhaigh*, such as no king before him, of the race of *Cathal* of the Red Hand, for a long time before had been. Where their cavalry and gallowglasses were in full armour around the corpse of the high king in the same state as if they were going to battle; where their green levies were in battle array, and the men of learning and poetry, and the women of the *Sil Muiredhaigh* were in countless flocks following him. And countless were the alms of the church on that day for the [good of the] corpse [soul] of the high king, of cows, and horses, and money. And he had seen in a vision Michael [the Archangel] leading him to judgment”. [See original in APPENDIX, No. LX.]

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The Annals of *Loch Cé*, which have been erroneously called the Annals of Kilronan, dispose of this article in three lines, recording merely the death, at this year, of “*Tadhg* the son of *Torlogh Roe* O’Conor, half-king of Connaght, a man the most intelligent and talented in Connaght, in his own time”. [See original in APPENDIX, No. LXI.]

It was from this man’s mausoleum that the stones with sculptured gallowglasses were procured for the Antiquarian Department of the late Great Irish Exhibition (1853). They have been again very properly restored to their original place; but surely some individual or society ought to procure casts of them for our public museums.

And here, before we pass from this remarkable extract, can we fail to be struck by the feeling terms in which the venerable Charles O’Conor sighs for the fallen fortunes of his house and family, and sighs the more, as their unfaithfulness to each other was the cause of their decay and of their subjection, and that of their country, to a comparatively contemptible foreign foe? This is a singular admission on the part of the best Irish historian of his time,—but it is a fact capable of positive historical demonstration, even from these very annals,—that the downfall of the Irish monarchy and of Irish independence was owing more to the barbarous selfishness of the house of O’Conor of Connaght, and their treachery towards each other, with all the disastrous consequences of that treachery to the country at large, than to any other cause either within or without the kingdom of Ireland.

It must appear very clear, from the extract we have quoted from Mr. O’Conor, that the Annals of Kilronan, from which he made it,—the very book mentioned by the Four Masters,—was in existence in some condition, and in his possession, so late

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as the year 1728. And as Mr. O'Connor's books were not scattered during his own long life, nor until the chief part of them were carried to Stowe by his grandson, the late Rev. Charles O'Connor, it can scarcely admit of doubt that the vellum book, which the latter writer describes as part of this collection in the Stowe catalogue, must be the book of Kilronan from which the former made the extract.

Those Annals, according to the Testimonium to the Annals of the Four Masters, extended from the year 900 to the year 1563. How the first three hundred years of these annals could have disappeared, we have now no means of ascertaining; but it is clear that they were missing at the time that O'Gorman made his transcript, else he would have copied them with the remainder of the book.

The following notices, in English, appear in the copy of these annals in the Royal Irish Academy, in the handwriting, I think, of Theophilus O'Flannagan.

On the fly-leaf of the first volume (there are two volumes), we find this entry:—"The Annals of Connacht, transcribed from the original in the possession of Charles O'Connor of Belanagar, Esq., of the house of O'Connor Dun, at the expense of the Chevalier Thomas O'Gorman, Anno Domini 1783".

Of the year 1378 there remains but the date and one line, with the following notice, in the same English hand: "N.B. The remainder of this Annal, together with the years 1379, 1380, 1381, 1382, 1383, 1384, are wanting to the Annals of Connacht, all to the following fragment of the year 1384, but they may be filled from the Four Masters, who have transcribed the above Annals".

Again, at what appears to be the end of the year 1393, the following notice is found in the same English hand: "N.B. The years 1394, 1395, 1396, 1397, are wanting in the original, but may be filled from the Four Masters".

And, again, at the end of the year 1544, we find this notice in the same English hand: "N.B. Here end the Annals of Connacht, the following annal (1562) has been inserted by a different hand".

The first of these notices is sufficient to show that this was the same book from which Charles O'Connor made the extract at the year 1464, and he says that that was the Book of Kilronan, with the approbation of the Four Masters appended to it; and it appears from the third or last notice, that not only had the first three hundred years disappeared from the book, but also the years from 1544 to 1563, the last year in it, according to the Four Masters.

It may, however, be doubted whether the Four Masters did not count the years in this book, from the first to the last, without pausing to notice any defect, or number of defects, in it, and that the last year of it in their time was the year 1563. We believe that the Annals of *Senait* Mac Manus, now known as the Annals of Ulster, had, when in their hands, two deficiencies, one of them greater than the defect here between 1544 and 1562, and that they take no notice whatever of it.

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ANNALS OF
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At what time local annals came to receive provincial names—such as the Annals of Ulster, the Annals of Connacht, etc.—I cannot discover. Such names, as far as I recollect, are only found in the works of Ussher, Ware, and their followers; the Four Masters do not distinguish by provincial names any of the old chronicles from which they compiled, and indeed it would be absurd if they had done so, as it might happen that any or each of the provinces might have several books of annals, none of which would be exclusively devoted to the records of provincial transactions. Finding this book, therefore, known as the Annals of Connacht, is no evidence whatever of its not being the Book of Kilronan, or any other of the old chronicles mentioned by the Four Masters, with which it may be found to agree in extent.

The following passage from the Rev. Dr. O'Connor's Stowe catalogue will show, among a thousand others, how cautious we ought to be in receiving, as facts, opinions and observations on subjects of this difficult kind, written hurriedly, or without examination. In describing volume No. 3 of the Stowe collection of Irish manuscripts, page 50 of the catalogue, the writer says:

“Folio 50. An Irish chronicle of the kings of Connaught, from the arrival of Saint Patrick, with marginal notes by Mr. O'Connor of Belanagar, written in 1727. This chronicle begins from the arrival of Saint Patrick, and ends with 1464. It was transcribed from the ancient manuscript of the Church of Kilronan, called ‘The Book of Kilronan’, to which the Four Masters affixed their approbation in their respective hands, as stated in this copy, folio 28”.

Now it is plain that the reverend doctor has added to the words of his grandfather here, or that the latter, which is very improbable, wrote what was not the fact,—namely, that he drew this chronicle of Connacht kings, from the coming of Saint Patrick to the year 1464, from the Book of Kilronan, since we have it on the authority of the Four Masters, that this book, not of the church of Kilronan, but of the O'Duigenann's of Kilronan, went no further back than the year 900, or nearly 500 years after the coming of Saint Patrick.

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To sum up, then, it would seem that this old manuscript in the Stowe collection, must be a fragment of one of two books which the Four Masters had in their possession, namely, the Book of the O'Mulconrys, which came from the earliest times down to the year 1505, and which was, probably, added to afterwards, like the Annals of Ulster, down to its present conclusion; or the Book of the O'Duigenanns, of Kilronan; and if the elder O'Connor was correctly informed, and that he is correctly reported by his grandson, it was without any doubt the latter. We must observe, however, that the elder O'Connor, in his list of his own MSS., where he calls this book the Annals of Connacht, speaks of it as compiled in the Cistercian Abbey of Boyle.

It is remarkable too, that we find in this book, at the end of the year 1410, the following entry: "Marianus filius Tathei O'Beirne submersis est on the 14th of the kalends October. Patin qui scripsit". Now there is little doubt that this "Patin" was *Padín* [Padeen] O'Mulconry, the poet, who died in the year 1506.

Again, we find the name of Nicholas O'Mulconry at the end of the year 1544, in such a position as to induce the belief that he was the writer of the preceding annal; or at least, as in the preceding case, of the concluding part of it. So that if the elder O'Connor be correct in his own written words, this book really consists of the Annals of Boyle, or else a fragment of the Book of the O'Mulconrys: but that book came down but to the year 1505. Had we the original manuscript to examine, it could be easily seen whether these were strange insertions or not; and I only desire to put these facts on record here from O'Gorman's transcript, hoping that they may be found hereafter useful to some more favoured and accomplished investigator.

To some of my hearers, the minute examination I have thought it necessary to make before them, of the identity and authority of the several important manuscripts which have engaged our attention, may, perhaps, have seemed tedious. Yet it is not merely for the sake of thus recording in a permanent shape the information which I have collected on these subjects, that I have taken this course. It is chiefly because the earnest student in this now almost untrodden path of historical inquiry (and I hope there are many among my hearers who desire to become earnest students of their country's history), will find in the examples I am endeavouring to trace for him, of the mode in which alone our subject must be investigated, the best introduction to a serious study of it. And it is only by such careful canvass of authorities, by such jealous search into the materials which have

been handed down to us, that we can ever hope to separate the true from the false, and to lay a truly sound and reliable foundation for the superstructure of a complete History of Erin. For the present, you will remember, I am occupied in giving you an account of the chief collections of annals or chronicles in which the skeleton of the events of Gaedhlic History is preserved with greater or less completeness; and that you may understand the value and extent of the reliable records of this kind that remain to us, it is the more necessary that I should go into some details, because there is no published account of, or guide to, this immense mass of historical materials. But I shall not neglect to point out to you also, how these dry records may be used in the construction of a true history, as vivid in its pictures of life, as accurate and trustworthy in its records of action. And before this short course terminates, I hope to satisfy you that collateral materials exist also in rich abundance, for the illustration and completion of that history in a way fully as interesting to the general Irish reader as to the mere philologist or antiquarian.

LECT. V.

The Annals
as materials
of history.

LECTURE VI.

[Delivered June 26, 1856.]

The Annals (continued). 7. The *Chronicum Scotorum* of Duaid Mac Firbis. Of Mac Firbis, his life and death, and his works. 8. The Annals of *Lecain*. Of the Story of Queen *Gormlaith*. 9. The Annals of Clonmacnois.

IF we followed exactly a chronological order, the next great record which should claim our attention would be the Annals of the Four Masters; but the importance and extent of that immense work demand, at least, the space of an entire lecture; and I shall, accordingly, devote the greater part of the present to the consideration of an almost contemporary compilation,—the last but one of those I have already named to you,—the *CHRONICUM SCOTORUM* of the celebrated Duaid Mac Firbis (*Dubhaltach Mac Fírbhisigh*).

Of this chronicle there are three copies known to me to be in existence. One, the autograph, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin; and two in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. Of the latter, one is in the handwriting of John Conroy, whose name has been mentioned in a former lecture, in connection with this tract and the Annals of Tighernach; the second is a copy lately made in Cork, by Paul O'Longan, from what source I am not able to say with certainty, but I believe it to have been from a copy made by his grandfather, Michael O'Longan, in Dublin, about the year 1780; and if I am correct in this opinion, there are four copies in Ireland, besides any that the present O'Longans may have made and sold in England.

This chronicle has been already mentioned in our account of the Annals of Tighernach, and as nothing of its history is known to me but what can be gathered from the book itself, and the hand in which the autograph (or Trinity College copy) is written, I proceed without further delay to the consideration of that manuscript.

The Trinity College MS. is written on paper of foolscap size, like that upon which the Annals of Tighernach in the same volume are written, but apparently not so old. It is in the bold and most accurate hand of *Dubhaltach* (sometimes called Duaid, Duaid, or Dudley) Mac Firbis, the last of a long line of historians and chroniclers of *Lecain Mic Fhírbhisigh*, in the barony of *Tir-Fhiachradh*, or Tireragh, in the county of Sligo.

Duald Mac Firbis appears to have been intended for the hereditary profession of an antiquarian and historian, or for that of the *Fenechas* or ancient native laws of his country (now improperly called the Brehon Laws). To qualify him for either of these ancient and honourable professions, and to improve and perfect his education, young Mac Firbis appears at an early age to have passed into Munster, and to have taken up his residence in the School of law and history, then kept by the Mac Ægans, of Lecain, in Ormond, in the present county of Tipperary. He studied also for some time, either before or after this, but I believe after, in Burren, in the present county of Clare, at the not less distinguished literary and legal school of the O'Davorens; where we find him, with many other young Irish gentlemen, about the year 1595, under the presidency of Donnell O'Davoren.

LECT. VI.

Of Duald
Mac Firbis.

The next place in which we meet Mac Firbis is in the college of Saint Nicholas, in the ancient town of Galway; where he compiled his large and comprehensive volume of Pedigrees of ancient Irish and Anglo-Norman families, in the year 1650.

The autograph of this great compilation is now in the possession of the Earl of Roden, and a fac-simile copy of it was made by me for the Royal Irish Academy in the year 1836. Of this invaluable work, perhaps the best and shortest description that I could present you with, will be the simple translation of the Title prefixed to it by the author, which runs as follows [See original in APPENDIX, No. LXII.]:

The Book of
Pedigrees of
Mac Firbis.

“The Branches of Relationship and the Genealogical Ramifications of every Colony that took possession of Erinn, traced from this time up to Adam (excepting only those of the Fomorians, Lochlanns, and Saxon-Galls, of whom we, however, treat, as they have settled in our country); together with a Sanctilogium, and a Catalogue of the Monarchs of Erinn; and finally, an Index, which comprises, in alphabetical order, the surnames and the remarkable places mentioned in this book, which was compiled by *Dubhaltach Mac Firbhisigh* of Lecain, 1650.

“Although the above is the customary way of giving titles to books at the present time, we will not depart from the following of our ancestors, the ancient summary custom, because it is the plainest; thus:

“The place, time, author, and cause of writing this book, are:—the place, the College of St. Nicholas, in Galway; the time, the time of the religious war between the Catholics of Ireland and the Heretics of Ireland, Scotland, and England, particularly the year 1650; the person or author, *Dubhaltach*, the son of *Gilla Isa Mór Mac Firbhisigh*, historian, etc., of Lecain Mac Firbis, in Tireragh, on the Moy; and the cause of

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writing the book is, to increase the glory of God, and for the information of the people in general”.

It was to Dr. Petrie that the Council of the Royal Irish Academy entrusted the care of having the copy of this book made, which I have just alluded to; and, afterwards, on the occasion of laying that copy before them, he read an able paper, which is published in the eighteenth volume of the Transactions of the Academy, on the character and historic value of the work, and on the little that was known of the learned author's history.

Of the death
of Duaid
Mac Firbis.

In the course of his remarks, this accomplished writer says: “To these meagre facts I can only add that of his death, which, as we learn from Charles O'Connor, was tragical,—for this last of the Mac Firbises was unfortunately murdered at Dunflin, in the county of Sligo, in the year 1670. The circumstances connected with this event were known to that gentleman, but a proper respect for the feelings of the descendents of the murderer, who was a gentleman of the country, prevented him from detailing them. They are, however, still remembered in the district in which it occurred, but I will not depart from the example set me, by exposing them to public light”.

It was quite becoming Dr. Petrie's characteristic delicacy of feeling to follow the cautious silence of Mr. O'Connor in relation to this fearful crime. Now, however, there can be no offence or impropriety towards any living person, in putting on record, in a few words, the brief and simple facts of the cause and manner of this murder, as preserved in the living local tradition of the country.

Mac Firbis was, at that time, under the ban of the penal laws, and, consequently, a marked and almost defenceless man in the eye of the law, whilst the friends of the murderer enjoyed the full protection of the constitution. He must have been then past his eightieth year, and he was, it is believed, on his way to Dublin, probably to visit Robert, the son of Sir James Ware. He took up his lodgings for the night at a small house in the little village of Dun Flin, in his native county. While sitting and resting himself in a little room off the shop, a young gentleman, of the Crofton family, came in, and began to take some liberties with a young woman who had care of the shop. She, to check his freedom, told him that he would be seen by the old gentleman in the next room; upon which, in a sudden rage, he snatched up a knife from the counter, rushed furiously into the room, and plunged it into the heart of Mac Firbis. Thus it was that, at the hand of a wanton assassin, this great scholar closed his long career,—the last of the regularly educated and most accomplished masters of the history, antiquities, and laws and language of ancient Erinn.

But to return

Besides his important genealogical work, Mac Firbis compiled two others of even still greater value, which unfortunately are not now known to exist: namely, a Glossary of the Ancient Laws of Erinn; and a Biographical Dictionary of her ancient writers and most distinguished literary men. Of the former of these, I have had the good fortune to discover a fragment in the library of the Dublin University (class H. 5. 30); but of the latter, I am not aware that any trace has been discovered. There are five other copies of ancient glossaries in Mac Firbis's handwriting preserved in the Dublin University library (all in H. 2. 15). Of these, one is a copy of Cormac's Glossary, another a copy of his tutor Donnell O'Davoren's own Law Glossary, compiled by him about the year 1595; besides which, separate fragments of three Derivative Glossaries, as well as a fragment of an ancient Law Tract, with the text, gloss, and commentary properly arranged and explained. So that in all there are six glossaries, or fragments of glossaries, in his handwriting in T.C.D. It is in the introduction to his great book of Genealogies that he states that he had written or compiled a Dictionary of the "Brehon Laws", in which he had explained them extensively; and also a catalogue of the writings and writers of ancient Erinn; but, with the exception of the fragments just referred to, these two important works are now unknown. [And I may here mention, that I have copied out these precious fragments of his own compilation in a more accessible form, for the Dublin University.] Besides these MSS. at home, I may mention that there is in the British Museum also a small quarto book, containing a rather modern Martyrology, or Litany of the Saints, in verse, chiefly in Mac Firbis's hand.

Mac Firbis does not seem to have neglected the poetic art either, for I have in my own possession two poems, of no mean pretensions, written by him on the *O'Sechnasaigh* (O'Shaughnessys) of Gort, about the year 1650.

Of Mac Firbis's translations from the earlier Annals we have now no existing trace. That he did translate largely and generally we can well understand, from the following remarks of Harris in his edition of Ware's Bishops, page 612, under the head of Tuam:—

"One John was consecrated about the year 1441. [Sir James Ware declares he could not discover when he died; and adds, that some called him John de Burgo, but that he could not answer for the truth of that name.] But both these particulars are cleared up, and his immediate successor, named by Dudley Firbisse, an amanuensis, whom Sir James Ware em-

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Of the various works of Leald Mac Firbis.

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Mac Firbis.

ployed in his house, to translate and collect for him from the Irish MSS., one of whose pieces begins thus, viz.: ‘This translation began was by Dudley Furbisse, in the house of Sir James Ware, in Castle Street, Dublin, 6th of November, 1666’, which was twenty-four days before the death of the said knight. The annals or translation which he left behind him, begin in the year 1443, and end in 1468. I suppose the death of his patron put a stop to his further progress. Not knowing from whence he translated these annals, wherever I have occasion to quote them, I mention them under the name of Dudley Furbisse”.

Again under the head of Richard O’Ferrall, bishop of Ardagh, page 253, Harris writes:

“In MS. annals, intitled the Annals of Furbissy (not those of Gelasy [*Gilla Isa*] Mac Furbissy, who died in 1301, but the collection or translation of one Dudley Furbissy), I find mention made of Richard, bishop of Ardagh, and that he was son to the Great Dean, Fitz Daniel Fitz John Golda O’Fergaill, and his death placed there under the year 1444”.

Of those Annals of *Gilla Isa* (or Gillisa) Mac Furbis of Lecan, who died in 1301, we have no trace now; it is probable that they were the Annals of Lecan mentioned by the Four Masters as having come into their hands when their compilation from other sources was finished, and from which they added considerably to their text.

Of Duaid Mac Furbis’s translation, extending from the year 1443 to 1468, there are three copies extant, one in the British Museum, classed as “Clarendon 68”, which is, I believe, in the translator’s own handwriting. The second copy is in the library of Trinity College, Dublin [class F. 1. 18]. The third copy is in Harris’s collections in the library of the Royal Dublin Society; it is in Harris’s own hand, and appears to have been copied from the Trinity College copy, with corrections of some of the former transcriber’s inaccuracies.

The following memorandum, prefixed to a list of Irish bishops, made for Sir James Ware, and now preserved in the manuscript above referred to in the British Museum, will enable us to form some idea of the sources, the only true ones, from which this list has been drawn.

“The ensuing bishops’ names are collected out of several Irish ancient and modern manuscripts, viz.: of *Gilla-isa* Mac Furbissy, written before the year 1397 (it is he that wrote the *greate Booke of Leackan Mac Furbissy*, now kept in Dublin), and out of others the *Mac Furbissy Annals*, out of saints’ calendars and genealogies also, for the Right Worshipful and ever honoured Sir James Ware, knight, and one of his Majesties Privie Council,

and Auditor General of the Kingdom of Ireland. This collection is made by Dudley Firbisse, 1655".—p. 17.

These translated annals have been edited by Dr. John O'Donovan, and published in the first volume of the Miscellany of the Archæological Society, in the year 1846.

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Of the various works of Duaid Mac Firbis.

Mac Firbis' was of no ordinary or ignoble race, being certainly descended from *Dathi*, the last pagan monarch of Erin, who was killed by lightning, at the foot of the Alps, in Anno Domini 428. At what time the Mac Firbises became professional and hereditary historians, genealogists, and poets, to various princes in the province of Connacht, we now know not; but we know that from some remote period down to the descent of Oliver Cromwell upon this country, they held a handsome patrimony at *Lecain Mac Firbis*, on the banks of the River *Muaidh*, or *Moy*, in the county of Sligo, on which a castle was built by the brothers *Ciothruadh*, and James, and John *óg*, their cousin, in 1560. So early as the year 1279, the Annals of the Four Masters record the death of *Gilla Isa* (or Gillisa) *Mór Mac Firbis*, "chief historian of *Tir-Fiachrach*" [in the present county of Sligo.] Again, at the year 1376, they record the death of Donogh Mac Firbis, "an historian". And again, at the year 1379, they record the death of Firbis Mac Firbis, "a learned historian".

The great Book of *Lecain*, now in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, was compiled in the year 1416, by *Gilla Isa* [or Gillisa] *Mór*, the direct ancestor of Duaid Mac Firbis; and the latter quotes in his work (p. 66), not only the Annals of Mac Firbis, but also the *Leabhar Gabhala*, or Book of Invasions of Ireland, of his grandfather, *Dubhaltach* [or Dudley], as an authority for the Battle of *Magh Tuireadh* [Moytura], and the situation of that place; and at p. 248, the Dumb Book of James Mac Firbis for the genealogy of his own race. There is in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, a large and important volume of fragments of various ancient manuscripts (classed H. 2, 16), part of which professes to have been written by Donogh Mac Firbis in the year 1391; and in another place, in a more modern hand, it is written, that this is the Yellow Book of *Lecain*.

Dubhaltach Mac Firbis, in his introduction to his great genealogical book, states that his family were poets, historians, and genealogists to the great families of the following ancient Connacht chieftaincies, viz.: Lower Connacht, *Ui Fiachrach* of the Moy, *Ui Amhalgaidh*, *Cera*, *Ui Fiachrach* of *Aidhne*, and *Eachtgha*, and to the Mac Donnells of Scotland.

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Mac Firbis.

The Mac Firbis, in right of being the hereditary poet and historian of his native territory of *Ui Fiachrach* of the Moy (in the present county of Sligo), took an important part in the inauguration of the O'Dowda, the hereditary chief of that country. The following curious account of this ceremony will more clearly show the position of the Mac Firbis on these great occasions; it is translated from a little tract in the Book of Lecan, in the library of the Royal Irish Academy.

"The privilege of the first drink [at all assemblies] was given to *O'Caomhain* by O'Dowda, and *O'Caomhain* was not to drink until he first presented it [the drink] to the poet, that is, to Mac Firbis; also the arms and battle steed of O'Dowda, after his proclamation, were given to *O'Caomhain*, and the arms and dress of *O'Caomhain* to Mac Firbis; and it is not competent ever to call him the O'Dowda until *O'Caomhain* and Mac Firbis have first called the name, and until Mac Firbis carries the body of the wand over O'Dowda; and every clergyman, and every representative of a church, and every bishop, and every chief of a territory present, all are to pronounce the name after *O'Caomhain* and Mac Firbis. And there is one circumstance, should O'Dowda happen to be in *Tir Amhalghaidh* [Tirawley], he is to go to *Amhalghaidh's Carn* to be proclaimed, so as that all the chiefs be about him; but should he happen to be at the *Carn* of the Daughter of Brian, he is not to go over [to *Amhalghaidh's Carn*] to be proclaimed; neither is he to come over from *Amhalghaidh's Carn*, for it was *Amhalghaidh*, the son of *Fiachra Ealgach*, that raised that *Carn* for himself, in order that he himself, and all those who should attain to the chieftainship after him, might be proclaimed by the name of lord upon it. And it is in this *Carn* that *Amhalghaidh* himself is buried, and it is from him it is named. And every king of the race of *Fiachra* that shall not be thus proclaimed, shall have shortness of life, and his seed and generation shall not be illustrious, and he shall never see the kingdom of God".—[See original in APPENDIX, No. LXIII.]

This curious little tract, with topographical illustrations, will be found in the volume on the Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, among the important publications of the Irish Archaeological Society.

So much, then, for the compiler of the chronicle which I am now about to describe, the value of which, as a historical document, has only, of late years, come to be properly understood.

The CHRONICUM SCOTORUM, which, as I have already stated, is written on paper, begins with the following title and short preface, by the compiler.—[See original in APPENDIX, No. LXIV.]

Of the
CHRONICUM
SCOTORUM.

“The Chronicle of the Scots (or Irish) begins here.—

“Understand, O reader, that it is for a certain reason, and, particularly, to avoid tediousness, that our intention is to make only a short abstract and compendium of the history of the Scots in this book, omitting the lengthened details of the historical books; wherefore it is that we beg of you not to criticize us on that account, as we know that it is an exceedingly great deficiency”.

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CHRONICUM
SCOTORUM.

The compiler then passes rapidly over the three first ages of the world, the earlier colonizations of Ireland, the death of the Partholanian colonists at Tallaght (in this county of Dublin); and the visit of Niul, the son of Fenius *Farsaidh*, to Egypt, to teach the languages after the confusion of Babel; giving the years of the world according to the Hebrews and the Septuagint.

This sketch extends to near the end of the first column of the third page, where the following curious note in the original hand occurs:—

“Ye have heard from me, O readers, that I do not like to have the labour of writing this copy, and it is therefore that I beseech you, through true friendship, not to reproach me for it (if you understand what it is that causes me to be so); for it is certain that the Mac Fimbis are not in fault”.—[See original in APPENDIX, No. LXV.]

What it was that caused Mac Fimbis's reluctance to make this abridged copy of the old book or books before him, at this time, it is now difficult to imagine. The writing is identical with that in his book of genealogies, which was made by him in the year 1650; and this copy must have been made about the same disastrous period of our history, when the relentless rage of Oliver Cromwell spread ruin and desolation over all that was noble, honourable, and virtuous in our land. It is very probable that it was about this time that Sir James Ware conceived the idea of availing himself of Mac Fimbis's extensive and profound antiquarian learning; and as that learned, and, I must say, well intentioned writer, was then concerned only with what related to the ecclesiastical history of Ireland, this was probably the reason that Mac Fimbis offers those warm apologies for having been compelled to pass over the “long and tedious” account of the early colonizations of this country, and pass at one step to our Christian era. (We know that Ware quotes many of our old annals as sterling authorities in his work. As these were all in the Gaelic language, and as Ware had no acquaintance with that language, it follows clearly enough, that he must have had some competent person to assist him to read those annals, and whose business it was doubtless

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Of the
CHRONICUM
SCOTORUM.

to select and translate for him such parts of them as were deemed by him essential to his design.) Excepting for some such purpose as this, I can see no reason whatever why Mac Firis should apply himself, and with such apparent reluctance, to make this compendium from some ancient book or books of annals belonging to his family. It appears, indeed, from his own words, that it was poverty or distress that caused him to pass over the record of what he deemed the ancient glory of his country, and to draw up a mere utilitarian abstract for some person to whose patronage he was compelled to look for support in his declining years; and it is gratifying to observe the care he takes to record that his difficulties were not caused by any neglect on the part of his family, who were, as we know, totally ruined and despoiled of their ancestral property by the tide of robbers and murderers which the commonwealth of England poured over defenceless Erin at this period.

To return to the *Chronicum*. Continuing his abstract, the compiler passes rapidly over the history of the early colonization of Ireland to the year of our Lord 375, that being the year in which St. Patrick was born. This date is written in the back margin in the hand of Mr. Charles O'Connor of Belanagar, and from that to the year 432 there is no date given.

The date 432 is written in Roman numerals (in Gaedhlic characters, of course) in the original hand, and under it the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland from Rome, on his apostolic mission, by the direction of Pope Celestine. The arrival of the great apostle is given precisely in the same words as in the annals of Ulster.

From this to the year of our Lord 1022, no date appears in the original hand, nor even after that, except occasionally the year of the world. The latter is set down at the end of the year of our Lord 1048, as 5,000 years, according to the Hebrew computation.

The next dates that appear are 453, 454, 455, 456, 458, all in the margin; and all these are, I believe, as well as the remaining dates, all through to the end, in the handwriting of Roderick O'Flaherty, the author of the *Ogygia*.

No date, however, is inserted from the year 458 to the year 605; but from this year forward the dates appear regularly in the margin.

A large deficiency occurs at the year 722, where the compiler has written the following memorandum:—

“The breasts [or fronts] of two leaves of the old book, out of which I write this, are wanting here, and I leave what is

before me of this page for them. I am *Dubhaltach Firbisigh*". LECT. VI.
—[See original in APPENDIX, No. LXVI.]

Unfortunately, this defect occurs, by some unknown chance, not only to the extent of the loss here noticed, but as far as from the year 722 to the year 805.

It is remarkable that the defect in the annals of Tighernach should begin nearly with the same year (718); but it extends much further, to the year 1068.

The order and arrangement of the events recorded, and the events themselves, often, though not always, agree with the annals of Tighernach. The details are brief and condensed, but they so often convey scraps of rare additional information, as to leave us reason to regret the unknown circumstances which caused the writer to leave out, as he said he did, the "tediousness" of the old historical books.

The *Chronicum* comes down, in its present form, only to the year 1135; and, whether it was ever carried down with more ample details to the year 1443, when the compiler's translations for Ware commence, is a question which probably will never be cleared up. Such as it is, however, and as far as it goes, there can be no doubt of its being one of the most authentic existing copies of, or compilations from, more ancient annals.

I have already stated that this manuscript is in the well-known hand of its compiler, Duaid Mac Firbis, and that it was written, probably, about the year 1650; yet hear what the Rev. Charles O'Connor says of it, in the Stowe catalogue:

"Some have confounded this chronicle with Tighernach's, because it is frequently called *Chronicon Cluanense*, and was written in Tighernach's Monastery of Cluainmacnois". He then continues: "The Stowe copy now before us was carefully transcribed from the Dublin copy, by the compiler of this catalogue, from that Dublin MS., which is quite a modern transcript, being the only copy he could find".—[Stowe Cat. vol. i. p. 201, No. 63.]

How clearly do these words show that the reverend writer, though otherwise a sufficiently good scholar, was totally incompetent to pronounce a correct opinion on the age of any Gaedhlic MS., from the character of the writing, or from an acquaintance with the peculiar hands of the different writers who preceded him, excepting, indeed, that of his own grandfather, Charles O'Connor, of Belanagar. Yet there is no man more dogmatic in his decisions on the dates of manuscripts and compositions,—his two most favourite periods being, we may observe in passing, "the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries", and "the reign of James the First". Indeed, I am obliged to say, that his readings and renderings of text, as well as his translations of Irish, are as in-

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accurate, as his historical deductions, and even positive statements, are often unfounded, however arrogantly advanced.

In connexion with this fragment of the Lecain collection of annals, I may mention that there is a short tract of annals preserved in the great Book of Lecain, now in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, the compilation of which was finished in the year 1416. These annals are without date, and some of the items are out of chronological order. They begin with the battle of *Uchbadh*, which was fought in the year 733, at a place of that name in the county of Kildare, between *Aedh Allan*, the monarch of Ireland, and the kings and chiefs of Leinster, in which the latter were completely overthrown, and their whole country devastated and nearly depopulated.

These chronicles come down to the treacherous death of the celebrated Tiernan O'Rourke, king of *Breifné* [Brefny], at the hands of the Anglo-Normans, in the year 1172. The events recorded, briefly of course, are the reigns, battles, and deaths of the monarchs and provincial kings of Ireland; the accessions and deaths of the bishops and abbots of Armagh; and the more unusual atmospheric phenomena, such as remarkable seasons and other extraordinary occurrences, etc.

There are several little additions, among the items of information recorded in these annals, which are not to be found in the Annals of the Four Masters; as, for instance, in recording the death of the monarch *Maelseachlainn*, or Malachy the Second (who died Anno Domini 1022), they give a list of five-and-twenty battles gained by him, of which the Four Masters mention but four. In connection with these battles also, many topographical names are preserved, not to be found in any of the other existing books of annals. And I may remark in conclusion, that the annals contained in this short tract are, as regards date of transcription, the oldest annals that we have in Ireland.

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I shall close this lecture with some account of one other book of annals, to which I have already shortly referred, and which, though only remaining to us in the English language, is not without its interest and value. I allude to the book tolerably well known under the name of the ANNALS OF CLONMACNOIS, the only copy or version of which known to be extant is an English translation made from the Irish in the year 1627, by *Connla Mac Echagan*, of Lismoyne, in the county of Westmeath, for his friend and kinsman, *Torlogh Mac Cochlan*, Lord of Delvin, in that county.

This translation is written in the quaint style of the Elizabethan period, but by a man who seems to have well understood

the value of the original Gaedhlic phraseology, and rendered it every justice, as far as we can determine in the absence of the original. It was believed,—and, indeed, there is reason still to believe it,—that the original book was preserved in the possession of the family of the late Sir Richard Nagle, who was descended from the translator by the mother's side; however, on the death of the worthy baronet, a few years ago, no trace of it could be found among the family papers, though other ancient memorials of the house of Mac Echagan were preserved among them. It was rumoured in the country, that this old book contained, or might possibly contain, some records of events that it would be as well for the Mac Echagan family not to have brought before the world; and that for this reason, the female representatives of the family had for some generations kept the volume out of sight. I had the honour of a slight acquaintance with the late Sir Richard Nagle, which I improved so far as to mention this tradition to him. He did not deny the correctness of the rumour, as far as the keeping out of sight of the book went; but he had no knowledge of any particular reason, more than a laudable care for what was looked upon as a remarkable national record, and a witness to the respectability and identity of the family. Indeed, the impression left on my mind by my conversations on this subject with Sir Richard was, that the book had been in the custody of his mother, but that that respected lady cherished so closely this relic of her ancient name as to be reluctant even to show it, much less to part with it for any consideration whatever.

There is nothing in this book (so far as we can judge in the absence of the original) to show why it should be called the Annals of Clonmacnois. We have already seen, and we shall have occasion to touch on the same fact again, that the Annals of Clonmacnois used by the Four Masters, came down but to the year 1227, whereas this book comes down to the year 1408.

The records contained in it are brief, but they sometimes preserve details of singular interest, not to be found in any of our other annals. As a specimen of these additions—the most interesting of them, perhaps—let me take the following passage, which occurs at the year 905, but which should be placed at the year 913; I give it in the exact phraseology of the original:—

“ Neal Glunduffe was king [of Ireland] three years, and was married to the Lady Gormphley, daughter of King Flann, who was a very fair, virtuous, and learned demosell; was first married to Cormacke Mac Coulenan, King of Munster; secondly to King Neal, by whom she had a son, called Prince Donnell, who was drowned; upon whose death she made many pitiful and

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learned ditties in Irish; and lastly, she was married to Cearbhall Mac Morgan, King of Leinster. After all which royal marriages, she begged from door to door, forsaken of all her friends and allies, and glad to be relieved by her inferiors”.

The order of *Gormlaith's* marriages is not accurately given in this entry. Let us correct the entry from another and more reliable authority, that of the Book of Leinster.

It is true that *Gormlaith* was first married, or rather betrothed, to the celebrated king, bishop, and scholar, Cormac Mac Cullennan, King of Munster; but that marriage was never consummated, as the young king changed his mind, and restored the princess to her father, with all her fortune and dowry, while he himself took holy orders. He (as you are aware) became subsequently Archbishop of Cashel, and was, as you may remember, the author of the celebrated Saltair of Cashel, as well as of the learned compilation since known as Cormac's Glossary.

After having been thus deserted by King Cormac, *Gormlaith* was married against her will to *Cearbhall*, King of Leinster.

Shortly afterwards, in the year 908,—probably in reality on account of the repudiation of the princess by the King of Munster, though ostensibly to assert his right to the presentation to the ancient church of *Mainister Eibhin*, now Monastereven (in the present Queen's county), which down to this time belonged to Munster,—*Flann Siona*, the father of *Gormlaith*, who was hereditary King of Meath, and then Monarch of Erin, proceeded to make war on the southern prince; and, accompanied by his son-in-law, the King of Leinster, he marched with their united forces to *Bealach Mughna* (now Ballymoon, in the south of the present county of Kildare), within two miles of the present town of Carlow. Here they were met by King Cormac at the head of the men of Munster, and a furious battle ensued between them, in which the Munstermen were defeated, and Cormac, the king and bishop, killed and beheaded on the field.

Cearbhall, King of Leinster, and husband of the princess *Gormlaith*, was badly wounded in the battle, and carried home to his palace at Naas, where he was assiduously attended to by his queen, who was scarcely ever absent from his couch. It happened that one day, when he was convalescent, but still confined to his bed, the battle of *Bealach Mughna* became the subject of their conversation. *Cearbhall* described the fight with animation, and dwelt with seemingly exuberant satisfaction on the defeat of Cormac, and the dismemberment of his body in his presence. The queen, however, who was sitting on the foot-rail of the bed, said that it was a great pity that the body of the good and holy bishop should have been unnecessarily mutilated and

desecrated; upon which the king, in a sudden fit of rage, struck her so rude a blow with his foot, as threw her headlong on the floor, by which her clothes were thrown into disorder, in the presence of all her ladies and attendants.

The queen felt highly mortified and insulted at the indignity thus offered to her, and fled to her father for protection. Her father, however, in the presence of a powerful Danish enemy in Dublin, did not choose to take any hostile steps to punish the rudeness of King *Cearbhall*, but sent his daughter back again to her husband. Not so her young kinsman, Niall *Glundubh* ["of the Black Knee"], the son of the brave *Aedh Finnliath*, King of *Aileach* [i.e. King of Ulster.] This brave prince, having heard of the indignity which had been put upon his relative, raised all the northern clans, and at their head marched to the borders of Leinster, with the intention of avenging the insult, as well as of taking the queen herself under the protection of the powerful forces of the north. Queen *Gormlaith*, however, objected to any violent measures, and only insisted on a separation from her husband, and the restoration of her dowry. She had four-and-twenty residences given to her in Leinster by *Cearbhall* on her marriage, and these he consented to confirm to her, and to release her legally from her vows as his wife. The queen being thus once more freed from conjugal ties, returned to her father's house for the third time.

After this Niall *Glundubh*, deeming that the gross conduct of *Cearbhall* to his queen, and their final separation, had legally as well as virtually dissolved their marriage, proposed for her hand to her father; but both father and daughter refused, and, for the time, she continued to reside in the court of Flann.

In the course of the following year (904), however, *Cearbhall* was killed in battle by the Danes of Dublin, under their leader *Ulbh*, and all impediments being now removed, *Gormlaith* became the wife of Niall *Glundubh*.

From this period to the year 917, we hear nothing more of Queen *Gormlaith*. Her father died in the mean time, in the year 914, and after him the young Niall *Glundubh* succeeded to the supreme throne as Monarch of Erin.

With the exception of the immortal Brian *Boroimhé*, no monarch ever wielded the sceptre, which was the sword, of Erin with more vigour, than this truly brave northern prince. His battles with the fierce and cruel Danes were incessant and bloody, and his victories many and glorious, and himself and his brave father *Aedh* were the only monarchs who ever attempted to relieve Munster of the presence of these cruel foes, before Brian. Having, in fine, hemmed in so closely the

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Danes of Meath, Dublin, and all Leinster, that they dared not move from the immediate vicinity of Dublin, he determined at last to attack them even there, in their very stronghold. With this resolve, therefore, on Wednesday, the 17th day of October, in the year 917, he marched on Dublin with a large force, and attended by several of the chiefs and princes of Meath and Oriell; but the Danes went out and met him at *Cill Mosomóg* (a place not yet identified), in the neighbourhood of the city, and a furious battle ensued, in which, unfortunately, the army of Erinn was defeated, and Niall himself was killed, with most of his attendant chiefs and an immense number of their men. And thus was the unfortunate queen *Gormlaith* for the third time left a widow. Her elder brother Conor was killed in the battle, and her younger brother *Donnchadh* succeeded her husband in the sovereignty, which he enjoyed till his death in the year 942.

Of Queen *Gormlaith's* history, during the reign of her brother, we know nothing; but, on his death, the sceptre passed away from the houses of her father and of her husband; and it is possible, or rather we may say probable, that it was then that commenced that poverty and neglect, of which she so feelingly speaks in her poems, as well as in various stray verses which have come down to us. Her misfortunes continued during the remaining five years of her life—namely, from the death of her brother, the monarch *Donnchadh*, in the year 942, to her own death in the year 947.

I should not, perhaps, have dwelt so long on the short but eventful history of the unfortunate queen *Gormlaith*, but that the translator of these annals of Clonmacnois, as they are called, falls into several mistakes about her; but, whether they be part of his original text, or only traditionary notes of his own, I cannot determine: I believe the latter to be the more probable explanation. He says, at the year 936 (which should be the year 943), that, after the death of Niall *Glundubh*, she was married to *Cearbhall*, king of Leinster; but I have taken the proper order of her marriages, and the present sketch of her history, from the Book of Leinster (a MS. of the middle of the twelfth century), as well as from an ancient copy of a most curious poem, written during her long last illness by *Gormlaith* herself, on her own life and misfortunes. In this poem she details the death of her son, who was accidentally drowned in the county Galway during his fosterage, and the subsequent death of her husband; and in it is also preserved an interesting account of her mode of living; a sketch of the more fortunate or happy part of her life; a character of Niall, of *Cearbhall*,

and of Cormac; a description of the place and mode of sepulture of Niall; and, on the whole, a greater variety of references to habits, customs, and manners, than I have found in any other piece of its kind. I have, besides this, which is a long poem, collected a few of those stray verses which *Gormlaith* composed under a variety of impulses and circumstances.

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The following short, but very curious, account of the immediate cause of her death (the date of which is given by Mac Echagan, at the year 943, by mistake for the year 948), appears to have been taken from the poem just mentioned. I quote again from the same translation of the annals of Clonmacnois:—

“Gormphly, daughter of King Flann Mac Mayleseachlyn, and queen of Ireland, died of a tedious and grievous wound, which happened in this manner: she dreamed that she saw King Niall Glunduffe; whereupon she got up and sate in her bed to behold him; whom he for anger would forsake, and leave the chamber; and as he was departing in that angry motion (as she thought), she gave a snatch after him, thinking to have taken him by the mantle, to keep him with her, and fell upon the bed-stick of her bed, that it pierced her breast, even to her very heart, which received no cure until she died thereof”.

The queen did not, however, immediately die of the injury thus strangely received. Her last illness was long and tedious, and it was during its continuance that she composed the curious poems which are still preserved, in one of which she gives an account of the manner of the wound which soon after caused her death.

I cannot do better than close my remarks on this curious volume by transcribing the translator's address and dedication to Mac Coghlan, for whom he translated it. These documents are, besides, not only very explanatory of the design and idea of the work, but in themselves so quaint, so interesting, and so suggestive, that I am persuaded you would be sorry to lose them, and they have not hitherto been published.

“A book containing all the inhabitants of Ireland since the creation of the world, until the conquest of the English, wherein is showed all the kings of Clana Neimed, Firbolg, Tuathy De danan, and the sons of Miletius of Spain: translated out of Irish into English, faithfully and well agreeing to the History de Captionibus Hiberniæ, Historia Magna, and other authentic authors. Partly discovering the year of the reigns of the said kings, with the manner of their governments, and also the deaths of divers saints of this kingdom, as died in those several reigns, with the tyrannical rule and government of the Danes for 219 years.

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“A brief catalogue of all the kings of the several races, after the coming of Saint Patrick, until Donogh Mac Bryan carried the crown to Rome, and of the kings that reigned after, until the time of the conquest of the English, in the twentieth year of the reign of Rory O'Connor, monarch of Ireland.

“Also of certain things which happened in this kingdom after the conquest of the English, until the sixth year of the reign of King Henry the Fourth, in the year of our Lord God 1408.

“To the worthy and of great expectation young gentleman, Mr. Terence Coghlan, his brother, Conell Ma Geoghegan, wisheth long health, with good success in all his affairs.

“Among all the worthy and memorable deeds of King Bryan Borowe, sometime king of this kingdom, this is not of the least account, that after that he had shaken off the intolerable yoke and bondage wherewith this land was cruelly tortured and harried by the Danes and Normans for the space of 219 years that they bore sway, and received tribute of the inhabitants in general,—and though they nor none of them ever had the name of king or monarch of the land, yet they had that power, as they executed what they pleased, and behaved themselves so cruel and pagan-like, as well towards the ecclesiastics as temporals of the kingdom, that they broke down their churches, and razed them to their very foundations, and burned their books of chronicles and prayers, to the end that there should be no memory left to their posterities, and all learning should be quite forgotten,—the said King Bryan seeing into what rudeness the kingdom was fallen, after setting himself in the quiet government thereof, and restored each one to his ancient patrimony, repaired their churches and houses of religion; he caused open schools to be kept in the several parishes to instruct their youth, which by the said long wars were grown rude and altogether illiterate; he assembled together all the nobility of the kingdom, as well spiritual as temporal, to Cashel, in Munster, and caused them to compose a book containing all the inhabitants, events, and septs, that lived in this land from the first peopling, inhabitation, and discovery thereof, after the creation of the world, until that present, which book they caused to be called by the name of the Saltair of Cashel, signed it with his own hand, together with the hands of the kings of the five provinces, and also with the hands of all the bishops and prelates of the kingdom, caused several copies thereof to be given to the kings of the provinces, with straight charge that there should be no credit given to any other chronicles thenceforth, but should be held as false, disannulled, and quite forbidden for ever. Since which time there were many septs in the

kingdom that lived by it, and whose profession it was to chronicle and keep in memory the state of the kingdom, as well for the time past, present, and to come; and now because they cannot enjoy that respect and gain by their said profession as heretofore they and their ancestors received, they set nought by the said knowledge, neglect their books, and choose rather to put their children to learn English than their own native language, inso-much that some of them suffer tailors to cut the leaves of the said books (which their ancestors held in great account), and sew them in long pieces to make their measures of, that the posterities are like to fall into more ignorance of any things which happened before their time. In the reign of the said King Bryan, and before, Ireland was well stored with learned men and schools, and that people came from all parts of Christendom to learn therein, and among all other nations that came thither, there was none so much made of nor respected with the Irish, as were the English and Welshmen, to whom they gave several colleges to dwell and learn in; [such] as to the English a college in the town of Mayo, in Connacht, which to this day is called Mayo of the English; and to the Welshmen, the town of Gallen, in the King's County, which is likewise called Gallen of the Welshmen or Wales; from whence the said two nations have brought their characters, especially the English Saxons, as by comparing the old Saxon characters to the Irish (which the Irish never changed), you shall find little or no difference at all.

"The earnest desire I understand you have, to know these things, made me to undertake the translation of the old Irish Book for you, which, by long lying shut and unused, I could hardly read, and left places that I could not read, because they were altogether grown illegible and put out; and if this my simple labour shall any way pleasure you, I shall hold myself thoroughly recompensed, and my pains well employed, which for your own reading I have done, and not for the reading of any other curious fellow that would rather carp at my phraze, than take any delight in the History; and in the meantime I bid you heartily farewell, from Léijevanchan, 20th April, Anno Domini 1627.

"Your very loving brother,

CONNELL MAGEOGHEGAN".

The translator then gives the following list of his authorities, to which I would ask your particular attention:—

"The names of the several authors whom I have taken for the book: Saint Colum Kill; St. Bohine; Calvagh O'More, Esq.; Venerable Bede; Eochye O'Flannagan, Archdean of Armagh and Clonfiachna; Gillernen Mac Conn-ne-mbocht, Archpriest of Clonvickenos; Keileachair Mac Con, alias Gorman; Eusebius;

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It is not easy to see what Mac Echagan means, when he says that he had taken these authors for this book. We have only to believe that he took from Eusebius, Marcellinus, and Bede, some items or additions, and some dates for the early part of his translations, and that he took the various readings and additions, to be found in it, from the Irish authorities to whom he refers. But, whatever his meaning may be, this is a curious list of authors to be consulted by an Irish country gentleman in the early part of the seventeenth century.

Without going back to his very earlier authorities, we may show the antiquity of the second class.

Eochaidh O'Flannagain, Archdean of Armagh and Clonfiachna, died in the year 1003. If this learned man's books came down to Mac Echagan's times, he must have had a rich treat in them indeed. These books are referred to in the following words, in the ancient book called *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, written at Clonmacnois before the year 1106. At the end of a most curious and valuable tract on the ancient pagan cemeteries of Ireland, the writer says that it was Flann, the learned professor of Monasterboice, who died in the year 1056, and *Eochaidh*, the learned, O'Kerin, that compiled this tract from the books of *Eochaidh O'Flannagain* at Armagh, and the books of Monasterboice, and other books at both places, which had disappeared at the time of making this note.

Of the books of *Gillananaemh mac Conn-na-mBocht*, Archpriest of Clonmacnois, I have never heard anything more than Mac Echagan's reference to them. Of *Ceileachair Mac Conn-na-mBocht*, I know nothing more than that the death of his son is recorded in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1106, in the following words:—" *Maelmuire*, son of the son of *Conn-na-mBocht*, was killed at *Cluainmieno* by a party of plunderers". This *Maelmuire* was the compiler or transcriber of the above mentioned *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, in which he is set down as *Maelmuire*, the son of *Ceileachair*, son of *Conn-na-mBocht*.

The two O'Mulconrys, of whom he speaks, belonged to the fourteenth century, and were poets and historians of Connacht; but it is not easy to distinguish their works now from the compositions of other members of that talented family, of the same Christian names, but of a later period.

It is much to be regretted that the original of the curious book of which I am now speaking, and which certainly existed in the early part of the last century, should be lost to us; and, conse-

quently, that we have no means of ascertaining to what extent Mac Échagan's translation is a faithful one. He appears to have drawn a little on his imagination, in his address to Mac Cochlan, where he states that it was Brian *Boroimhe* that ordered the compilation of the Saltair of Cashel. This certainly cannot be the truth, for we have the Saltair of Cashel repeatedly quoted in the Books of Ballymote and Lecan, and its authorship as repeatedly ascribed to the Holy King, Cormac Mac Cullennan, who flourished more than one hundred years before the time ascribed to that work by Mac Echagan.

It is true that Brian *Boroimhe*, after the expulsion and subjugation of the Danes, did rebuild and repair the churches and other ecclesiastical edifices which had been ruined and desecrated by the Danes; that he restored the native princes, chiefs, and people, to their ancient inheritances; established schools and colleges; caused all the ancient books that had survived the desolation and desecration of the two preceding centuries to be transcribed and multiplied; and that he fixed and established permanent family names: but, although we have an account of all this from various sources, some of them nearly contemporary with himself, we have no mention whatever of his having directed the writing of the Saltair of Cashel, or any work of its kind.

There are three copies of Mac Echagan's translation known to me to be in existence: one in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (class F. 3, 19); one in the British Museum; and one in Sir Thomas Phillips's large collection, in Worcestershire. They are all written in the hand of Teige O'Daly, and they are dated (the Dublin one at least) in the year 1684. O'Daly has prefixed some strictures on the translator, charging him with partiality for the Heremonian or northern race of Ireland, one of whom he was himself, to the prejudice of the Heberian or southern race. But O'Daly's remarks are couched in language of such a character that I do not think it necessary to allude to them farther here.

I have now completed for you a short examination of all the principal collections of Annals which may be depended on as forming the solid foundation of Irish history, with the exception of the last and greatest work of this kind, the Annals of the Four Masters of the Monastery of Donegal. That magnificent compilation shall form the subject of our next meeting, after which I shall proceed to the consideration of the other classes of historical authorities to which I have so frequently alluded in the course of the lectures I have already addressed to you.

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LECTURE VII.

[Delivered July 3, 1856.]

The Annals (continued). 10. The Annals of the Four Masters. The "Contention of the Bards". Of Michael O'Clery. Of the Chronology of the Four Masters.

IN the last lecture we examined the "*Chronicum Scotorum*", and the Annals of Clonmacnois. The next on the list, in point of compilation, and the most important of all in point of interest and historic value, are the ANNALS OF THE FOUR MASTERS.

In whatever point of view we regard these annals, they must awaken feelings of deep interest and respect; not only as the largest collection of national, civil, military, and family history ever brought together in this or perhaps any other country, but also as the final winding up of the affairs of a people who had preserved their nationality and independence for a space of over two thousand years, till their complete overthrow about the time at which this work was compiled. It is no easy matter for an Irishman to suppress feelings of deep emotion when speaking of the compilers of this great work; and especially when he considers the circumstances under which, and the objects for which, it was undertaken.

It was no mercenary or ignoble sentiment that prompted one of the last of Erinn's native princes, while the utter destruction of his property, the persecution and oppression of his creed and race, and even the general ruin of his country, were not only staring him in the face, but actually upon him,—those were not, I say, any mean or mercenary motives that induced this nobleman to determine, that, although himself and his country might sink for ever under the impending tempest, the history of that country, at least, should not be altogether lost.

In a former lecture I have observed that, after the termination of the Elizabethan wars, all, or nearly all, the Irish nobles had sunk into poverty and obscurity, had found untimely graves in their native land, or had sought another home far over the seas. It has been shown that, with the decline of these nobles and chiefs, our national literature had become paralysed, and even all but totally dead. And this was absolutely the case during more than the first quarter of the seventeenth century, and even for some time afterwards; for, although the Rev. Father Geof-

fry Keting compiled in the native language his History of Erinn, his "Three Shafts of Death", and his "Key and Shield of the Mass", between 1628 and 1640, yet so far was he from receiving countenance or patronage, that it was among the inaccessible crags and caverns of the *Gailté*, or Galtee, mountains, and among the fastnesses of his native county of Tipperary, that he wrote these works, while in close concealment to escape the wanton vengeance of a local tyrant.

Still, though the fostering care of the chief or the noble had disappeared, the native bardic spirit did not altogether die out; and about the year 1604 (apparently by some preconcerted arrangement), a discussion sprang up between *Tadhg* Mac Brody, a distinguished Irish scholar and bard of the county of Clare, and the no less distinguished poet and scholar, *Lughaidh* O'Clery of Donegall, of whom mention was made in a former lecture. The subject of this discussion, which was carried on in verse, was the relative merits and importance of the two great clan-divisions of Erinn, as represented by the Heberians in the south (that is, the O'Briens and Mac Carthys, and the other independent chiefs of Munster, the descendants of Eber), and the Heremonians of Ulster, Connacht, and Leinster (embracing the O'Neills, O'Donnells, O'Conors, Mac Murachs, etc.), who were descended from Eremon.

It is quite evident that the real object of this discussion was simply to rouse and keep alive the national feeling and family pride of such of the native nobility and gentry as still continued to hold any station of rank or fortune in the country; and, as the war of words progressed, several auxiliaries came up on both sides, and took an active part in the controversy, which thus assumed considerable importance.

This discussion, which is popularly called "The Contention of the Bards", brought into prominent review all the great events and heroic characters of Irish history from the remotest ages, and inspired the liveliest interest at the time. Indeed one of the northern auxiliaries in the controversy, *Annluan* Mac Ægan, seriously charges O'Clery with treachery, and with allowing himself to be worsted in the contest by Mac Brody, from partiality to the south, where he had received his education.

The scheme of the "Contention", however, seems to have produced little effect on the native gentry; for shortly after we find Mac Brody coming out with a very curious poem, addressed to the southern chiefs, demanding from them remuneration, according to ancient usage, for his defence of their claims to superior dignity and rank.

Whether this controversy had the desired effect of stimulat-

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ing to any extent the liberality of the remaining native Irish chiefs or not, is an inquiry beyond the scope of our present purpose; but that it tended greatly to the renewed study of our native literature, may be fairly inferred from the important Irish works which soon followed it, such as those of Keting and the O'Clerys, and of Mac Firbis.

Of Keting we shall again have to speak, and we shall now turn to a cotemporary of his, who, like himself, found the deep study of the language and history of his native land quite consistent with the strict observance and efficient discharge of the onerous duties of a Catholic priest. I allude to the celebrated friar, Michael O'Clery, the chief of the Four Masters, and the projector of the great national literary work which bears their name.

Michael O'Clery appears to have been born in Kilbarron, near Ballyshannon, in the county of Donegall, some time about the year 1580. He was descended of a family of hereditary scholars, lay and ecclesiastical, and received, we may presume, the rudiments of his education at the place of his birth.

It appears from various circumstances that in the latter part of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth century, the south of Ireland afforded a higher order of education, and greater facilities for its attainment, than the north; and we learn, therefore (from Michael O'Clery's *Gaethlic Glossary*, published by him in Louvain in 1643), that he, as well as his cousin, *Lughaidh* O'Clery, already mentioned, had received, if not their classical, at least their *Gaethlig* education, in the south, from *Baothghalach Ruadh* Mac Ægan.

Of the early life of Michael O'Clery, or at what time he entered the Franciscan order, we know, unfortunately, nothing; but in the year 1627 we find him engaged in visiting the various monasteries of his order in Ireland, as well as other ecclesiastical and lay repositories of ancient Irish Manuscripts, and laboriously transcribing from them with his own most accurate hand all that they contained of the history of the Irish Catholic Church and the lives of the Irish Saints, as well as important tracts relating to the civil history of the country. Among the latter is the detailed history of the great Danish invasion and occupation of Ireland, now in the Burgundian Library at Brussels. [I may add that this valuable book was lately borrowed by the Rev. Dr. Todd, for whom I made an accurate copy of it.]

O'Clery's ecclesiastical collection was intended for the use of Father *Aedh Mac an Bhaird* (commonly called in English, Hugh Ward), a native of Donegal, a Franciscan friar, and, at this time, guardian of Saint Anthony's in Louvain, who contemplated the publication of the *Lives of the Irish Saints*; but hav-

ing died before he had entered fully upon this great work, the materials supplied by O'Clery were taken up by another equally competent Franciscan, Father John Colgan. This distinguished writer accordingly produced, in 1645, two noble volumes in the Latin language. One of these, called the *Trias Thaumaturgus*, is devoted exclusively to the Lives of Saint Patrick, Saint Bridget, and Saint Colum Cille, or Columba; the other volume contains as many as could be found of the Lives of the Irish Saints whose festival days occur from the 1st of January to the 31st of March, where the work stops. Whether it was the death of Father Michael O'Clery (who must have been the translator of the Irish Lives), which happened about this time, 1643, that discouraged or incapacitated Father Colgan from proceeding with his work, we do not know; but although he published other works relating to Ireland after this time, he never resumed the publication of the lives of her saints. The collection made by the noble-hearted Father O'Clery at that time, is that which is now divided between the Burgundian Library at Brussels, and the Library of the College of St. Isidore at Rome.

Father John Colgan, in the preface to his *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, published at Louvain in 1645, after speaking of the labours of Fathers Fleming and Ward, in collecting and elucidating the Lives of the Irish Saints, and their subsequent martyrdom in 1632, writes as follows of their religious Brother Michael O'Clery.

“That those whose pious pursuits he imitated, our third associate, Brother Michael O'Clery, also followed to the rewards of their merits, having died a few months ago, a man eminently versed in the antiquities of his country, to whose pious labours, through many years, both this and the other works which we labour at are in a great measure owing. For, when he was a layman, he was by profession an Antiquarian, and in that faculty esteemed amongst the first of his time; after he embraced our Seraphic Order, in this convent of Louvain, he was employed as coadjutor, and to this end, by obedience and with the permission of the superiors, he was sent back to his country to search out and obtain the lives of the saints and other sacred antiquities of his country, which are, for the greater part, written in the language of his country, and very ancient.

“But, in the province entrusted to him, he laboured with indefatigable industry about fifteen years; and in the meantime he copied many lives of saints from many very ancient documents in the language of the country, genealogies, three or four different and ancient martyrologies, and many other monuments

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of great antiquity, which, copied anew, he transmitted hither to P. Vardens. At length, by the charge of the superiors, deputed to this, he devoted his mind to clearing and arranging, in a better method and order, the other sacred as well as profane histories of his country, from which, with the assistance of three other distinguished antiquarians (whom, from the opportunity of the time and place, he employed as colleagues, as seeming more fit to that duty), he compiled, or, with more truth, since they had been composed by ancient authors, he cleared up, digested, and composed, three tracts of remote antiquity, by comparing many ancient documents. The first is of the Kings of Erinn, succinctly recording the kind of death of each, the years of their reign, the order of succession, the genealogy, and the year of the world, or of Christ, in which each departed, which tract, on account of its brevity, ought more properly to be called a catalogue of those kings, than a history. The second, of the Genealogy of the Saints of Erinn, which he has divided into thirty-seven classes or chapters, bringing back each saint, in a long series, to the first author and progenitor of the family from which he descends, which, therefore, some have been pleased to call *Sanctilogium Genealogicum* (the genealogies of the saints), and others *Sancto-Genesis*. The third treats of the first Inhabitants of Erinn, of their successive conquests from the Flood, through the different races, of their battles, of the kings reigning amongst them, of the wars and battles arising between those, and the other notable accidents and events of the island, from the year 278 after the Flood, up to the year of Christ 1171.

"Also, when in the same college, to which subsequently, at one time, he added two other works from the more ancient and approved chronicles and annals of the country, and particularly from those of Cluane, Insula, and Senat, he collected the sacred and profane Annals of Ireland, a work thoroughly noble, useful, and honourable to the country, and far surpassing in importance its own proper extent, by the fruitful variety of ancient affairs and the minute relation of them. For, he places before his eyes, not only the state of society and the various changes during upwards of three thousand years, for which that most ancient kingdom stood, by recording the exploits, the dissensions, conflicts, battles, and the year of the death of each of the kings, princes, and heroes; but also (what is more pleasing and desirable for pious minds) the condition of Catholicity and ecclesiastical affairs, from the first introduction of the faith, twelve hundred years before, up to modern times, most flourishing at many periods, disturbed at others, and subsequently mournful, whilst hardly any year occurs, in the mean time, in which he

does not record the death of one or many saints, bishops, abbots, and other men, illustrious through piety and learning; and also the building of churches, and their burnings, pillage, and devastation, in great part committed by the pagans, and afterwards by the heretical soldiers. His colleagues were pious men. As in the three before mentioned, so also in this fourth work, which far surpasses the others, three are eminently to be praised, namely, Ferfessius *O'Maelchonairé*, Peregrine (Cucogry) O'Clery, and Peregrine (Cucogry) *O'Dubhghennain*, men of consummate learning in the antiquities of the country, and of approved faith. And to these subsequently was added the coöperation of other distinguished antiquarians. Mauritius *O'Maelchonairé*, who, for one month, as Conary Clery during many months, laboured in its promotion. But, since those annals which we in this volume, and in others following, very frequently quote, have been collected and compiled by the assistance and separate study of so many authors, neither the desire of brevity would permit us always to cite them individually by expressing the name, nor would justice allow us to attribute the labour of many to one; hence, it sometimes seemed proper that those were called from the place the Annals of Donegal, for they were commenced and completed in our convent of Donegal. But, afterwards, on account of other reasons, chiefly from the compilers themselves, who were four most eminent masters in antiquarian lore, we have been led to call them the ANNALS OF THE FOUR MASTERS. Yet it is also said even now that more than four assisted in their preparation; however, as their meeting was irregular, and but two of them, during a short time, laboured in the unimportant and latter part of the work, but the other four were engaged in the entire production, at least, up to the year 1267 (from which the first, and most important and necessary part for us is closed), hence we quote it under their name; since, hardly ever, or very rarely, anything which happened after that year comes to be related by us".

We know not whether it was while engaged in collecting the materials for the publication of the Lives of the Irish Saints, that Father O'Clery conceived the idea of collecting, digesting, and compiling the Annals of the ancient Kingdom of Erin; and what fruitless essays for a patron he may have made among the broken-spirited representatives of the old native chiefs, we are not in a condition to say; but that he succeeded in obtaining distinguished patronage from *Fearghal* [Ferral] O'Gara, hereditary Lord of *Magh Uí Gadhra* (Magh O'Gara), and *Cuil O-bh-Finn* (Cuil O'Finn, or "Coolavin") (better known as the Prince of Coolovinn, in the County of Sligo), is testified

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in Father O'Clery's simple and beautiful Dedication of the work to that nobleman, of which address the following is a literal translation [see original in APPENDIX, No. LXVII.] :—

“ I beseech God to bestow every happiness that may conduce to the welfare of his body and soul upon *Fearghal O'Gadhra*, Lord of *Magh Ui-Gadhra*, and *Cuil-O-bh-Finn*, one of the two knights of Parliament who were elected (and sent) from the County of *Sligeach* [Sligo] to *Ath-cliath* [Dublin], this year of the age of Christ 1634.

“ It is a thing general and plain throughout the whole world, in every place where nobility or honour has prevailed, in each successive period, that nothing is more glorious, more respectable, or more honourable (for many reasons), than to bring to light the knowledge of the antiquity of ancient authors, and a knowledge of the chieftains and nobles that existed in former times, in order that each successive generation might know how their ancestors spent their time and their lives, how long they lived in succession in the lordship of their countries, in dignity or in honour, and what sort of death they met.

“ I, Michael *O'Clerigh*, a poor friar of the Order of St. Francis (after having been for ten years transcribing every old material which I found concerning the saints of Ireland, observing obedience to each provincial that was in Ireland successively), have come before you, O noble *Fearghal O'Gara*. I have calculated on your honour that it seemed to you a cause of pity and regret, grief and sorrow (for the glory of God and the honour of Ireland), how much the race of Gaedhil the son of Niul have passed under a cloud and darkness, without a knowledge or record of the death or obit of saint or virgin, archbishop, bishop, abbot, or other noble dignitary of the Church, of king or of prince, of lord or of chieftain, [or] of the synchronism or connexion of the one with the other. I explained to you that I thought I could get the assistance of the chroniclers for whom I had most esteem, in writing a book of Annals in which these matters might be put on record; and that, should the writing of them be neglected at present, they would not again be found to be put on record or commemorated, even to the end of the world. There were collected by me all the best and most copious books of annals that I could find throughout all Ireland (though it was difficult for me to collect them to one place), to write this book in your name, and to your honour, for it was you that gave the reward of their labour to the chroniclers, by whom it was written; and it was the friars of the convent of Donegal that supplied them with food and attendance, in like manner. For every good that will result from this book, in

giving light to all in general, it is to you that thanks should be given, and there should exist no wonder or surprise, jealousy or envy, at [any] good that you do; for you are of the race of *Eiber Mac Mileadh* [Heber the son of Milesius], from whom descended thirty of the kings of Ireland, and sixty-one saints; and to *Teadh mac Cein mic Oilella Oluim*, from whom eighteen of these saints are sprung, you can be traced, generation by generation. The descendants of this *Tadhg* [Teige] branched out, and inhabited various parts throughout Ireland, namely: the race of Cormac *Gaileng* in *Luighn  Connacht*, from whom ye, the *Muintir-Gadhra*, the two *Ui Eaghra* in Connacht, and *Oh-Eaghra* of the Ruta, O'Carroll of Ely, *O'Meachair* in *Ui-Cairin*, and O'Conor of *Cianachta-Glinne-Geimhin*.

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"As a proof of your coming from this noble blood we have mentioned, here is your pedigree:

[Here follows the pedigree of O'Gara].

"On the twenty-second day of the month of January, A.D. 1632, this book was commenced in the convent of Dun-na-ngall, and it was finished in the same convent on the tenth day of August, 1636, the eleventh year of the reign of our king Charles over England, France, Alba, and over *Eir *.

"Your affectionate friend,

"BROTHER MICHAEL O'CLERY".

What a simple unostentatious address and dedication to so important a work!

O'Clery having thus collected his materials, and having found a patron willing both to identify himself with the undertaking, and to defray its expenses, he betook himself to the quiet solitude of the monastery of Donegall, then presided over by his brother, Father Bernardine O'Clery, where he arranged his collection of ancient books, and gathered about him such assistants as he had known by experience to be well qualified to carry out his intentions in the selection and treatment of his vast materials.

The result of his exertions, and the nature of the great work thus to be produced, will perhaps appear in the most characteristic as well as complete form if I here quote the *Testimonium* signed by the fathers of the monastery of Donegall, and inserted in the copy of the work presented to Fergal O'Gara. The following, then, is a literal translation of it [APPENDIX, No. LXVIII.]

[*Testimonium*].

"The fathers of the Franciscan Order who shall put their hands on this, do bear witness that it was *Fearghal O'Gadhra* that prevailed on Brother Michael *O'Clerygh* to bring together

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the chroniclers and learned men, by whom were transcribed the books of history and Annals of Ireland (as much of them as it was possible to find to be transcribed), and that it was the same *Fearghal O'Gara* that gave them a reward for their writing.

"The book is divided into two parts. The place at which it was transcribed from beginning to end, was the convent of the friars of *Dun-na-ngall*, they supplying food and attendance.

"The first book was begun and transcribed in the same convent this year, 1632, when Father Bernardine O'Clery was a guardian.

"The chroniclers and learned men who were engaged in extracting and transcribing this book from various books were, Brother Michael *O'Clerigh*; Maurice, the son of *Torna O'Maelchonaire*, for one month; *Ferfeasa*, the son of *Lochlainn O'Maelchonaire*, both of the County of Roscommon; *Cucoigeriché* (Cucogry) *O'Clerigh*, of the County of Donegall; *Cucoigeriché* (Cucogry) *O'Duibhghennain*, of the County of Leitrim; and *Conairé O'Clerigh*, of the County of Donegall.

"These are the old books they had: the book of *Cluain mac Nois* [a church], blessed by Saint Ciaran, son of the carpenter; the book of the Island of Saints, in *Loch Ribh*; the book of *Seanadh Mic Maghnusa*, in Loch Erne; the book of *Clann Ua Maelchonaire*; the book of the O'Duigenans, of Kilronan; the historical book of Lecan *Mic Firbisigh*, which was procured for them after the transcription of the greater part of the [work], and from which they transcribed all the important matter they found which they deemed necessary, and which was not in the first books they had; for neither the book of Cluain nor the book of the Island were [carried] beyond the year of the age of our Lord 1227.

"The second, which begins with the year 1208, was commenced this year of the age of Christ 1635, in which Father Christopher *Ulltach* [O'Donlevy] was guardian.

"These are the books from which was transcribed the greatest part of this work;—the same book of the O'Mulconrys, as far as the year 1505, and this was the last year which it contained; the book of the O'Duigenans, of which we have spoken, from [the year] 900 to 1563; the book of *Seanadh Mic Maghnusa*, which extended to 1532; a portion of the book of Cucogry, the son of Dermot, son of *Tadhg Cam O'Clerigh*, from the year 1281 to 1537; the book of *Mac Bruaideadha* (*Maoilin óg*), from the year 1588 to 1602.

"We have seen all these books with the learned men of whom we have spoken before, and other historical books besides them. In proof of everything which has been written above, the fol-

lowing persons put their hands to this in the convent of Donegal, the tenth day of August, the age of Christ being one thousand six hundred and thirty-six.

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“BROTHER BERNARDINE O’CLERY,
“Guardian of Donegal.
“BROTHER MAURICE ULLTACH.
“BROTHER MAURICE ULLTACH.
“BROTHER BONAVENTURA O’DONNELL,
“Jubilate Lector”.

You will have noticed that the last signature to this testimonium is that of Brother Bonaventura O’Donnell. Up to the year 1843, this signature was read as “O’Donnell” only, and it is curious that the learned and acute Charles O’Conor of Belanagar, should not only have so read it, but also written that this was the counter-signature of the O’Donnell, Prince of Donegall. The Rev. Charles O’Conor followed his grandfather in reading it the same way in 1825.

It was Dr. Petrie that first identified (and purchased, at the sale of the library of Mr. Austin Cooper), the original volume of the second part of these Annals, which contains this testimonium, and placed it in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. He immediately afterwards wrote a paper, which was read before the Academy on the 16th of March, 1831, entitled “Remarks on the History and Authenticity of the Autograph original of the Annals of the Four Masters, now deposited in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy”.

This profound and accomplished antiquary followed the O’Conors unsuspectingly, in reading these signatures, and his and their reading was received and adopted by all the Irish scholars in Dublin at the time, and for some seventeen years after. However, in the year 1843, the Royal Irish Academy did me the honour to employ me to draw up a descriptive catalogue of their fine collection of Irish manuscripts. For some considerable time before this I had entertained a suspicion that *O’Donnell, Prince of Donegall*, was a false reading of the signature, for this, among other reasons, that there was no “O’Donnell”, Prince of Donegall, in existence at the time, namely, in the year 1636, nor for more than sixteen years before that period, those titles having become extinct when Hugh Roe O’Donnell, and after him, his brother Rory, had received and adopted the English title of Earl of Tirconnell at the beginning of that century. The first of these brothers having died in Spain in 1602, and the second having fled from Ireland in 1607, and died in Rome in 1608, and no chief having been lawfully elected in his place, consequently there was *no man living in*

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1636 who could with propriety sign the name "O'Donnell" to this testimonium. And, even if there had been, it would be an act totally unbecoming his name and house to extend the dignity of his *name* only to a great national literary work, which had been compiled within his own ancient principality, yet at the expense of one of the chiefs of a different race and province.

Satisfied with this argument, and seeing that there was room for a Christian name before the surname, when I came to describe this volume in my catalogue I applied to the Council of the Academy, through the then secretary, the Rev. Dr. Todd (now President of the Academy), for liberty to apply a proper preparation to the part of the vellum which appeared blank before the name O'Donnell, and between it and the margin of the page. The academy complied with my request. I took the necessary means of reviving the ink, and in a little time I was rewarded by the plain and clear reappearance of what had not been before dreamt of. There, surely enough, were the name and the title of "Bonaventura O'Donnell", with the words added, "Jubilate Lector".

Mr. Owen Connellan was ignorant of this reading when his translation of this volume of the Annals was published in the year 1846. Dr. O'Donovan, the able editor of the more elaborate, learned, and perfect edition of this volume, in the introduction published by him to that work in 1848, acknowledged with satisfaction the discovery I had made, justly important as it seemed to him at the time. In the recast of his introduction to the first division of the work, as corrected for publication in 1851, he has, however, only retained the reading, omitting to refer to what I had done, and thus leaving it uncertain at what time, under what circumstances, and by whom, the true reading was discovered, and these circumstances I have thought it but fair to myself here again to place on record.

In making use of the rich materials thus collected, O'Clery, as might be expected from his education and position, took special care to collect from every available source, and to put on imperishable record, among the great monuments of the nation, not only the succession and obits of all the monarchs, provincial kings, chiefs, and heads or distinguished members of families, but also, as far as he could find them, the succession and deaths of the bishops, abbots, superiors, superioresses, and other distinguished ecclesiastics and religious of the countless churches, abbeys, and convents of Ireland, from the first founding of its civil and of its religious systems, down to the year 1611.

The work of selection and compilation having been finished,

as we have seen, in the year 1636, Father O'Clery, to stamp on it a character of truthfulness and importance, carried it for inspection to two of the most distinguished Irish scholars then living, whose written approbation and signature he obtained for it; these were *Flann Mac Aedhagan* of Bally *Mac Aedhagan*, in the County of Tipperary, and *Conor Mac Bruaideadha* (or Brody) of *Cill-Chaidhe* and *Leitir Maelain* in the County of Clare. And, along with these, he procured for his work the approbations and signatures of Malachy O'Kelly, Archbishop of Tuam; *Baothghalach* or Boetius Mac Aegan, Bishop of Elfinn; Thomas Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland; and Fr. Roche, Bishop of Kildare; and thus fortified with the only approbation which he deemed necessary to give general currency and a permanent character to his work, he committed it (in manuscript only) to the care of time and to the affection and veneration of his countrymen.

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Upon the chronology of the Annals Dr. O'Connor has made the following remarks in his Catalogue of the Stowe MSS. (among which is one of the original copies of this work).

"This volume begins, like most chronicles of the middle ages, from the Deluge, which it dates with the Septuagint, Anno Mundi 2242; and ends with the Anglo Norman invasion of Ireland, A.D. 1171. * * * * *

"Notwithstanding these approbations, there are some glaring faults in these annals, which no partiality can disguise. The first, and greatest of all faults, relates to their system of chronology. We quarrel not with their preferring the chronology of the Septuagint to that of the Hebrew text: great men have adopted the same system; making the first year of our era agree with the year of the world 5199. But in applying it to chronology, they commit two faults. Dating by the Christian era, they generally place the events four years, and sometimes five, before the proper year of that era, down to the year 800, when they approach nearer to the true time; this is their greatest fault; and it is evident, from the eclipses and corresponding events occasionally mentioned by themselves. From the year 800 to 1000, they differ sometimes by three years, sometimes by two. From the year 1000, their chronology is perfectly accurate. Their second fault is more excusable, because it is common to all the annalists of the middle ages; they advance the antiquities of their country several centuries higher than their own successions of kings and generations by eldest sons will permit.

"Following the technical chronology of Coeman, they ought

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to have stated, in notes, the chronology of Flann, who preceded Coeman, and given the Christian era accurately, as it agrees with the years of the Julian period, and of the Roman Consuls and Emperors, whom they synchronise. This is Bede's method, and has been that of all the best chronologers, who, by adhering to it, have successfully determined the chronology of Europe.

“We see no reason for denying to Ireland a series of kings older than any in Europe’, says Mr. Pinkerton.

“The oldest Greek writers mention Albion and Ierne as inhabited; and Pliny says, no doubt from the Phœnician annals, which are quoted by Festus, that the Phœnicians traded with those islands in the days of Midacritus, a thousand years before the Christian era. But to begin the pagan history of Ireland nearly 3000 years before that era, is absurd; and to make the events of the Christian period differ, by four years, from the regular course of that reckoning, is not excusable. This difference, however, is easily adjusted, because it is uniform down to the year 900, except in a very few instances, which are corrected and restored to their true places in the notes.

“The grand object of the Four Masters is to give chronological dates, and, with the exceptions above, nothing can be more accurate. The years of foundations and destructions of churches and castles, the obituaries of remarkable persons, the inaugurations of kings, the battles of chiefs, the contests of clans, the ages of bards, abbots, bishops, etc., are given with a meagre fidelity, which leaves nothing to be wished for but some details of manners, which are the grand desideratum in the Chronicles of the British Islands” [p. 133].

With all that Doctor O’Conor has so judiciously said here, I fully agree. A book, consisting of 1100 quarto pages, beginning with the year of the world 2242, and ending with the year of our Lord’s Incarnation 1616, thus covering the immense space of 4500 years of a nation’s history, must be dry and meagre of details in some, if not in all, parts of it. And although the learned compilers had at their disposal, or within their reach, an immense mass of historic details, still the circumstances under which they wrote were so unfavourable, that they appear to have exercised a sound discretion, and one consistent with the economy of time and of their resources, when they left the details of our very early history in the safe keeping of such ancient original records as from remote ages preserved them, and collected as much as they could make room for of the events of more modern times, and particularly of the eventful times in which they lived themselves. This was natural; and it must have appeared to them that the national history, as written of old, and then still amply

preserved, was in less danger of being quite lost or questioned than that more modern history which approached more nearly to their own era, till at last it became conversant with facts of which they were themselves witnesses, and many of the actors in which were personally known to them; and so they thickened the records as much, I believe, as they possibly could, in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, and particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

This last part of the Annals was evidently intended to be a history; but it is clear that the first, perhaps for the reason I have just stated, was not intended to be anything more than a skeleton, to be at some future time clothed with flesh and blood from the large stock of materials which might still remain, and which in fact has remained to the successors of the Four Masters; and the exact value of these materials in reference to a complete history will be seen when, in a future lecture, we come to deal with the historical tales and other detailed compositions containing the minute occurrences of life, and the lesser and more unimportant but still most interesting facts of history in the early ages of the country.

You have already heard, in the quotations from Dr. O'Connor, the opinions of the learned but sceptical Pinkerton on the antiquity of our monarchy and the general authenticity of our history; let me now read for you the opinion of another Scotchman, in no way inferior to him in general literary knowledge, profound research, and accurate discrimination. I mean Sir James Mackintosh, who, having become acquainted with the character of these Annals from Dr. O'Connor's very inaccurate Latin translation of the early part of them down to 1170, accords his favourable opinion of them in the following words:—

“The Chronicles of Ireland, written in the Irish language, from the second century to the landing of Henry Plantagenet, have been recently published with the fullest evidence of their genuineness. The Irish nation, though they are robbed of their legends by this authentic publication, are yet by it enabled to boast that they possess genuine history several centuries more ancient than any other European nation possesses in its present spoken language. They have exchanged their legendary antiquity for historical fame. Indeed no other nation possesses any monument of literature in its present spoken language, which goes back within several centuries of these chronicles”.—*History of England*, vol. i., chap. 2.

Moore, who was less profound as an historian, and, consequently, more sceptical, remarks on this passage: “With the exception of the mistake into which Sir James Mackintosh has

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here, rather unaccountably, been led, in supposing that, among the written Irish chronicles which have come down to us, there are any so early as the second century, the tribute paid by him to the authenticity and historical importance of these documents appears to me in the highest degree deserved, and comes with more authority from a writer, whose command over the wide domain of history enabled him fully to appreciate any genuine addition to it".—*History of Ireland*, vol. i., p. 168.

The poet, however, lived to doubt his own competence to offer such a criticism on the chronicles of his native country. The first volume of his history was published in the year 1835, and in the year 1839, during one of his last visits to the land of his birth, he, in company with his old and attached friend, Dr. Petrie, favoured me with quite an unexpected visit at the Royal Irish Academy, then in Grafton Street. I was at that period employed on the ordnance survey of Ireland; and, at the time of his visit, happened to have before me, on my desk, the Books of Ballymote and Lecain, the *Leabhar Breac*, the Annals of the Four Masters, and many other ancient books, for historical research and reference. I had never before seen Moore, and after a brief introduction and explanation of the nature of my occupation by Dr. Petrie, and seeing the formidable array of so many dark and time-worn volumes by which I was surrounded, he looked a little disconcerted, but after a while plucked up courage to open the Book of Ballymote, and ask what it was. Dr. Petrie and myself then entered into a short explanation of the history and character of the books then present, as well as of ancient Gaedhlic documents in general. Moore listened with great attention, alternately scanning the books and myself; and then asked me, in a serious tone, if I understood them, and how I had learned to do so. Having satisfied him upon these points, he turned to Dr. Petrie, and said: "Petrie, these huge tomes could not have been written by fools or for any foolish purpose. I never knew anything about them before, and I had no right to have undertaken the *History of Ireland*".

Three volumes of his history had been before this time published, and it is quite possible that it was the new light which appeared to have broken in upon him on this occasion, that deterred him from putting his fourth and last volume to press until after several years; it is believed he was only compelled to do so at last by his publishers in 1846.

I may be permitted here to observe, that what Sir James Mackintosh and other great writers speak of so lightly, as the "legendary" history of Ireland, is capable of authentic elucidation to an extent so far beyond what they believed or supposed them

to be, as would both please and satisfy that distinguished writer and philosopher himself, as well as all other candid investigators.

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Of the ANNALS OF THE FOUR MASTERS, no perfect copy of the autograph is now known to exist, though the parts of them, so strangely scattered in different localities throughout Europe, would make one perfect copy, and another nearly perfect.

To begin at home, the Royal Irish Academy holds, among its other treasures of ancient Irish literature, a perfect original—I might say, *the* original—autograph copy of the Second Part of these Annals, from the year 1170, imperfect, to the year 1616.

The library of Trinity College, Dublin, also contains a part of an autograph copy, beginning with the year 1335, and ending with the year 1603.

Of the part preceding the year 1171, there are also two different copies in existence, but unfortunately beyond the reach of collation or useful examination. Of these, one—which, a few years ago, and for some years previously, belonged to the great library of the Duke of Buckingham at Stowe—has passed by sale into the collection of Lord Ashburnham, where, with the other Irish manuscripts that accompanied it, it is very safely preserved from examination, lest an actual acquaintance with their contents should, in the opinion of the very noble-minded owner, decrease their value as mere matters of curiosity at some future transfer or sale.

How unfortunate and fatal that this volume, as well as the other Irish manuscripts which accompany it, and the most part of which were but lent to the Stowe library, should have passed from the inaccessible shelves of that once princely establishment into another asylum equally secure and unapproachable to any scholar of the “mere Irish”!

At the time of the advertised sale of the Stowe library, in 1849, the British Museum made every effort to become the purchasers, with the consent and support of the Treasury, through Sir Robert Peel; but the trustees delayed so long in determining on what should be done, that the sale took place privately, and the whole collection was carried off and incarcerated in a mansion some seventy miles from London.

The late Sir Robert Inglis and Lord Brougham were, I believe, most anxious to have this great collection deposited in the British Museum; but Mr. (now Lord) Macaulay, the Essayist, having been among the Museum Trustees who examined it, declared that he saw nothing in the whole worth purchasing for the Museum, but the correspondence of Lord Melville, a Scotch nobleman, on the American war!

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The second original copy of this first part is, but owing only to its distance from us, as inaccessible as the one in Ashburnham House. It is in the Irish College of St. Isidore in Rome. The discovery of this volume there, and of the important collection of manuscripts, Gaedhlic and Latin, of which it forms a part, was made by the late learned and lamented Dean Lyons, of Belmullet, in the County of Mayo, in the years 1842 and 1843. This learned priest, having occasion to spend some considerable part of those years in Rome, was requested at his departure, by some friends of Irish literature in Dublin, to examine, should time permit him, the great literary repositories of the Eternal City, and to bring, or send home, tracings of any ancient Gaedhlic manuscripts which he might have the good fortune to light upon. He accordingly, on the 1st of June, 1842, wrote home a letter to the Rev Dr. Todd and to Dr. O'Donovan, apprising them that he had discovered, in the College of St. Isidore, several ancient Gaedhlic and Latin manuscripts, which formerly belonged to Ireland and to Irishmen; and on the 1st of July in the ensuing year of 1843, he addressed another letter to the same parties on the same subject. These letters contained accurate descriptions of the condition and extent of the Gaedhlic MSS., together with tracings from their contents, sufficient to enable me to identify the chief part of them.

Among these MSS. at St. Isidore's, there was found an autograph of the first part of the Annals of the Four Masters, coming down to the year 1169, with the "Approbations" and all the prefatory matter. This is the only autograph of the first part now known, save that formerly at Stowe; and both being inaccessible at the time of the publication of the whole work a few years ago, the learned and able editor, Dr. O'Donovan, was obliged to use Dr. O'Connor's inaccurate version, only correcting it by modern copies here, as may be seen in his introduction.

The novel and important discovery of this collection excited so great a degree of interest in Dublin at the time, that a subscription for their purchase, should it be found practicable, was freely and warmly talked of.

Upon the return of Dr. Lyons to Ireland, Dr. Todd opened a correspondence with him as to his views of the possibility of the authorities in Rome consenting to the sale of these MSS. Dr. Lyons's answer was encouraging, and in order to prepare him for bringing the matter before the proper parties, he requested that I should draw up a short paper upon their contents, the importance of having them here at home, and the intrinsic value of the whole according to the rate at which Gaedhlic manuscripts were estimated and sold in Dublin at the time.

This paper, or letter, was transmitted to Rome at the time by Dr. Lyons; but his own lamented death occurring shortly after, the correspondence through that channel was interrupted, and the famine having set in about the same time, the spirit of the country was checked, objects of more immediate importance pressed themselves on the minds of men, and the subject was forgotten for a time. There are, however, in Dublin a few spirited men, who, within the last two years, have offered a handsome sum of money from their private purses for those manuscripts for public purposes; but they seem not to have been able to convey their proposal through an eligible channel, and so no satisfactory result has followed their laudable endeavours.

I may perhaps be pardoned for adding here, that the short catalogue of the St. Isidore manuscripts which I drew up for Dean Lyons, and which he transmitted to Rome, was subsequently published without acknowledgment, by the Rev. J. Donovan, in the third volume of his "Ancient and Modern Rome".

To resume. It will be remembered that in Michael O'Clery's address to Fergal O'Gara he pays him, along with many others, the following compliment:—

"For every good that will result from this book, in giving light to the people in general, it is to you that thanks should be given, and there should exist no wonder or surprise, jealousy, or envy at any good that you do, for you are of the race of *Eber Mac Mileadh*", etc., etc.

On this passage the editor, Dr. Donovan, comments somewhat unnecessarily, I think, in the following words:—

"If O'Donnell were in the country at the time, he ought to have felt great envy and jealousy that the Four Masters should have committed this work, which treats of the O'Donnells more than of any other family, to the world under the name and patronage of any of the rival race of Oilioll Oluim, much less to so petty a chieftain of that race as O'Gara. This will appear obvious from the Contention of the Bards".

Nothing, however, appears more obvious from the Contention of the Bards, than (as I have already shown and as is proved by *Annluan Mac Ægan's* acknowledgment) that the northern Bards were worsted in the contest; and nothing has been put forward to show O'Donnell's superior claims to the patronage of a historical work, but that his own family figures more conspicuously in it than any other of the nation. This argument, however, on inquiry, will scarcely be found to hold good, and before I pass on it may perhaps be worth while to answer it at once by referring to some few statistics of family names occurring in these Annals.

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The name of O'Donnell of Donegall, I find, appears with Christian names 210 times, and under the general name of O'Donnell only 78 times, making an aggregate of 288 times.

Now the O'Briens (the rival race of *Oilioll Oluim*), appear with Christian names 233 times, and under the general name of O'Briens 21 times, making an aggregate of 254 times in every way; so that, even as the annals stand, there is no great difference in this respect. And it is certain that if the O'Clerys had swelled their Annals with entries from Mac Grath's Wars of Thomond, from the year 1272 to the year 1320, as they have filled them, from the local history, with the achievements of the O'Donnells from the year 1472 to the year 1600, the names of the O'Briens would be found far to outnumber those of the O'Donnells. Besides this, the O'Donnells had no pretension to extreme jealousy with the race of *Oilioll Oluim*, as the former only became known as chiefs of Tirconnell, on the decay or extinction of the more direct lines of Conall Gulban in they year 1200, whereas the Mac Carthys represented the line of *Eoghan Mór*, the eldest son of *Oilioll Oluim*, from the year 1043; and the O'Briens represented Cormac Cas, the second son of *Oilioll Oluim*, from the battle of Clontarf, in the year 1014. But what is somewhat singular, in reference to Dr. O'Donovan's remark, and as shown by these statistics, is, that the O'Gara represents *Cian*, another son of *Oilioll Oluim*, in their ancient principality of *Luighné* or Leyney, in Sligo, from a period so far back as the year 932; that is, the name of the O'Gara is older even than that of Mac Carthy by more than 100 years; than that of O'Brien by about 80 years; and than that of O'Donnell by about 300 years.

As a small tribute of respect, then, fairly, I think, due to the O'Gara family as the patrons of the splendid work of the O'Clerys, it may be permitted me to insert here from these Annals the succession of their chiefs, from the year 932 to the year 1495, after which (and it is rather singular), they disappear from the work. [See APPENDIX, No. LXIX.]

I have devoted the entire of the present lecture to a very summary account of the greatest body of Annals in existence relating to Irish History. The immense extent of the work would indeed render it impossible for me to include in one lecture, or even in two or three lectures, anything like an adequate analysis of the vast mass and comprehensive scope of the history contained in it. I have, therefore, confined myself to some explanation of the nature and plan of the labours of the Four Masters, that you may understand at least what it was

they undertook to do, and that you may know why it is that this magnificent compilation has ever since been regarded by true scholars, and doubtless will ever be looked up to, as of the most certain and unimpeachable authority, and as affording a safe and solid foundation for the labours of future historians. It is fortunate, however, that the Annals of the Four Masters are no longer like the other Annals, of which I have given you some account, preserved only in the almost inaccessible recesses of a few libraries of MSS. It is fortunate that you can now consult for yourselves (in the pages of a beautifully printed edition), those invaluable records, whose importance it has been my object in this lecture shortly to explain to you, and which, if you would acquire an accurate acquaintance with your country's history, you must diligently study again and again.

Portions of these Annals had been published before the appearance of the great volumes to which I allude.

The Rev. Charles O'Connor, librarian to the late Duke of Buckingham, printed, in 1826, an edition of what is called the First Part of those Annals (that part, namely, which ends at the year 1171, or about the period of the Norman Invasion). It occupies the whole of the third volume of his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, a large quarto of 840 pages. It is printed from the autograph text in the Stowe library, and the editor has given the Irish text (but in Latin characters), as well as a translation and copious notes in the Latin language. This edition is certainly valuable, but it is very inaccurate. I need not, however, occupy your time with any detailed account of it, not only because it has been since superseded by a work of real authority, but because I have already discussed (and shall have reason again to observe at some little length on) the literary capability and the historical knowledge of the reverend editor.

A translation of the Second Part of the Annals, that is, from A.D. 1171 to the end of the work at A.D. 1616, was published in Dublin in 1846, by the late B. Geraghty, of Anglesea Street. The original Irish is not given in this edition, but the translation was made by Mr. Owen Connellan from a copy transcribed some years before by him from the autograph in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. This volume, though containing only the translation, extends to 720 pp., large 4to, closely printed in double columns, with notes by Dr. Mac Dermott.

I have mentioned both these publications only because it would be improper to omit noticing the fact that such attempts had been made to place the substance of the Annals in the hands of the reading public at large. But I need not enter into any criticism upon the labours of Mr. Connellan any more than those

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of Dr. O'Connor. For the Annals of the Four Masters are now at last accessible to all, in a form the most perfect as regards typography, and the most copious and correct as regards translation and annotation, that the anxious student of our history can desire. I allude, of course, to the magnificent work to which I have already more than once referred, edited by Dr. John O'Donovan, and published to the world, in 1851, by Mr. George Smith, of Grafton Street. It is to this edition that in future every student must apply himself, if he desires to acquire only reliable information; it is, in the present state of our knowledge, the standard edition of that work, which must form the basis of all fruitful study of the history of Ireland; and it is in consequence of this, its peculiar character, that I feel bound to lay so strong an emphasis upon my recommendation of Dr. O'Donovan's Annals to your special, if not exclusive, attention.

Dr. O'Donovan's work is in seven large quarto volumes; and the immense extent of the O'Clerys' labours may be imagined by those of my hearers who have not yet opened these splendid books, when I inform them that the seven volumes contain no less than 4,215 pages of closely printed matter. The text is given in the Irish character, and is printed in the beautiful type employed in the printing office of Trinity College, and the forms of which were carefully drawn from the earliest authorities by the accurate and elegant hand of my respected friend, Dr. Petrie. The translation is executed with extreme care. The immense mass of notes contains a vast amount of information, embracing every variety of topic—historical, topographical, and genealogical—upon which the text requires elucidation, addition, or correction; and I may add, that of the accuracy of the researches which have borne fruit in that information, I can myself, in almost every instance, bear personal testimony. There is but one thing to be regretted in respect of Dr. O'Donovan's text, and that is the circumstance to which I have already called your attention. In the absence of both of the autograph MSS. of the First Part of the work (that is, before A.D. 1171), one of which is kept safe from the eye of every Irish scholar in the Stowe collection, now in the possession of Lord Ashburnham, while the other still remains in the Library of St. Isidore's, in Rome, the editor was obliged to take Dr. O'Connor's inaccurate text, correcting it, as best he could, by collation with two good copies which exist in Dublin. The second part of the annals is printed from the autograph MS. in the Royal Irish Academy, compared with another autograph copy in Trinity College. The text of this part is, therefore, absolutely free from errors.

This noble work, extending to so great a length, and occupied (notes as well as text) with so many thousands of subjects, personal and historical, had need of an Index as copious as itself to complete its practical importance as a book of reference. This great labour has been included in the plan of Dr. O'Donovan's publication, and the student will find appended to it *two* complete Indexes, one to all the names of persons, the other to all the names of places referred to throughout the entire. So that, in the form in which the work appears, as well as in the substantial contents of these splendid volumes, there is absolutely nothing left to be desired.

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Upon the learning and well earned reputation of the editor, Dr. O'Donovan, it would ill become me, for so many years his intimate fellow labourer in the long untrodden path of Irish historical inquiry, to enlarge. But I cannot pass from the subject of this lecture without recording the grateful sense which I am sure all of you (when you examine the magnificent volumes of which I have been speaking) must feel, as I do, of the singular public spirit of Mr. George Smith, at whose sole risk and expense this vast publication was undertaken and completed. There is no instance that I know of, in any country, of a work so vast being undertaken, much less of any completed in a style so perfect and so beautiful, by the enterprise of a private publisher. Mr. Smith's edition of the Annals was brought out in a way worthy of a great national work,—nay, worthy of it, had it been undertaken at the public cost of a great, rich, and powerful people, as alone such works have been undertaken in other countries. And the example of so much spirit in an Irish publisher—the printing of such a book in a city like Dublin, so long shorn of metropolitan wealth as well as honours—cannot fail to redound abroad to the credit of the whole country, as well as to that of our enterprising fellow-citizen. As, then, the memory of the Four Masters themselves will probably be long connected with the labours and name of their annotator, Dr. O'Donovan, so also I would not have any of you forget what is due to the publisher of the first complete edition of the Annals when you open it, as I hope every student of this national University will often and anxiously do, to apply yourselves to study the great events of your country's history in the time-honoured records collected by the O'Clerys.

LECTURE VIII.

[Delivered July 7, 1856.]

Of the other Works of the Four Masters. The "Succession of the Kings".
The "Book of Invasions". O'Clery's Glossary.

IN my last lecture I concluded the subject of the various regular Annals which have come down to us. In connection with the subject of the last and greatest of these invaluable compilations, the Annals of the Four Masters, it became my duty, in explaining how that noble work was undertaken, to offer you some short account of the O'Clerys, its principal authors, and their learned associates. Before I pass, then, to an examination of the various other sources from which the student will have to draw the materials of the yet unwritten History of Erin, it will perhaps be convenient that I should here conclude what I have to say to you upon the other historical works handed down to us by the Four Masters. These works (alluded to in that preface of Colgan's which you heard quoted at such length in the last lecture) are all to a great extent parallel with that which last engaged our attention. Their plan is not the same; and, though a great number of facts are recorded in all the several series of the O'Clerys' writings, the details are rarely repeated; and each of these books, contemporaneous in execution as they were, must be studied as the necessary complement of the others of them. It is much to be regretted, that none of them, as yet, has met with the good fortune of the Annals, in being published in any form to the world; and I am sure, when you have become aware of their extent and value, you will join with me in the hope that the present generation may see these works also of our great annalists brought out in a style worthy of the splendid volumes edited by Dr. O'Donovan.

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The first of the historical books of the O'Clerys, referred to by Colgan, to which I shall direct your attention, is that called the *Reim Rioghraidhé* [pron: nearly, "Rém Ree-riah"], or SUCCESSION OF THE KINGS. And, as you are now acquainted with the manner in which the masters approach their subjects, in these serious historical compositions, perhaps the best course

I can take to-day is to open at once the author's Preface to the *Reim Rioghraidhé*, of which the following may be taken as a sufficiently accurate translation [see original in APPENDIX No. LXX.] :—

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“In nomine Dei. Amen.

“On the third day of the month of September, Anno Christi 1644, this book was commenced to be written, in the house of Conall, son of Niall, son of Rossa Mageoghegan, of *Lios Maighné*, in *Cenel Fhiachach* (in Westmeath), one by whom are prized and preserved the ancient monuments of our ancestors; one who is the industrious collecting Bee of everything that belongs to the honour and history of the descendants of Milesius and of *Iugaidh*, son of *Ith*, both lay and ecclesiastical, as far as he could find them. And what is written in this book is, the *Reim Rioghraidhé* (the Succession of the Kings), and the history of the Saints of Erin, which are now corrected and amended by these persons following—viz., the Friar Michael O'Clery, *Ferfeasa* O'Mulconry, and *Cucoigeriché* O'Duigenan, all of them persons learned in the Irish language. And it is taken from the principal ancient Books of Erin, in the Convent of Athlone, as we have before stated [it does not appear where]; as well as from the historical poem, written by *Gilla Caomhain O'Cuinnín*, which begins (*Eiré óg inis na naomh*) (Virgin Eire, Island of Saints), and another poem, written by *Aengus Mac an Ghobhann* (*Aengus Ceilé Dé*, or the Culdee), which begins, '*Naomhsheanchus naomh Inse Fáil*' (the sacred history of the saints of *Inis Fáil*), and another poem, which begins '*Athair cháigh chuimsigh nimhé*' (Father of all, Ruler of Heaven).

“This book contains also the Book of Rights, which was originally ordered by Saint Bencan, and is copied from a book which was written by the aforesaid Conall [Mageoghegan] on the 4th of August, 1636, from the Book of Lecain, which had been lent to him by the Protestant Primate [Ussher], which Book of Lecain was written a long time before that, by Adam *Mór O'Cuinnín* for *Gilla Isa Mór Mac Firbis*, *Ollamh of Ui-Fhiachrach*, Anno Domini 1418; and *Morroch Riabhach O'Coinlisg* wrote more of it, in the house of Rory O'Dowda, King of Hy-Fiachrach of the Moy. The present book contains, besides, the history of the cause why the Boromean tribute was imposed on the Lagenians, and the person by whom it was imposed; and the history of the coming of the Delvians (*Mac Cochlan*) into 'Conn's Hall' of Erin, out of Munster. It contains, also, the history of the cause why *Fenius Farsaidh* went to learn

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poetry to the Tower of Nimrod, in preference to any other place; and the names of the various languages that were known at that time, and from which the Gaedhlic language was brought away by Gaedhel, the son of *Etheor*, from whom it derives its name. And it contains an account of the death of Conn of the hundred battles. It also contains the seven fatalities of the monarchs of Erinn, and the fatalities of the provincial kings in like manner; and the poem which begins *Roileag laoch leithé Cuinn* (the burial place of the heroes of Conn's Half) [of Erinn], which was completed, and finished, and put into this book, on the 25th day of September of that same year before mentioned (1644), by the Friar Paul O'Colla, of the order of Saint Francis, in the house of the aforesaid Conall [Mageoghegan]. It likewise contains the pedigrees of the monarchs of Erinn, and the length of time that each reigned; and it contains the genealogies of the Irish saints as they have been collected from the books of the old writers, set down according to their descent, in alphabetical order; [all] to the glory of God, and the honour of the saints and of the kingdom; and to diffuse the knowledge and intelligence of the things aforesaid, and of the authors who preserved the history of Erinn, before and after the introduction of Christianity. Finished in the Observantine Convent of Athlone, in the Bishopric of Clonmacnois, 1630".

[It is observable that the authors profess to include, in a single book, not only the succession of the kings, but also the genealogy of such of the saints of Erinn as descended from them, and which Colgan treats as a separate work.]

The following is O'Clery's Dedication [see original in APPENDIX, No. LXXI.]:—

“To Torloch Mac Cochlain”.

“After I, the poor Friar Michael O'Clery, had been four years, at the command of my superior, engaged in collecting and bringing together all that I could find of the history of the saints of Ireland, and of the kings to whom their pedigrees are carried up, it occurred to me that it would not be judicious to put that collection into other *languages*,⁽⁴⁰⁾ without the authority, proof, and inspection of other historians. I also considered that the aforesaid work could not be finished without expense. But such was the poverty of the order to which I belong, on account of their vow and the oppressions of the time, that I was obliged to complain of it to gentlemen who were not bound

(40) It is to be remembered that I am not transcribing from the autograph

to poverty by vow. And, among those to whom I made my complaint, I found no one to relieve my anxiety towards bringing this work to completion, but one person who was willing to assist me, to the promotion of the glory of God, the honour of the saints and the kingdom, and the good of his own soul. And that one person is Torloch Mac Cochlain. [Here follows the pedigree of Mac Cochlain.] And it was this Torloch Mac Cochlain that forwarded this work, and that kept together the company that were engaged in completing it, along with the private assistance given by the aforesaid convent every day. On the 4th day of October, therefore, this book was commenced, and on the 4th day of November, it was finished, in the convent of the friars before mentioned, in the fifth year of the king Charles of England, 1630".

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It is remarkable that we have not the autograph original of any part of these two books, or rather this one book, now in Ireland.

After this Dedication, or notice, follows, in the original, an Address to the reader [see original in APPENDIX, No. LXXII.], much of which is so characteristic of the simple enthusiasm of the writer, and so pathetic in the appeal it contains to the tenderness of Gaedhlic patriotism, that I cannot omit to lay it before you. "Strangers", says Michael O'Clery, "have taken the principal books of Erinn into strange countries and among unknown people". You have heard of many new instances of this hard fate of our most ancient books since O'Clery's time, and of the difficulties and annoyances which the humble followers of our great historians have met with in their researches, even in our own days, from the same cause. It is remarkable enough, that of the three books of the O'Clerys which Colgan spoke of, we do not possess, to-day, the original of any one in this country.

"Address to the reader.

"What true children are there that would not feel pity and distress, at seeing, or hearing of, their excellent mother and nurse being placed in a condition of indignity and contempt, of dishonour and contumely, without making a visit to her to bring her solace and happiness, and to give her assistance and relief?

"Upon its having been observed by certain parties of the natural order of Saint Francis, that the holiness and righteousness of their mother and nurse—Erinn—had perceptibly diminished, for not having the lives, wonders, and miracles of her saints disseminated within her, nor yet made known in other

kingdoms; the counsel they adopted was, to send from them into Erin a poor Friar Minor of their own, the Observantine Order, Michael O'Clery (a chronicler by descent and education), in order to collect and bring to one place all the books of authority in which he could discover anything that related to the sanctity of her saints, with their pedigrees and genealogies.

"Upon the arrival of the aforesaid friar, he sought and searched through every part of Erin in which he had heard there was a good or even a bad book [i.e. Gaedhlic MS.]; so that he spent four full years in transcribing and procuring the matters that related to the saints of Erin. However, though great his labour and his hardships, he was able to find but a few out of the many of them, because strangers had carried off the principal books of Erin into remote and unknown foreign countries and nations, so that they have left her but an insignificant part of her books.

"And, after what the aforesaid friar could find had been collected to one place, what he thought of and decided to do was this—viz., to bring together and assemble in one place, three persons whom he should consider most befitting and most suitable to finish the work which he had undertaken (with the consent of his superiors), for the purpose of examining all the collections that he had made. These were—*Ferfedsa* O'Mulconry, from Bally Mulconry, in the County of Roscommon; *Cucoigeriché* O'Clery, from Bally Clery, in the County of Donegal; and *Cucoigeriché* O'Duigenann from *Baile-Coille-foghair* [now Castlefore], in the County of Leitrim. These persons, then, came to one place; and, having come, the four of them decided to write the Roll of the monarchs of Erin at the beginning of the book. They determined on this for two reasons. The first reason, because the pedigrees of the saints could not have been brought to their origin, without having the pedigrees of the early kings placed before them, because it was from them they descended. The second reason, in order that, the duty and devotion of the noble people to their saints, their successors, and their churches, should be the greater, by their having a knowledge of their relationship and friendship with their blessed patrons, and of the descent of the saints from the stem from which each branch of them sprung, and the number of the saints of the same branch.

"And there is, indeed, a considerable section of the saints of Erin whose names may be found already entered in proper order in old genealogical books, without intermixture of descent, the one with the other of them, as they branch off and separate from their original stems.

“Whoever thou art, then, O reader! we leave it to thyself to perceive that thou wilt find profit, sense, knowledge, and brevity in this work. For the entire succession of the kings, with their pedigrees to their origin, will be found in it, in the order in which they obtained the sovereignty in succession; together with the number of their years, the age of the world at the end of the reign of each king of them, and the age of our Lord Jesus from His Incarnation to the death of each, down to the death of Malachy the Great [in A.D. 1022]. And the saints are given according to their alphabetical order, and their origin, as we have already said. Glory be unto God.

“Your loving friends,

Brother Michael O’Clery.

Ferféasa O’Mulconry.

Cucoigeriché O’Clery.

Cucoigeriché O’Duigenan”.

The autograph of this valuable work is in the College of St. Isidore at Rome. There is, however, a copy of it in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, made by Maurice O’Gorman, about the year 1760; and another copy in the Royal Irish Academy, made by Richard Tipper, in the year 1716; but neither of them contains the Book of Rights, spoken of above. The list of saints is confined to the saints mentioned in the poem before referred to, which begins “The Sacred History of the Saints of Inisfail”; and is different from the Martyrology of Donegall, compiled by the same pious and learned friar and his associates.

The plan of this book, as you will have already seen, was, first, to give the succession of the Monarchs of Erinn, from the remotest times down to the death of Turlogh O’Conor, in A.D. 1156, under their respective years of the age of the world and of our Lord, according to the chronology of the Septuagint. And, second, to carry back to, and connect with, the kings of this long line the generations of such of the primitive and chief saints of Ireland as descended from them, down to the eighth century.

This list of pedigrees of the saints extends only to the names of those found in the poem already mentioned, which begins, “The Sacred History of the Saints of *Inis Fáil*”. Nor are these given promiscuously, but in classes; such as all the saints that descend from *Conall Gulban*, in one class; all the saints that descend from *Eoghan*, his brother, in another class; all the saints that descend from *Colla Uais*, in another class; all the saints that descend from *Oilioll Olúim*, in another class; all the saints that descend from *Cathair Mór*, King of Leinster, in another class;

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The Succession of the Kings.

LECT. VIII. and so on, throughout the four provinces. Festival days, and a few historical notes, are added to some of them.

The SUCCESS-
SION OF THE
KINGS.

The poem from which this list of saints has been drawn is ascribed, in the preface, to Aengus *Ceile Dé* (or the Culdee); but this must be a mistake, as the composition of this poem is totally inferior in style, vigour, and purity of diction, to any other piece or fragment of the metrical compositions of that remarkable man that has come down to our time. It is remarkable, however, that although Michael O'Clery in the preface ascribes this poem to Aengus, yet, when we come to where it commences in the book, we find *Eochaidh O'Cleircein* set down as the author of it. This writer flourished in A.D. 1000, or two hundred years later than Aengus. The poem certainly belongs to this period, and appears to have been founded on Aengus's prose tract on the pedigrees of the Irish saints; and whether O'Clery fell into a mistake in ascribing it to Aengus, or whether Maurice O'Gorman, the transcriber of the present copy, committed a blunder, we have here now no means of ascertaining.

The book in Trinity College, Dublin, is a small octavo, of 370 pages, in two volumes, and would make about 200 pages of O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*.

The BOOK OF
INVASIONS.

The *Leabhar Gabhála*, or "BOOK OF INVASIONS" (or "Conquests"),—the third of those alluded to by Colgan,—is perhaps the most important of the three. It contains an ample record of those traditions of the successive early colonizations of Ireland, which, in the most ancient times, appear to have been regarded as true history, but which were not inserted at length in the *Annals of Donegall*. Upon the authenticity of these traditions, or ancient records (if, indeed, they have come down to us in the form in which they really were believed two thousand years ago), this is not the place to enter into any discussion. The object of the O'Clerys appears, however, to have been simply to collect and put in order the statements they found in the ancient books; and, as before, I shall let the Preface and Address of the author of the "Book of Invasions" explain that object in his own words.

The following is the Dedication, prefixed to his *Leabhar Gabhála* [see original in APPENDIX, No. LXXIII.] :—

"I, the friar Michael O'Clery, have, by permission of my superiors, undertaken to purge of error, rectify, and transcribe this old Chronicle called *Leabhar Gabhála*, that it may be to the glory of God, to the honour of the saints and the kingdom

of Erinn, and to the welfare of my own soul. This undertaking I could not accomplish without the assistance of other chroniclers at some fixed abode. Upon communicating my intention to thee, O! Brien Roe Maguire, Lord of Enniskillen [*Inis Cethlionn*], the first of the race of *Odhar* who received that title (which thou didst from his Majesty Charles, King of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, on the 21st of January, in the year of our Lord Christ 1627, and the third year of the king's reign), thou didst take in hand to assist me to commence and conclude my undertaking, because thou didst deem it a pity to leave in oblivion and unencouraged a work which would exalt the honour of thine own ancestors, as well as of the saints, nobles, and history of Erinn in general. After having, then, received thine assistance, I myself, and the chroniclers whom, by the permission of the Church, I selected as assistants, viz., *Fearfeusa O'Mulconry*, *Cucoigry O'Clery*, *Cucoigry O'Duigenan*, and thine own chief chronicler, *Gillapatriek O'Luinín*, went, a fortnight before Allhallow-tide, to the convent of Lisgoole, in the diocese of Clogher, in Fermanagh, and we remained there together until the following Christmas, by which time we had succeeded in completing our undertaking, under thy assistance, Lord Maguire.

“On the 22nd day of October, the corrections and completion of this **BOOK OF INVASIONS** were commenced, and on the 22nd of December the transcription was completed in the convent of the friars aforesaid, in the sixth year of the reign of King Charles over England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, and in the year of our Lord 1631.

“Thine affectionate friend, **BROTHER MICHAEL O'CLERY**”.

The Preface, or Address to the Reader, follows [see original in **APPENDIX No. LXXIV.**]:—

“It appeared to certain of the people, and to me, the poor simple friar Michael O'Clery from Tirconnell, one of the native friars of the convent of Donegall, whose inheritance it is from my ancestors to be a chronicler, that it would be a charity for some one of the men of Erinn to purify, compile, and re-write the ancient honoured Chronicle which is called the **Book of Invasions**, for these reasons. The first reason: My superiors having charged me to collect the **Lives and Genealogies** of the **Saints** of Erinn from all places in which I could find them throughout Erinn, after having done this, I selected associate chroniclers to adjust, purify, and write as much as I could find of this history of the saints, as well as the succession of the monarchs of Erinn, to whom the pedigrees of the saints are carried up, as may be seen in the book in which they are written. After that, it occurred to me that the work of which I have spoken

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INVASIONS.

was incomplete without correcting and writing the Book of Invasions already mentioned, because it is the original fountain of the history of the saints and kings of Erin, of her nobles and her people.

“Another reason too: I was aware that men, learned in Latin and in English, had commenced to translate this Chronicle of Erin from the Gaedhlic into these languages that we have spoken of, and that they had not so profound a knowledge of the Gaedhlic as that they could put the hard and the soft parts of the said book together without ignorance or error; and I felt that the translation which they would make must (for want of a knowledge of the Gaedhlic) become an eternal reproach and disgrace to all Erin, and particularly so to her chroniclers. It was for these reasons that I undertook, with the permission of my superiors, to purify and compile this book, and to collect for it, from other books, all that was wanting to it in history and in other learning, as much as we could, according to the space of time which we had to write it.

“The chroniclers who were with us for this purpose, and for purifying the book, were, *Fearfeasa* O’Mulconry, from the County of Roscommon; Cucoigry O’Clery, from Bally Clery, in the County of Donegall; Cucoigry O’Duigenann, from Bally-Coilltifoghair, in the County of Leitrim; and Giollapatriek O’Luinin, from *Ard Ui Luinin*, in the County of Fermanagh.

“It is right that you should know that it was ancient writers of remote times, and commemorating elders of great age, that preserved the history of Erin in chronicles and books in succession, from the period of the Deluge to the time of St. Patrick, who came in the fourth year of the reign of *Laeghairé mac Neill*, monarch of Erin, to plant religion and devotion in her; when he blessed Erin, men and boys, women and girls, and built numerous churches and towns throughout the land.

“Saint Patrick, after all this, invited unto him the most illustrious authors of Erin at that period, to preserve the chronicles, synchronisms, and genealogies of every colony that had taken possession of Erin, down to that period. Those that he invited unto him, at that time, were Ros; *Dubhthach*, the son of *Ua Lughair*; Ferghus, etc. These were the sustaining pillars of the History of Erin, in the time of Saint Patrick.

“St. Colum Cille, St. Finnen of *Cluain Iorard* [Clonard], and St. Comgall, of *Beannchuir* [Bangor, in the County Down], and the other saints of Erin, induced the authors of their time to perpetuate and amplify the history and synchronisms existing in their day. It was so done at their request. The authors of the period of these saints, as is manifest in the latter part of

Eochaidh O'Flinn's poem, were, *Fiontain*, the son of *Bochna*; *Tuan*, the son of *Cairell*, son of *Muiredhach Muinderg*, of the *Dal Fiatach*; and *Dallan Forgaill*, the illustrious author and saint. LECT. VIII.
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"The histories and synchronisms of Erin were written and tested in the presence of these illustrious saints, as is manifest in the great books which were named after the saints themselves, and from their great churches; for there was not an illustrious church in Erin that had not a great book of history named from it, or from the saint who sanctified it. It would be easy, too, to know, from the books which the saints wrote, and the songs of praise which they composed in Gaelic, that they themselves, and their churches, were the centres of the true knowledge, and the archives and homes of the manuscripts of the authors of Erin, in the olden times.

"Sad evil! short was the time until dispersion and decay overtook the churches of the saints, their relics, and their books; for there is not to be found of them now, but a small remnant, that has not been carried away into distant countries and foreign nations; carried away so that their fate is not known from that time hither.

"The Books of Invasions which were present [*i.e.*, which we had by us], at the writing of these Conquests of Erin, were, the Book of Bally Mulconry, which Maurice, the son of *Paidin O'Mulconry*, transcribed out of the *Leabhar-na-h-Uidhré*, which was written at *Cluainmichois* in Saint Ciaran's time; the Book of Bally Clery, which was written in the time of *Melsheachlainn Mór*, the son of *Domnall* [king of Ireland, who began his reign in the year 979]; the Book of the O'Duigenanns, from *Seanchua* in Tirerill, and which is called the Book of *Glenn-da-locha*; and the Book of the *Ua Chonghail*; together with other Books of Invasions and history, beside them.

"The sum of the matters to be found in the following book is the taking of Erin by [the Lady] *Ceasair*; the taking by *Partholan*; the taking by *Nemedh*; the taking by the Firbolgs; the taking by the *Tuatha Dé Danann*; the taking by the sons of *Miledh* [or Miletius]; and their succession down to the monarch *Melsheachlainn*, or Malachy the Great [who died in 1022].

"We have declined to speak of the Creator's first order, of the created things, the heavens, the angels, time, and the great uncreated mass out of which the four elements were formed, by the Divine will alone, in the six days work, with all the animals that inhabit the land, the water, and the air; because it is to divines that it belongs to speak of these things, and because we have not deemed any of these things to be necessary to our work, with God's help. It is with men and time only that we deem

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it proper to begin our work⁽⁴¹⁾, that is to say, from the creation of the first man, Adam, whose descendants, our ancestors, we shall follow in the direct line, generation after generation, to the conclusion of this undertaking, with the end of the reign of Malachy the Great, son of Domnall, who was the last undisputed king of Erin within herself; and we have proceeded, in this work, upon the authority of the Gaedhlic chroniclers who have preceded us; and we have adopted the rule of computation of the ages, as they have been found in the well-attested faithful archives of the Church of Christ. For it is founded upon the authority and faithfulness of the Holy Scriptures; and we shall show below how link by link this rule of computation fixes the course of ages, in point and in perfection, from Adam to the birth of Christ down, and down again to the departure of the sovereignty from our nobles, as it was willed by God. We give the computation of the Septuagint for the first four ages of the world, together with the computation which the intelligent and learned men who followed them applied to the ages from the creation of the world till the birth of Christ, which they divided into five parts—namely, from Adam to the Deluge, 2,242 years; from the Deluge to Abraham, 942 years; from Abraham to David, 940 years; from David to the Captivity, 485 years; and from the Bondage to the Birth of Christ, 590 years.

“The reason that we have followed the authorities who follow the Septuagint is, because they add the fifth age to their ages, and, by so doing, they fill up the period of 5,199 years, from the creation of Adam to the birth of Christ. Among the authors who follow the Septuagint, in the first four ages, are, Eusebius, who, in his chronicle, computes from the creation of Adam to the birth of Christ to be 5,199 years. Orosius, in the first chapter of his first book, says, that there are from Adam to Abraham 3,184 years; from Abraham to the birth of Christ, 2,015 years, which make up the same number. These were two illustrious and wise Christian historians. Saint Jerome said also, in his Epistle to Titus, that 6,000 years of the world’s age had not been then completed. Saint Augustine, in the tenth epistle of his twelfth book of the City of God, says, that the time from the creation of man to that time counts six thousand years. Both these are said to agree with the preceding authorities in the same enumeration of 5,199 years from Adam to the birth of Christ. Another authority for the same fact is the Roman Martyrology, which asserts that the full

(41) The custom of the compilers of the older Books of Invasions was always to commence with the Mosaic account of the creation. It is to this that O’Clery alludes, in explaining his departure from this ancient usage of his profession.

amount of the ages from the creation of the world to the birth of Christ was 5,199 years".

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INVASIONS.

The Preface ends here, and is followed by the certificates of the assistant compilers of the work, with the approbations, respectively, of Father Francis Mac Craith, Guardian of the Convent of Lisgoole, where the work was compiled (dated the 22nd day of December, 1631), and of Carbry Mac Ægan, of Bally Mac Ægan, in the County of Tipperary (the 31st of August, 1631).

The original of this valuable book is now in the collection of Lord Ashburnham, and there is a good copy of it in Trinity College Library [H. 1. 12.]. There is a fine paper copy of it in the Royal Irish Academy, made by Cucoigry O'Clery, evidently for himself, but it wants the whole prefatory matter [No. 33. 4.]. This book is a small quarto of 245 pages, closely and beautifully written, and equal to about 400 pages of O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters.

Of the ancient "Books of Invasions", mentioned by O'Clery as having been used in the compilation of this book, we know of none at present existing but *Leabhar-na-h-Uidhre*, which contains now but a small fragment of the Book of Invasions. There are, however, copies of the tract preserved in the Books of Leinster and Lecain, and a slightly imperfect copy in the Book of Ballymote.

The other Irish works compiled or transcribed by Brother Michael O'Clery, and of the existence of which we are aware, are the following, now in the Burgundian Library at Brussels:

The other
Works of
Michael
O'Clery.

1. A volume of Lives of Irish Saints, compiled and written by him in the year 1628.

2. Another large volume of the Lives of the Irish Saints, compiled and written in the year 1629.

3. A volume of Poems on the O'Donnells of Donegall. [These three books I have never seen.](42)

4. A volume containing many ancient and rare Irish Historical Poems, together with the important Tract known as the Wars with the Danes. This volume was borrowed (with the liberal sanction of the Belgian Government), a few years ago, by the Rev. Dr. Todd, S.F.T.C.D., for whom I made a perfect copy of it.

5. The Skeleton Martyrology of Donegall [which I have seen].

(42) Since the delivery of this lecture, the Brehon Law Commissioners borrowed these three books, in the summer of 1856; and I have read, and had several extracts made from them.

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The other
Works of
Michael
O'Clery.

6. The Perfect Martyrology of Donegall, full of important notes and additions. This volume was also borrowed by Dr. Todd, and of this too I made for him a perfect copy.

7. A large volume containing, firstly, a collection of very curious and important ancient forms of prayer, and several religious poems. It contains also a good copy of the *Féiliré*, or Festology of Aengus *Céile Dé* (or the Culdee), as well as copies of the Martyrologies of *Tamhlacht* [Tallaght] and of Marianus Gorman. With the exception of the Festology or Martyrology of Aengus, no part of the contents of this most important book was to be found in Ireland, until this also was obtained for a short time from the Belgian Government by the same distinguished gentleman, and I have made a copy of it for him.

And here, while on the one hand I feel bound to express the strong and grateful sense every Irish archæologist and historian must feel of the enlightened liberality thus exhibited by the Belgian Government (affording so very marked a contrast to the conduct of the English public authorities in such cases, as well as to that of English private owners of manuscript works of this kind), let me not omit to remark upon the example which Dr. Todd's conduct suggests to all Irishmen, and particularly to those who are Catholics. For in this instance, as indeed in others too in which Dr. Todd was concerned, you have an example of a Protestant gentleman, a clergyman of the Protestant Church, and a Fellow of the Protestant University of Dublin, casting away from him all the unworthy prejudices of creed, caste, and position, with which, unfortunately, too many of his class are filled to overflowing, and, like a true scholar and a man of enlarged mind and understanding, endeavouring to recover for his native country as much of her long-lost and widely dispersed ancient literary remains as he can; and this too, I may add, at an expense of time and money which few, if any, in these very utilitarian times, are found disposed to incur.

To my excellent friend, Mr. Laurence Waldron, M.P., of Ballybrack, in the County of Dublin, is due the first discovery of the important collection of Irish MSS. at Brussels, about the year 1844. He was the first that examined (at my request) the Burgundian Library, and he brought me home tracings and descriptions of great accuracy and of deep interest. These tracings I placed in the hands of Dr. Todd, with a request that he would take an opportunity to make a more minute examination of the MSS. Mr. Samuel Bindon, however, having heard of their existence, and having occasion to spend some time at Brussels in the year 1846, made an examination of them, and afterwards compiled a short catalogue of them, which he published on his

return home, and which was read by the Rev. Dr. Todd before a meeting of the Royal Irish Academy on the 10th of May, 1847. LECT. VIII.

Dr. Todd himself, and the Rev. Dr. Graves, F.T.C.D., both visited Brussels shortly afterwards, and each of them brought home yet more ample and accurate reports of those newly-discovered literary treasures. Still, however, no competent person has had time enough to make a detailed analysis of the collection. May I hope that it is reserved for the Catholic University to accomplish an object so desirable and so peculiarly congenial to a young institution which aims to be a truly national one? of the
O'Clery MSS.
in Belgium.

To return from this digression. Besides the above important compilations of the learned and truly patriotic friar Michael O'Clery, he compiled in the Irish college in Louvain, and published in that city in the year 1643, a glossary of ancient and almost obsolete Irish words of great interest and value, not only at that period, but even still. And, as no description of mine could be as accurate or satisfactory as that of the author himself, I shall, as before, give you a literal translation of the title page, and the valuable prefatory address to the Bishop of Elphinn, who belonged himself, it appears, to the same Franciscan Order. The work is entitled:

“A new Vocabulary or Glossary, in which are explained some part of the difficult words of the Gaedhlic, written in alphabetical order, by the poor rude friar Michael O'Clery, of the Order of Saint Francis, in the College of the Irish friars at Louvain, and printed by authority in the year 1643”. [See original in APPENDIX No. LXXV.] Of Michael
O'Clery's
Glossaries.

The Dedication is as follows [see same APP.]:—

“To my honoured lord and friend, *Baathghalach* [Latinized Boetius] Mac Ægan, Bishop of *Ailfinn* [Elphinn].

“Here is presented to you, my lord, a small gleanings of the hard words of our native tongue, collected out of many of the ancient books of our country, and explained according to the understanding and glosses of the chief authors of our country in the latter times, to whom the explanation of the ancient Gaedhilg peculiarly belonged.

“I know not in our country many to whom this gleanings should be first offered before yourself. And it is not alone because that our [conventual] habit is the same (a reason which would otherwise be sufficient to point our attention to you above all others), that has moved us to make you the patron of this book, but along with that, and especially because of your own excellence, and the hereditary attachment of your family to this profession. And further that a man of your name and surname, *Baathghalach*

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Of Michael
O'Clery's
Glossaries.

Ruadh [Boetius the Red] Mac Ægan, is one of the chief authorities whom we follow in the explanation of the words which are treated of in this book.

"We have not, however, desired more than to give a little knowledge to those who are not well versed in their mother tongue, and to excite the more learned to supply such another work as this, but on a better and larger scale".

After this Dedication follows the Preface, or Address to the reader [APPENDIX, No. LXXVI.]:—

"Let the reader who desires to read this little work, know four things: the first is, that we have not set down any word of explanation or gloss of the hard words of our mother tongue, but the words which we found with other persons, as explained by the most competent and learned masters in the knowledge of the difficult words of the Gaedhlic in our own days. Among these, more particularly, were Boetius Roe [*Ruadh*] Mac Ægan, Torna O'Mulconry, *Lughaidh O'Clery*, and *Maelseachlainn* 'the moody' O'Mulconry. And though each of these was an accomplished adept, it is Boetius Roe that we have followed the most, because it was from him we ourselves received, and we have found written with others the explanations of the words of which we treat. And, besides, because he was an illustrious and accomplished scholar in this [the antiquarian] profession, as is manifest in the character which the other scholar before mentioned, *Lughaidh O'Clery*, gave of him after his death, as may be found in these verses:—

"*Athairné*, the father of learning,
Dallan Forgaill, the prime scholar,
To compare with him in intelligence would be unjust.
Nor *Neidé*, the profound in just laws.

"Obscure history, the laws of the ancients,
The occult language of the poets;
He, in a word, to our knowledge,
Had the power to explain and analyze, etc.

"We have known able professors of this science, and even in the latter times, such as the late John O'Mulconry [of *Ardchoill*, in the County of Clare], the chief teacher in history of those we have already named, and indeed of all the men of Erin likewise in his own time; and Flann, the son of Cairbrey Mac Ægan [of Lower Ormond in Tipperary], who still lives; and many more that we do not enumerate. But because we do not happen to have at this side of the sea, where we are in exile,

the ancient books which they glossed, except a few, we could not follow their explanation but to a small extent.

“In the second place, be it known to you, O reader! that the difficult ancient books, to which the ancient authors put glosses, and from which we have taken the following words, with the farther explanation of the parties mentioned above, who taught in these latter times, were: the *Amhra*, [or Elegy] on the death of Saint Colum Cille; the *Agallamh*, or Dialogue of the two Sages; the *Feliré*, or Festology of the Saints; the Martyrology of Marianus O’Gorman; the Liber Hymnorum, or Book of Hymns; the Glossary of the (Tripartite) Life of Saint Patrick; an ancient Scripture on vellum; and a certain old paper book, in which many hard words were found, with their explanations; the glossary called *Forus Focail* (or, ‘The True Knowledge of Words’); and the other glossary, called *Deirbshiur don Eagna an Eigsé* (or, ‘Poetry is the Sister of Wisdom’). And, for the greater part of the book from that out, we received the explanation from the before-mentioned Boetius.

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O’Clery’s
Glossaries

“Be it known to the reader, thirdly, that we have only desired, when proposing to write this little work, to give but a little light to the young and the ignorant, and to stimulate and excite the professors and men of knowledge to produce a work similar to this, but on a better and larger scale. And the reason why we have not followed at length many of the various meanings which poets and professors give to many of these words, is, because that it is to the professors themselves it more particularly belongs, and the people in general are not in as great need of it, as they are in need of assistance to read and understand the ancient books.

“Fourthly. Be it known to the young people, and to the ignorant, who desire to read the old books (which is not difficult to be learned of our country), that they [the old writers] seldom care to write ‘the slender with the broad, and the broad with the slender’ [as required by an ancient orthographical rule]; and that they very rarely put the aspirate *h* upon the consonants, as in the cases of *b*, *c*, *d*, *f*, etc., and also that they seldom put the long dash [or accent] over the words [or vowels]. Some of the consonants, too, are often written the one for the other, such as *c* for *g*, and *t* for *d*. The following are a few specimens of words by which this will be understood: *clog* is the same as *cloc*; *agad* is the same as *agat*; *beag* is the same as *beac*; *codlad* is the same as *cotlad*; *ard* is the same as *art*, etc. Very often, too, *ae* is put for *ao*; *ai* for *aoi*; and *oi* for *aoi*. As an example of this: *aedh* is often written for *aodh*; and *cael* is the same as *caol*; and *baoi* and *boi* are the same as

LECT. VIII. *bai*. *E* is often written for *a* in the old books, such as *die*, which is the same as *dia*, and *cia* the same as *cie*".

This valuable preface closes with a few examples of contractions, which are intelligible only to the eye [see APPENDIX, No. LXXVII.]

These are all the works I know of by Michael O'Clery.

Of the
writings of
Conairé and
Cucoigry
O'Clery.

Of the writings of *Conairé* O'Clery, brother of Fathers Bernardine and Michael, and who transcribed the chief part of the fair copy of the Annals of the Four Masters now in the Royal Irish Academy, I have not been so fortunate as to discover any trace beyond his part in that work.

In the beautiful handwriting of *Cucoigeriché* (Cucoigry or Peregrine) O'Clery, we have, besides his part of the Annals of the Four Masters, a few specimens preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. We have:—

1. A copy (evidently made for his own use) of the *Leabhar Gabhála*, or Book of Conquests, already mentioned.

2. A copy of the topographical poems of O'Dugan and *O'Huidhrín*, together with some other ancient historical poems.

3. A book of the genealogies and pedigrees of the great Irish races, as also of the Geraldines, Butlers, etc.

In the volume in which these pieces are preserved, the last article is the Last Will and Testament of Cucoigry O'Clery himself, written in Gaedhlic, in his usual beautiful hand, on a small quarto page of paper, and dated at *Cuirr-na-Heillté*, in the county of Mayo, the 8th of February, 1664, which must have been, I should think, some five or six years before his death.

The will begins in the usual way: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost"; and after ordering that his body should be buried in the Monastery of *Buirgheis Umhaill*, or in whatever other consecrated church his friends might choose, he proceeds to bequeath the property most dear to him of all that he had acquired in this world, namely, his books, to his two sons, Dermait and John, to be used by them as their necessities should require. And he directed that the books should be equally at the service of the children of his brother *Cairbré*, with a charge that his sons and his nephews should instruct their children in the acquaintance and use of these books. [See the original of this will in the APPENDIX, No. LXXVIII.]

He appears to have had very little property besides to leave his sons, and they do not seem to have much increased it. The last recognized member of his descendants, the late John O'Clery, died quite a young man in Dublin about four years ago. This

John was the son of John O'Clery, who was many years gate-clerk at the gas works in Great Brunswick Street in this city. To him the books that we have been speaking of did actually come down by lawful descent; and, having brought them to Dublin about the year 1817, they subsequently passed from his hands into those of the late Edward O'Reilly, at the sale of whose books they were fortunately purchased for the Library of the Royal Irish Academy by Dr. Petrie.

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Of the
writings of
Cucoigry
O'Clery.

With his other literary accomplishments, hereditary and acquired, Cucoigry O'Clery appears to have been no mean adept in the poetic art of his country. I have in my own possession two poems written by him a short time before his death for some members of the great house of his ancient patrons, the O'Donnells of Donegall. [See original in APPENDIX No. LXXIX.]

The first of these is a poem of forty quatrains, addressed to Torloch, the son of *Cathbharr* [pron: "Cáffar"] O'Donnell. It is a philosophical and religious address on the vanities and the fleeting dignities and interests of the world. He condoles with O'Donnell upon the fallen fortunes of his house, and the dispersion of his family and people. He compliments him as having, after the plantation of Ulster, collected about him a body of his own people, and having visited at their head (during the Cromwellian wars) all parts of Ireland, gaining honour and emolument with them wherever they went, during the space of fourteen years; and that then only he permitted them, when all hope of success was past, to submit themselves to the English law, and so disbanded them at Port-Erne, on the borders of their own ancient territory. He exhorts the aged chieftain and warrior, that as he had been granted such a long life (being, at this time, over seventy years of age), he should now dismiss from his mind ambitious aspirations, and should rather turn it to devotion and to penance for his sins. He says, that he himself will be the first of the two to be called before the Heavenly throne, and that this is his last literary effort and gift bestowed upon him at the close of his life.

The second poem is a poem of thirty-four quatrains, in answer to one addressed to him by *Calbhach Ruadh* [Roe] O'Donnell. O'Donnell's poem appears to have contained a request to O'Clery to take up the history and genealogies of the Tirconnell race, as he was bound to do, he being the last of their hereditary *Seanchaidhé*. O'Donnell complains, too, of his having been driven by the foreigners out of Mayo, where his family had taken refuge, and forced to seek for a new home in the neighbourhood of *Cruachain*, in the County Roscommon. In O'Clery's poem the poet recommends his young friend

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Of the
O'Clerys.

O'Donnell to the attention of his own learned tutors, the O'Mulconrys and the O'Higginses of the county Roscommon, who will, he assures him, extend to him the literary homage due to his own worth and to the well earned fame of his family.

Whatever may be the poetical value of these pieces of Cuco-gry O'Clery, they certainly are not wanting in a clear appreciation of the shifting of the scenes in this uncertain world, and the firmest religious conviction of the interference of an All-guiding hand in their direction. As specimens of the writing of one of our last literary scholars, they cannot fail to be interesting.

I have now closed what I had prepared to say to you about the O'Clerys. If any apology were necessary for my having dwelt so long upon their labours and themselves, remember that I have done so on the ground of theirs being the last and greatest school of Irish historians, and not on account of the peculiar authority which, of itself, every record and assertion of such careful and critical scholars has ever since been held to bear, and must ever continue to bear with it.

LECTURE IX.

[Delivered July 10, 1856.]

Of the chief existing Ancient Books. The *Leabhar na h-Uidhré*. The "Book of Leinster". The "Book of Ballymote". The MS. commonly called the *Leabhar Breac*. The "Yellow Book of Lecain". The "Book of Lecain". Of the other Books and ancient MSS. in the Libraries of Trinity College, Dublin; the Royal Irish Academy; and elsewhere. The "Book of Lismore". The MSS. called the Brehon Law MSS.

WE have now disposed of the chief national Annals, and we have noticed the other historical works of the last and greatest of the annalists. But, though in some respects, undoubtedly, the most important, the compositions we have been considering form, after all, but a small portion of the immense mass of materials which exist in Irish manuscripts for the elucidation of our history.

In the course of the present series of Lectures, it will be my duty to describe to you,—not indeed in the same detail with which I have thought it right to deal with the annalists, but so as to make you understand, generally at least, their nature, value, and extent,—the vast collections of Historic Tracts which our great MS. libraries fortunately possess; and I shall also have to bring under your notice some of the more important of those pieces which have come down to us in the form of systematic historical compositions, such as the "Wars of the Danes", the "Boromean Tribute", etc.

But, before I do this, I desire to complete, in the first place, that part of my design, in this preparatory course, which consists of laying before you, at one view, the larger features of our existing stock of materials for the elucidation of early Irish history. Accordingly, it is my intention, before passing to the consideration of the interesting pieces which record for us the special details of local and personal history, to present to you the outlines of the nature and contents of the great books themselves in which not only all these Tracts are preserved, but also the immense number of Genealogies in which the names and tribes of our people are recorded from the earliest ages; books, many of which are themselves the sources from which the O'Clerys, and other annalists before them, drew all their knowledge.

Fortunately, of these great books we have, as in the first

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Of the old
MSS. still
existing.

Lecture you have been shortly informed, many still remaining to us, in perfect preservation. And there is not one of you to whom the originals themselves, notwithstanding the wear and tear of centuries, may not easily become intelligible—so beautifully was the scribe's work performed in early days in Ireland—whenever you shall be disposed to devote but half the time to the study of the noble old language of Erin, which you devote to that of the great classic tongues of other ancient people. A visit to the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, or of Trinity College, will, however, little serve to make you aware of the vast extent of the treasures which lie in the dark-written musty-looking old books you are shown there as curiosities, unless you shall provide yourselves with the key which some acquaintance with their characters and language alone will afford. In the short account, therefore, which I am about to lay before you, of the great vellum books and MSS. in Dublin, I shall add, in every case, some approximate calculation of their length, by reference to the number of pages each book would fill, if printed (the Irish text alone) in large quarto volumes, such as those of O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*. And when you have heard of what matter the contents of these books consist, and reflect upon the length to which, if printed in full, they would extend, I think you will agree with me that all that I have said upon the value of our MS. treasures will, on better acquaintance with them, be found to fall far short of the reality.

The LEA-
BHAR NA
H-UIDHRE.

The first of these ancient books that merits notice, because it is the oldest, is that which is known by the name of *LEABHAR NA H-UIDHRE*, or the Book of the Dun Cow, to which I have already shortly alluded in a former lecture. Of this book, so often referred to in Michael O'Clery's Prefaces, we have now, unfortunately, but a fragment remaining—a fragment which consists, however, of 138 folio pages, and is written on very old vellum.

The name and period of writing the book of which it is a fragment, might, perhaps, be now lost for ever, if the curious history of the book itself had not led to, and in some degree indeed necessitated, their preservation. All that we know about it is found in two entries, written at different periods, in a blank part of the second column of the first page of folio 35. Of the first of these curious entries, the following is a literal translation [See original in APPENDIX, No. LXXX.]:—

“Pray for *Maelmuiré*, the son of *Ceilechair*, that is, the son of the son of *Conn-na-m-Bocht*, who wrote and collected this book from various books. Pray for *Donnell*, the son of *Murtoch*, son of *Donnell*, son of *Tadhg* [or *Teig*], son of *Brian*, son of *An-*

deas, son of Brian *Luighneach*, son of *Turloch Mór* [or the Great] O'Connor. It was this Donnell that directed the renewal of the name of the person who wrote this beautiful book, by *Sigraídh O'Cuirnín*; and is it not as well for us to leave our blessing with the owner of this book, as to send it to him by the mouth of any other person? And it is a week from this day to Easter Saturday, and a week from yesterday to the Friday of the Crucifixion; and [there will be] two Golden Fridays on that Friday, that is, the Friday of the festival of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Friday of the Crucifixion, and this is greatly wondered at by some learned persons".

The following is the translation of the second entry,—same page and column [see same APP.]:—

"A prayer here for *Aedh Ruadh* [Hugh the Red-haired], the son of *Níall Garbh* O'Donnell, who forcibly recovered this book from the people of Connacht, and the *Leabhar Gearr* [or Short Book] along with it, after they had been away from us from the time of *Cathal óg* O'Connor to the time of Rory son of Brian [O'Connor]; and ten lords ruled over Carbury [or Sligo] between them. And it was in the time of Conor, the son of Hugh O'Donnell, that they were taken to the west, and this is the way in which they were so taken: The Short Book, in ransom for O'Doherty, and *Leabhar na h-Uidhre* [that is, the present book] in ransom of the son of O'Donnell's chief family historian, who was captured by *Cathal*, and carried away as a pledge; and thus they [the books] were away from the *Cenel Conaill* [or O'Donnells] from the time of Conor [O'Donnell] to the [present] time of Hugh".

There is some mistake in this last memorandum. Conor, the son of Hugh O'Donnell, in whose time the books are stated here to have been carried into Connaught, was slain by his brother Níall in the year 1342, according to the Annals of the Four Masters; and the capture of John O'Doherty by *Cathal óg* O'Connor, at the battle of Ballyshannon, took place in the year 1359. The proper reading would, therefore, seem to be, that *Leabhar na h-Uidhre* passed into Connacht first, before Conor O'Donnell's death in 1342, and that the *Leabhar Gearr*, or Short Book, was given in ransom for O'Doherty in 1359; Conor O'Donnell's reign covering both periods, as the writer does not seem to recognize the reign of the fratricide Níall.

The following passage from the Annals of the Four Masters will make this last entry more intelligible, and show that it was made in Donegall in the year 1470 [see original in APPENDIX, No. LXXXI.]:—

"A.D. 1470. The Castle of Sligo was taken, after a long

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siege, by O'Donnell, that is, Hugh the Red-haired, from Donnell, the son of Eoghan O'Conor. On this occasion he obtained all that he demanded by way of reparation, besides receiving tokens of submission and tribute from Lower Connacht. It was on this occasion too that he recovered the book called *Leabhar Gearr* [or the Short Book], and another, *Leabhar na h-Uidhré*, as well as the chairs of Donnell óg [O'Donnell], which had been carried thither in the time of John, the son of Conor, son of Hugh, son of Donnell óg O'Donnell".

In reference to the first entry, it must have been made while the book was in Connacht, and by *Sigraídh O'Cuirnín*, who was, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, a learned poet of Bricfney, and died in the year 1347; and he must have made the entry in the year 1345, as that was the only year at this particular period in which Good Friday happened to fall on the festival of the Annunciation, or the 25th of March. This fact is further borne out by an entry in the Annals of the Four Masters, which records that Conor O'Donnell, chief of Tirconnell, died in the year 1342, after a reign of nine years; and we have seen from the entry, that it was in his time that this book must have been carried into Connacht. According to the same Annals, Donnell, the son of Murtach O'Conor, died in the year 1437, by whose direction *O'Cuirnín* renewed the name of the original writer,—which, even at this early period, seems to have disappeared, several leaves of the book, and amongst others that which contained this entry, having even then been lost.

Of the original compiler and writer of the *Leabhar na h-Uidhré*, I have been able to learn nothing more than the following brief and melancholy notice of his death in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1106 [see original in APPENDIX, No. LXXXII.]:—

"*Maelmuiri*, son of the son of *Conn na m-Bocht*, was killed in the middle of the great stone church of Cluainmacnois, by a party of robbers".

A memorandum, in the original hand, at the top of folio 45, clearly identifies the writer of the book with the person whose death is recorded in the passage just quoted from the Annals; it is partly in Latin and partly in Gaedhlic, as follows:—

"This is a trial of his pen here, by *Maelmuiri*, son of the son of Conn" [see original in APPENDIX, No. LXXXIII.]

This *Conn na m-Bocht*, or "Conn of the Poor", as he was called from his devotion to their relief and care, was a lay religious of Clonmacnois, and the father and founder of a distinguished family of scholars, lay and ecclesiastical. He appears to have been the founder and superior of a community of poor

lay monks, of the *Ceilé Dé* (or "Culdee") order, in connexion with that great establishment; and he died in the year 1059.

The contents of the MS., as they stand now, are of a mixed character, historical and romantic, and relate to the ante-Christian, as well as the Christian period. The book begins with a fragment of the Book of Genesis, part of which was always prefixed to the Book of Invasions (or ancient Colonizations) of Erin, for genealogical purposes; (and there is good reason to believe, that a full tract on this subject was contained in the book so late as the year 1631, as Father Michael O'Clery quotes it in his new compilation of the Book of Invasions made in that year for Brian MacGuire).

This is followed by a fragment of the history of the Britons, by Nennius, translated into Gaedhlic by *Gilla Caomhain*, the poet and chronologist, who died A.D. 1072. (This tract was published by the Irish Archæological Society in 1848.)

The next important piece is the very ancient elegy, written by the poet *Dallan Forgaill*, on the death of Saint Colum Cille, in the year 592. It is remarkable that even at the early period of the compilation of the *Leabhar na h-Uidhré*, this celebrated poem should have required a gloss to make it intelligible. The gloss, which is as usual interlined, is not very copious, but it is most important, both in a philological and historical point of view, because of the many more ancient compositions quoted in it for the explanation of words; which compositions, therefore, must then have been still in existence.

The elegy is followed by fragments of the ancient historic tale of the *Mesca Uladh*, [or Inebriety of the Ultonians.] who, in a fit of excitement, after a great feast at the royal palace of Emania, made a sudden and furious march into Munster, where they burned the palace of *Teamhair Luachra*, in Kerry, then the residence of *Curoi Mac Dairé*, king of West Munster. This tract abounds in curious notices of topography, as well as in allusions to and descriptions of social habits and manners.

Next come fragments of *Táin Bó Dartadha*, and the *Táin Bó Flidais*; both Cattle Spoils, arising out of the celebrated Cattle Spoil of *Cuailgne*. Next comes the story of the wanderings of Maelduin's ship in the Atlantic, for three years and seven months, in the eighth century. These are followed by imperfect copies of: the *Táin Bó Chuailgne*, or great cattle spoil of *Cuailgne*; the *Bruighean Da Dearga*, and death of the monarch *Conaire Mór*; a history of the great pagan cemeteries of Erin, and of the various old books from which this and other pieces were compiled; poems by Flann of Monasterboice and others; together with various other pieces of history and his-

LECT. I

THE LEABHAR NA H-UIDHRE

LECT. IX. toric romance, chiefly referring to the ante-Christian period, and especially that of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*. This most valuable MS. belongs to the Royal Irish Academy. If printed at length, the text of it would make about 500 pages of the Annals of the Four Masters.

The Book of
LEINSTER.

The next ancient book which I shall treat of is that at present known under the name of the **BOOK OF LEINSTER**. It can be shown, from various internal evidences, that this volume was either compiled or transcribed in the first half of the twelfth century, by Finn Mac Gorman, Bishop of Kildare, who died in the year 1160; and that it was compiled by order of *Aodh Mac Crimhthainn*, the tutor of the notorious Dermot Mac Murroch—that king of Leinster who first invited Earl Strongbow and the Anglo-Normans into Ireland, in the year 1169. The book was evidently compiled for Dermot, under the superintendence of his tutor, by Mac Gorman, who had probably been a fellow-pupil of the king. In support of this assertion, I need only transcribe the following entry, which occurs, in the original hand, at the end of folio 202, page b. of the book [see original in **APPENDIX**, No. **LXXXIV.**]:—

“Benediction and health from Finn, the Bishop of Kildare, to *Aedh* [Hugh] *Mac Crimhthainn*, the tutor of the chief king of *Leth Mogha Nuadat* [or of Leinster and Munster], successor of Colum, the son of *Crimhthann*, and chief historian of Leinster in wisdom, intelligence, and the cultivation of books, knowledge, and learning. And I write the conclusion of this little tale for thee, O acute *Aedh*! [Hugh] thou possessor of the sparkling intellect. May it be long before we are without thee. It is my desire that thou shouldst be always with us. Let Mac Lonan’s book of poems be given to me, that I may understand the sense of the poems that are in it; and farewell in Christ”; etc.

This note must be received as sufficient evidence to bring the date of this valuable manuscript within the period of a man’s life, whose death, as a Catholic bishop, happened in the year 1160, and who was, I believe, consecrated to the ancient see of Kildare in the year 1148, long before which period, of course, he must have been employed to write out this book. Of the *Aedh Mac Crimhthainn* for whom he wrote it, I have not been able to ascertain anything more than what appears above; but he must have flourished early in the twelfth century to be the tutor of Dermot Mac Murroch, who, in concert with O’Brien, had led the men of Leinster against the Danes of Waterford, so far back as the year, 1137.

That this book belonged either to Dermot Mac Murroch himself, or to some person who had him warmly at heart, will appear plainly from the following memorandum, which is written in a strange but ancient hand, in the top margin of folio 200, page a. [see original in APPENDIX, No. LXXXV.]:—

“O Virgin Mary! it is a great deed that has been done in Erinn this day, the kalends of August—viz., Dermot, the son of Donnoch Mac Murroch, king of Leinster, and of the Danes [of Dublin], to have been banished over the sea eastwards by the men of Erinn. Uch, uch, O Lord! what shall I do?”

The book consists, at present, of over four hundred pages of large folio vellum; but there are many leaves of the old pagination missing.

To give anything like a satisfactory analysis of this book, would take at least one whole lecture. I cannot, therefore, within my present limited space do more than glance at its general character, and point, by name only, to a few of the many important pieces preserved in it.

It begins as usual with a Book of Invasions of Erinn, but without the Book of Genesis; after which the succession of the monarchs to the year 1169; and the succession and obituary of the provincial and other minor kings, etc. Then follow specimens of ancient versification,—poems on Tara, and an ancient plan and explanation of the *Teach Midhehuarta*, or Banqueting Hall of that ancient royal city. (These poems and plan have been published by Dr. Petrie, in his paper on the history of Tara, printed in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy for 1839, vol. xviii.) After these come poems on the wars of the Leinstermen, the Ulstermen, and the Munstermen, in great numbers, many of them of the highest historic interest and value; and some prose pieces and small poems on Leinster, of great antiquity—some of them, as I believe, certainly written by *Dubhthach*, the great antiquarian and poet, who was Saint Patrick's first convert at Tara. After these a fine copy of the history of the celebrated Battle of *Ross na Righ*, on the Boyne, fought between the men of Leinster and Ulster at the beginning of the Christian era. A copy of the *Mesca Uladh*, or Inebriety of the Ultonians, imperfect at the end, but which can be made perfect by the fragment of it already mentioned in *Leabhar na h-Uidhré*. A fine copy of the Origin of the Boromean Tribute, and the battles that ensued down to its remission. A fragment of the “Battle of *Cennabrat*”, in Munster, with the defeat of Mac Con by *Oilioll Oluim*, Mac Con's flight into Scotland, his return afterwards with a large force of Scottish and British

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adventurers, his landing in the bay of Galway, and the ensuing battle of *Magh Mucruimhé*, fought between him and his maternal uncle, Art, the monarch of Erin, in which battle the latter was defeated and killed, as well as the seven sons of *Oilioll Oluim*. A variety of curious and important short tracts relating to Munster, are also to be found in the Book of Leinster, besides this last one, up to the middle of the eighth century. This volume likewise contains a small fragment of Cormac's Glossary, copied, perhaps with many more of these pieces, from the veritable Saltair of Cashel itself; also, a fragment, unfortunately a very small one, (the first folio only), of the Wars of the Danes and the Gaedhils (*i. e.* the Irish); a copy of the *Dinnsenchus*, a celebrated ancient topographical tract, which was compiled at Tara about the year 550; several ancient poems on universal geography, chronology, history, and so forth; pedigrees and genealogies of the great Milesian tribes and families, particularly those of Leinster; and lastly, an ample list of the early saints of Erin, with their pedigrees and affinities, and with copious references to the situations of their churches.

This is but an imperfect sketch of this invaluable MS., and I think I may say with sorrow, that there is not in all Europe any nation but this of ours that would not long since have made a national literary fortune out of such a volume, had any other country in Europe been fortunate enough to possess such an heir-loom of history.

The volume forms, at present, part of the rich store of ancient Irish literature preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin; and if printed at length, the Gaedhlic text of it would make 2000 pages of the Annals of the Four Masters.

The Book of
BALLYMOTE.

The next book in order of antiquity, of which I shall treat, is the well known BOOK OF BALLYMOTE.

This noble volume, though defective in a few places, still consists of 251 leaves, or 502 pages of the largest folio vellum, equal to about 2500 pages of the printed Annals of the Four Masters.

It was written by different persons, but chiefly by Solomon O'Droma and Manus O'Duigenann; and we find it stated at folio 62.b., that it was written at Ballymote (in the county of Sligo) in the house of *Tomaltach óg* Mac Donogh, Lord of Corann in that county, at the time that *Torlogh óg*, the son of Hugh O'Connor, was king of Connacht; and Charles O'Connor of Belanagar has written in it the date 1391, as the precise year in which this part of the book was written. This book, like all our old books still existing, is but a compilation collected

from various sources, and must, like them, be held to represent to a great extent several older compilations. LECT. IX.

It begins with an imperfect copy of the ancient *Leabhar Gabhála*, or Book of Invasions of Erin, differing in a few details from other copies of the same tract. This is followed by a series of ancient chronological, historical, and genealogical pieces in prose and verse. Then follow the pedigrees of Irish saints; the history and pedigrees of all the great families of the Milesian race, with the various minor tribes and families which have branched off from them in the succession of ages; so that there scarcely exists an O' or a Mac at the present day who may not find in this book the name of the particular remote ancestor whose name he bears as a surname, as well as the time at which he lived, what he was, and from what more ancient line he again was descended. These genealogies may appear unimportant to ordinary readers; but those who have essayed to illustrate any branch of the ancient history of this country, and who could have availed themselves of them, have found in them the most authentic, accurate, and important auxiliaries: in fact, a history which has remained so long unwritten as that of ancient Erin, could never be satisfactorily compiled at all without them. Of these genealogies I shall have more to say in a subsequent lecture. [See *post*, LECT. X.] THE BOOK OF BALLYMOTE.

These family histories are followed, in the Book of Ballymote, by some accounts of Conor Mac Nessa, king of Ulster; of *Aithirné* the Satirist; the tragical death of the beautiful lady *Luaidet*; the story of the adventures of the monarch Cormac Mac Art in fairy-land; some curious and valuable sketches of the death of the monarch *Crimhthann Mór*; a tract on the accession of Niall of the Nine Hostages to the monarchy, his wars, and the death of his brother *Fiachra*, at *Forraidh* (in the present county of Westmeath), on his return, mortally wounded, from the battle of *Caenraighe* (Kenry, in the present county of Limerick).

Some of these pieces are, doubtless, mixed up with mythological fable; but as the main facts, as well as all the actors, are real, and as to these mythological fables may be traced up many of the characteristic popular customs and superstitions still remaining among us, these pieces must be looked upon as materials of no ordinary value by the historical and antiquarian investigator. After these follow tracts, in prose and verse, on the names, parentage, and husbands of the most remarkable women in Irish history, down to the twelfth century; a tract on the mothers of the Irish saints; a tract on the origin of the names and surnames of the most remarkable men in ancient Irish history; and an ancient law tract on the rights, privileges, rewards,

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The BOOK OF
BALLYMOTE.

and so forth, of the learned classes, such as the ecclesiastical orders, the orders of poets, teachers, judges, etc. After this we have the ancient translation into the Gaedhlic of the history of the Britons by Nennius, before alluded to as having been published a few years ago by the Irish Archæological Society; an ancient Grammar and Prosody, richly illustrated with specimens of ancient Irish versification; a tract on the Ogham alphabets of the ancient Irish, with illustrations (about to be published shortly by the Archæological Society, edited by my respected friend, the Rev. Dr. Graves, F.T.C.D.); the book of reciprocal rights and tributes of the monarch and provincial kings, and some minor chiefs of ancient Ireland (a most important document, published for the first time in 1847, by the Celtic Society); a tract on the ancient history, chiefs, and chieftaincies of *Corca Laoi*, or O'Driscoll's country, in the county of Cork (published also by the Celtic Society, in their Miscellany for 1849); a copy of the *Dinnsenchus*, or great topographical tract; and a translation or account in ancient Gaedhlic, with a critical collation of various texts, of the Argonautic expedition and the Trojan war.

The book ends with the adventures of Æneas after the destruction of Troy.

The Gaedhlic text of this great book, which belongs to the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, would make about 2500 pages of the Annals of the Four Masters.

The MS.
KNOWN AS
the LEABHAR
BREAC.

As I have, in a former lecture, given a free analysis of the MS. commonly called the LEABHAR BREAC, or Speckled Book, an ancient vellum MS. preserved in the same library, I have only to add here that the Gaedhlic text of that most important volume would make above 2000 pages of the Annals of the Four Masters.

The YELLOW
BOOK OF
LECAIN.

The next great book which merits our attention is that which has been lately discovered to be, in great part, the *Leabhar Buidhé Lecain*, or YELLOW BOOK OF LECAIN, one of the ponderous compilations of the truly learned and industrious family of the Mac Fírbíse of that ancient seat of learning. It is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, where it is classed H. 2. 16.

This volume, notwithstanding many losses, consists of about 500 pages of large quarto vellum, equal to about 2000 pages of Gaedhlic text, printed like O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters; and, with the exception of a few small tracts in other and somewhat later hands, it is all finely written by Donnoch and *Gilla Isa Mac Fírbis*, in the year 1390.

The Yellow Book of Lecain, in its original form, would appear to have been a collection of ancient historical pieces, civil and ecclesiastical, in prose and verse. In its present condition, it begins with a collection of family and political poems, relating chiefly to the families of O'Kelly and O'Connor of Connacht, and the O'Donnells of Donegall. This tract made no part of the original book. These pieces are followed by some monastic rules in verse, and some poems on ancient Tara, with another fine copy of the plan and explanation of its *Teach Midhchuarta*, or Banqueting Hall; the same which has been published by Dr. Petrie in his Essay on the History and Antiquities of Tara. After this an account of the creation, with the formation and fall of man, translated evidently from the Book of Genesis. This biblical piece is followed by the Feast of *Dun na n-Gedh* and the battle of *Magh Rath* (two important tracts published from this copy by the Irish Archæological Society); then a most curious and valuable account, though a little tinged with fable, of the reign and death of *Muirchertach Mac Erca*, monarch of Ireland, at the palace of *Cleitech*, on the banks of the River Boyne, in the year of our Lord 527; an imperfect copy of the *Táin Bo Chuailgné*, or great Cattle Spoil of Cuailgné, in Louth, with several of the minor cattle spoils that grew out of it; after which is a fine copy of the *Bruighean Da Dearga*, and death of the monarch *Conaire Mór*; the tale of the wanderings of *Maelduin's* ship (for more than three years) in the Atlantic; some most interesting tracts concerning the banishment of an ancient tribe from East Meath, and an account of the wanderings of some Irish ecclesiastics in the Northern Ocean, where they found the exiles; an abstract of the battle of Dunbolg, in Wicklow, where the monarch, *Aedh Mac Ainmiré*, was slain, in the year 594; the battle of *Magh Rath* (in the present county of Down), in which Congal Claen, prince of Ulidia, was slain, in the year 634 (published by the Irish Archæological Society); and the battle of *Almhain* (now Allen, in the present County of Kildare), where the monarch *Fergal* was killed, in the year 718. A variety of curious pieces follow, relating to Conor Mac Nessa; *Curoi Mac Dairé* (pron. nearly "Cooree Mac Darry"); *Labhraidh Loingseach* ("Lovra Lingsha"), king of Leinster; Niall of the Nine Hostages, and his poet Torna; together with many other valuable tracts and scraps, which I can do no more than allude to at present; and the volume ends with a fine copy (imperfect at the beginning) of the law tract I have already mentioned, when speaking of the Book of Ballymote. This volume would make about 2000 pages of the Annals of the Four Masters.

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The BOOK OF
LECAIN.

The next of these great books to which I would desire your attention, is the volume so well known as the BOOK OF LECAIN. This book was compiled in the year 1416, by *Gilla Isa Mór* Mac Firbis of *Lecain Mic Fhirbisigh*, in the county of Sligo, one of the great school of teachers of that celebrated locality, and the direct ancestor of the learned *Dubhaltach* [or *Duald*] Mac Firbis, already mentioned. This book, which belongs to the library of the Royal Irish Academy, contains over 600 pages, equal to 2400 pages of the Gaedhlic text of the Annals of the Four Masters. It is beautifully and accurately written on vellum of small folio size, chiefly in the hand of *Gilla Isa* Mac Firbis, though there are some small parts of it written, respectively, in the hands of Adam *O'Cuirnin* (the historian of *Breifné*, or Briefney) and Morogh *Riabhadh O'Cuindlis*.⁽⁴³⁾

The first nine folios of the Book of Lecain were lost, until discovered by me a few years ago bound up in a volume of the Seabright Collection, in the library of Trinity College.

The Book of Lecain differs but little, in its arrangement and general contents, from the Book of Ballymote. It contains two copies of the Book of Invasions, an imperfect one at the beginning, but a perfect one, with the Succession of the Kings, and the tract on the Boromean Tribute, at the end. It contains fine copies of the ancient historical, synchronological, chronological, and genealogical poems already spoken of as comprised in the Book of Ballymote, as well as some that are not contained in that volume. These are followed by the family history and genealogies of the Milesians, with considerable and important additions to those found in the Book of Ballymote. Among the additions is a very valuable tract, in prose and verse, by Mac Firbis himself, on the families and subdivisions of the territory of *Tir-Fiachrach*, in the present county of Sligo; a tract which has been published by the Irish Archæological Society under the title of "The Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach".

Of the chief
vellum MSS.
in T.C.D.

The other ancient vellum books of importance, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, may be described as follows:—

1. A folio volume of ancient laws, of 120 pages, on vellum, written about the year 1400 (classed E. 3. 5.) This forms part of the collection shortly to be published by the Brehon Law Commission, and would make about 400 pages of the Annals of the Four Masters.

⁽⁴³⁾ And here I may perhaps be permitted to observe, that I believe the families of Forbes and Candlish in Scotland, are the same as, and indeed directly descended from, those of Mac Firbis and *O'Cuindlis* in Ireland.

2. A small folio volume, of 430 pages, on vellum (classed H. 2. 7), consisting chiefly of Irish pedigrees; together with some historical poems on the O'Kellys and O'Maddens, and some fragments of ancient historic tracts of great value, the titles of which, however, are missing. It contains also some translations from ancient Anglo-Saxon writers of romance, and a fragment of an ancient translation of Giraldus Cambrensis' History of the Conquest of Erin. The handwriting appears to be of the sixteenth century, and the contents of the volume would make about 900 pages of the Annals of the Four Masters.

3. A large folio volume, of 238 pages (classed H. 2. 15), part on vellum, part on paper, consisting of a fragment of Brehon laws, on vellum, transcribed about the year 1300; two copies of Cormac's Glossary, on paper (one of them by Duaid Mac Firis); another ancient Derivative Glossary, in the same hand; and some fragments of the early history of Erin, on vellum. This volume would make about 500 pages of the Annals of the Four Masters.

4. A large folio volume, of 400 pages (classed H. 2. 17), part on paper, and part on vellum, consisting chiefly of fragments of various old books or tracts, and, among others, a fragment of a curious ancient medical treatise. This volume likewise contains a fragment of the *Táin Bó Chuailgné*; and, among merely literary tales, it includes that of the Reign of Saturn, an imperfect eastern story, as well as an account of the Argonautic expedition (imperfect), and of the Destruction of Troy (also imperfect). With this volume are bound up nine leaves belonging to the Book of Lecain, containing, amongst other things, the "Dialogue of the Two Sages"; the Royal Precepts of King Cormac Mac Art; a fragment of the Danish Wars; short biographical sketches of some of the Irish Saints; and many other interesting historic pieces. The Gaedhlic text of this volume would make altogether about 1400 pages of the Annals of the Four Masters.

5. A large vellum quarto (classed H. 3. 3), containing a fine, but much decayed, copy of the *Dinnseanchus*. It would make about 100 pages.

6. A small quarto volume, of 870 pages, on vellum, written in the sixteenth century (classed H. 3. 17.). The contents, up to the 617th page, consist of ancient laws; and from that to the end the contents are of the most miscellaneous character. They consist chiefly of short pieces, such as Bricinn's Feast, an ancient tale of the Ultonians (imperfect); an account of the expulsion of the *Déisé*, (Decies, or Deasys), from Bregia; a list of the wonders of Erin; the tract on the ancient pagan

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cemeteries of Erin; the account of the Division of Erin among the *Aitheach Tuatha* (called by English writers the Attacots); the discovery of Cashel, and story of the two Druids: together with the genealogies of the O'Briens, and the Succession of the monarchs of Ireland of the line of *Eber*. In the same volume will be found, too, the curious account of the revelation of the Crucifixion to Conor Mac Nessa, king of Ulster, by his druid, on the day upon which it occurred, and of the death of Conor in consequence; the story of the elopement of Erc, daughter of the king of *Albain* (or Scotland), with the Irish prince *Muiredhach*, grandson of Niall of the Nine Hostages; a tract on Omens, from the croaking of ravens, etc.; the translation of the history of the Britons by Nennius; the story of the courtship of *Finn Mac Cumhaill* (pron. "Finn Mac Coole") and *Ailbhé* (pron. "Alveh"), the daughter of king Cormac Mac Art; together with many other short but valuable pieces. This volume would make 1700 pages of Gaedhlic text like those of the *Annals of the Four Masters*.

7. A small quarto volume, of 665 pages of vellum, and 194 pages paper, written in the sixteenth century (classed H. 3. 18). The first 500 pages contain various tracts and fragments of ancient laws. The remainder, to the end, consists of several independent glossaries, and glosses of ancient poems and prose tracts; together with the ancient historical tales of *Bruighean Da Chogadh* (pron. "Breean dâ Cugga"); a story of *Cathal Mac Finghuiné*, king of Munster in the middle of the eighth century; stories of *Ronan Mac Aedha* (pron. "Mac Œa", or Mac Hugh), king of Leinster; and the story of the poetess *Liadain*, of Kerry. This volume contains also the account of the revolution of the *Aitheach Tuatha* [or Attacots], and the murder by them of the kings and nobles of Erin; Tundal's vision; poems on the O'Neills, and on the Mac Donnell of Antrim; John O'Mulchonroy's celebrated poem on *Brian-na-Murtha* O'Rourke; together with a great number of short articles on a variety of historic subjects, bearing on all parts of Erin; and some pedigrees of the chief families of Ulster, Connacht, and Leinster. This volume would make about 1800 pages of the *Annals of the Four Masters*.

8. A small quarto volume, of 230 pages (classed H. 4. 22), seventy of which contain fragments of ancient laws. The remainder of the book contains a great variety of tracts and poems, and among others a large and important tract on the first settlement of the Milesians in Erin; a fragment of the tale called *Bricrinn's Feast*; several ancient poems on the families of the O'Neills, the O'Driscolls, the Mac Renalds, etc.;

together with various small poems and prose tracts of some value. This volume appears to be made up of fragments of two books. The writing of the first seventy pages seems to be of the sixteenth century, but the remaining part appears to be at least a century older. The entire volume has suffered much from neglect, and from exposure to smoke and damp. The Gaedhlic text of it would make about 500 pages of the Annals of the Four Masters.

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Of the chief vellum MSS. in T.C.D.

To these books I may add (as being preserved in the same library) the Annals of Ulster, and those of Loch Cé, already spoken of, both on vellum, and the text of which would make about 900 pages of the Annals of the Four Masters.

Besides these vellum manuscripts of law and history, the Trinity College library contains a large collection of paper MSS. of great value, being transcripts of ancient vellum books made chiefly in the first half of the last century. To enumerate, and even partially to analyse, these paper MSS., would carry me far beyond the limits to which the present lecture must necessarily be confined; but among the most important of them I may mention a volume written about the year 1690, by Owen O'Donnelly (an excellent Gaedhlic scholar); some large volumes by the O'Neachtans [John and *Tadhg*, or Teige], between the years 1716 and 1740; a copy of the Wars of Thomond, made by Andrew Mac Curtin in 1716; and several large volumes transcribed by Hugh O'Daly for Doctor Francis O'Sullivan of Trinity College, in and about the year 1750, the originals of which are not now known.

In this catalogue of books I have not particularised, nor in some instances at all included, the large body of ecclesiastical writings preserved in the Trinity College library, consisting of ancient lives of Irish saints, and other religious pieces, in prose and verse. Neither have I included, in my analyses of the collection, the fac-simile copies made by myself, for the library, of the Book of *Lecain* (on vellum), of the so called *Leabhar Breac* (on paper), of the Danish Wars, of Mac Firbis's glossaries, and of a volume of ancient Irish deeds (on paper).

The library of the Royal Irish Academy, besides its fine treasures of ancient vellum manuscripts, contains also a very large number of important paper manuscripts; but as they amount to some hundreds, it would be totally out of my power, and beyond the scope of this lecture, to enumerate them, or to give the most meagre analysis of their varied contents.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Of the MSS in the Library of the R.I.A.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ A list of all the Gaedhlic MSS. in the libraries of the R. Irish Academy and Trinity College, Dublin, will be found in the APPENDIX, No. LXXXVI.

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OF LISMORE.

There are, however, a few among them to which I feel called upon particularly to allude, although in terms more brief than, with more time and space, I should have been disposed to devote to them.

The first of these volumes that I wish to bring under your notice, is a fragment of the book well known as the **BOOK OF LISMORE**. This is a manuscript on paper of the largest folio size and best quality. It is a fac-simile copy made by me from the original, in the year 1839, for the Royal Irish Academy. This transcript is an exact copy, page for page, line for line, word for word, and contraction for contraction, and was carefully and attentively read over and collated with the original, by Dr. John O'Donovan and myself. And indeed I think I may safely say that I have recovered as much of the text of the original as it was possible to bring out, without the application of acids or other chemical preparations, which I was not at liberty to use.

Of the history of the original MS., which is finely written on vellum of the largest size, we know nothing previous to the year 1814. In that year the late Duke of Devonshire commenced the work of repairing the ancient castle of Lismore in the county of Waterford, his property; and in the progress of the work, the men having occasion to re-open a door-way that had been closed up with masonry in the interior of the castle, they found a wooden box enclosed in the centre of it, which, on being taken out, was found to contain this MS., as well as a superb old crozier. The MS. had suffered much from damp, and the back, front, and top margin had been gnawed in several places by rats or mice; but worse than that, it was said that the workmen by whom the precious box was found, carried off several loose leaves, and even whole staves of the book. Whether this be the case or not, it is, I regret to say, true that the greater number of the tracts contained in it are defective, and, as I believe, that whole tracts have disappeared from it altogether since the time of its discovery. The book was preserved for some time with great care by the late Colonel Curry, the Duke of Devonshire's agent, who, however, in 1815, lent it to Dennis O'Flinn, a professed, but a very indifferent, Irish scholar, living then in Mallow Lane, in the city of Cork. O'Flinn bound it in wooden boards, and disfigured several parts of it, by writing on the MS. While in O'Flinn's hands it was copied, in the whole or in part, by Michael O'Longan, of Carrignavar, near Cork. It was O'Flinn who gave it the name of "**Book of Lismore**", merely because it was found at that place. After having made such use of the book as he thought proper, O'Flinn returned it, bound, as I have already stated, to Colonel Curry, some time between the years 1816 and

1820; and so the venerable old relic remained unquestioned, and, I believe, unopened, until it was borrowed by the Royal Irish Academy, to be copied for them by me, in the year 1839. LECT. IX.
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The facilities for close examination which the slow progress of a fac-simile transcript afforded me, enabled me to clearly discover this at least, that not only was the abstraction of portions of the old book of recent date, but that the dishonest act had been deliberately perpetrated by a skilful hand, and for a double purpose. For it was not only that whole staves had been pilfered, but particular subjects were mutilated, so as to leave the part that was returned to Lismore almost valueless without the abstracted parts, the offending parties having first, of course, copied all or the most part of the mutilated pieces.

After my transcript had been finished, and the old fragments of the original returned to Lismore by the Academy, I instituted, on my own account, a close inquiry in Cork, with the view of discovering, if possible, whether any part of the Book of Lismore still remained there. Some seven or eight years passed over, however, without my gaining any information on the subject, when I happened to meet by accident, in Dublin, a literary gentleman from the town of Middleton, ten miles from the city of Cork; and as I never missed an opportunity of prosecuting my inquiries, I lost no time in communicating to him my suspicions, and the circumstances on which they were grounded, that part of the Book of Lismore must be still remaining in Cork. To my joy and surprise the gentleman told me that he had certain knowledge of the fact of a large portion of the original MS. being in the hands of some person in Cork; that he had seen it in the hands of another party, but that he did not know the owner, nor how or when he became possessed of it.

In a short time after this the late Sir William Betham's collection of MSS. passed, by purchase, into the library of the Royal Irish Academy; and as I knew that the greater part of this collection had been obtained from Cork, I lost no time in examining them closely for any copies of pieces from the Book of Lismore. Nor was I disappointed; for I found among the books copies of the lives of Saint Brendan, Saint *Ciaran* of Clonmacnois, Saint *Mochua* of Balla in Mayo, and Saint *Finnchu* of *Brigobhann* in the county of Cork; besides several legends and minor pieces; all copied by Michael O'Longan from the Book of Lismore, in the house of Denis *Bán* O'Flinn, in Cork, in the year 1816. And not only does O'Longan state, at the end of one of these lives, that he copied these from the book which Denis O'Flinn had borrowed from Lismore, but he gives the weight of it, and the number of leaves or folios which the book

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in its integrity contained. As a further piece of presumptive evidence of the Book of Lismore having been mutilated in Cork about this time, allow me to read for you the following memorandum in pencil, in an unknown hand, which has come into my possession:—

“Mr. Denis O’Flynn of Mallow Lane, Cork, has brought a book from Lismore lately, written on vellum about 900 years ago, by Miles O’Kelly for Florence M’Carthy; it contains the lives of some principal Irish Saints, with other historical facts such as the wars of the Danes —31st October, 1815”.

To this I may add here the following extract of a letter written by Mr. Joseph Long, of Cork, to the late William Elliott Hudson, of Dublin, Esq., dated Feb. the 10th, 1848:

“Honoured Sir,—I have taken the liberty of bringing this MS. to your honour. It contains various pieces copied from the Book of Lismore, and other old Irish MSS. They are pieces which I believe you have not as yet in your collection. Its contents are ‘*Forbuis Droma Damhghoiré*’, a historic legend, describing the invasion of Munster by Cormac Mac Art, the wonderful actions of the druids, druidish incantations, and soforth; ‘*Air an da Fearmaighé*’, a topography of the two Fermoyes, together with an account of its chieftains, tribes, or families, and soforth; ‘*Scél Fiachna mic Reataich*’, a legend of Loch En in Connaught; ‘*Riaghail do righthibh*’, a rule for kings, composed by *Dubh Mac Turth*(?); ‘*Scél air Chairbré Cinn-cait*’, the murder of the royal chieftains of Erin by their slaves, the descendants of the Firbolgs, and soforth.—Book of Lismore”.

With all these evidences before me of a part of the Book of Lismore having been detained in Cork, in the year 1853 I prevailed on a friend of mine in that city to endeavour to ascertain in whose hands it was, what might be the nature of its contents, whether it would be sold, and at what price. All this my friend kindly performed. He procured me what purported to be a catalogue of the contents of the Cork part of the Book of Lismore, and he ascertained that the fragment consisted of 66 folios, or 132 pages, and that it would be sold for fifty pounds.

I immediately offered, on the part of the Rev. Doctors Todd and Graves, then the secretaries to the Royal Irish Academy, the sum named for the book; but some new conditions with which I had no power to comply, were afterwards added, and the negociation broke off at this point.

The book shortly after passed, by purchase, into the possession of Thomas Hewitt, Esq., of Summerhill House, near Cork; and in January, 1855, a memoir of it was read before the Cu-

vierian Society of Cork, by John Windele, Esq., of Blair's Castle, in which he makes the following statement:—

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“The work, it was at first supposed, may have been a portion of the Book of Lismore, so well known to our literary antiquarians, but it is now satisfactorily ascertained to have been transcribed, in the latter half of the fifteenth century, for Fineen McCarthy Reagh, Lord of Carbery, and his wife Catherine, the daughter of Thomas, eighth Earl of Desmond”. “Unfortunately”, he adds, “the volume has suffered some mutilation by the loss of several folios. The life of *Finnchu* and the *Forbuis* are partly defective in consequence; but we possess amongst our local MS. collections entire copies of these pieces”.

To be sure, they have in Cork entire copies of these pieces; but they are copies, by Michael O'Longan, from the Book of Lismore, before its mutilation among them, or else copies made from his copies by his sons.

That Mr. Windele believed what he wrote about the Cork fragment, there can of course be no doubt; still it is equally indubitable that this same fragment is part and parcel of the Book of Lismore, and that it became detached from it while in the hands of Denis O'Flinn, of Cork, some time about the year 1816. And it is, therefore, equally certain, that the book which Mr. Hewitt purchased, perhaps as an original *bonâ fide* volume with some slight losses, is nothing more than a fragment, consisting of about one-third part of the Book of Lismore, and that this part was fraudulently abstracted in Cork at the time above indicated. The two pieces which Mr. Windele particularizes as being defective in the Cork part, are also defective in the Lismore part; the Life of Saint Finchu wants but about one page in the latter, while in Cork they cannot have more of it than one page or folio; and of the Forbuis, something about the first half is at Lismore, while no more than the second half can be in Cork. And although I have never seen any part of the Cork fragment, I feel bold enough to say, that, should both parts be brought together in presence of competent judges, they will be pronounced to be parts of the same original volume, and that several of the defects in either will be exactly supplied by the other.

My transcript of the Lismore fragment of this valuable book consists of 131 folios, or 262 pages. The chief items of the contents are: Ancient Lives of Saint Patrick, Saint Colum Cille, Saint Brigid of Kildare, Saint Senan (of Scattery Island, in the Lower Shannon), Saint Finnen of Clonard, and Saint *Finnchu* of *Brigobhan*, in the county of Cork, all written in Gaedhlic of great purity and antiquity; the conquests of Charlemagne, translated from the celebrated romance of the middle

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ages, ascribed to Turpin, Archbishop of Rheims; the conversion of the Pantheon at Rome into a Christian Church; the story of Petronilla, the daughter of Saint Peter; the discovery of the Sybilline oracle in a stone coffin at Rome; the History of the Lombards (imperfect); an account of Saint Gregory the Great; the heresy of the Empress Justina; of some modifications of certain minor ceremonies of the Mass; an account of the successors of Charlemagne; of the correspondence between Archbishop Lanfranc and the clergy of Rome; extracts from the Travels of Marco Polo; an account of the battles of the celebrated *Ceallachan*, king of Cashel, with the Danes of Erinn, in the tenth century; of the battle of *Crinna*, between Cormac Mac Art, king of Ireland, and the Ulstermen; and of the siege of *Drom Damhghairé* [now called Knocklong, in the County of Limerick], by king Cormac Mac Art, against the men of Munster. This last, though a strictly historic tale in its leading facts, is full of wild incident, in which *Mogh Ruith*, the great Munster druid, and *Cithruadh*, and *Colptha*, the druids of the monarch Cormac, bear a most conspicuous and curious part.

The last piece in the book is one of very great interest; it is in the form of a dialogue between Saint Patrick and the two surviving warriors of the band of heroes led by the celebrated Finn *Mac Cumhaill*, *Caoilté*, the son of Ronan, and *Oisín* [commonly written in English "Ossian"], the warrior-poet, son of Finn himself. It describes the situation of several of the hills, mountains, rivers, caverns, rills, etc., in Ireland, with the derivation of their names. It is much to be regretted that this very curious tract is imperfect. But for these defects, we should probably have found in it notices of almost every monument of note in ancient Ireland; and, even in its mutilated state, it cannot but be regarded as preserving many of the most ancient traditions to which we can now have access, traditions which were committed to writing at a period when the ancient customs of the people were unbroken and undisturbed.

I regret that space does not allow me to analyse a few more of the important paper books in the Academy's library; but I think I have already done enough to enable you to form some intelligible general estimate of the value and extent of the old Gaedhlic books in Dublin; and I shall only add, that the paper books in Trinity College and the Academy are above 600 in number, and may be estimated to contain about 30,000 pages of Gaedhlic text, if printed at length in the form to which I have so often referred as a specimen, that of O'Donovan's Annals.

There is, however, one collection (rather, I may say, one class of MS. monuments of Irish history) which I cannot pass by

without at least alluding to it, though it would be, perhaps, improper for me at the present moment to enter upon any detailed account of it: I mean the great body of the laws of Ancient Erin, commonly called by the English the "Brehon Laws". This collection is so immense in extent, and the subjects dealt with throughout the whole of it, in the utmost detail, are so numerous, and so fully illustrated by exact definitions and minute descriptions, that, to enable us to fill up the outline supplied by the annals and genealogies, these books of laws alone would almost be found sufficient in competent hands. Indeed if it were permitted me to enlarge upon their contents, even to the extent to which I have spoken upon the subject of the various annals I have described to you, I should be forced to devote many lectures to this subject alone. But these ancient laws, as you are all aware, are now, and have been for the last three years, in progress of transcription and preparation for publication, under the direction of a Commission of Irish noblemen and gentlemen, appointed by royal warrant; and it would not be for me to anticipate their regular publication.

The quantity of transcript already made (and there is still a part to be made), amounts to over *five thousand* close quarto pages, which, on average, would be equal to near 8000 pages of the text of O'Donovan's Annals. This quantity, of course, contains many duplicate pieces; and it will rest with the Commissioners whether to publish the whole mass, or only a fair and full text, compiled from a collation of all the duplicate copies.

Any one who has examined the body of Welsh Laws, now some years before the world, will at once be able to form a fair opinion of the interest and value, in a historical and social point of view, of this far larger—this immense and hitherto unexplored mass of legal institutes. And these were the laws and institutes which regulated the political and social system of a people the most remarkable in Europe, from a period almost lost in the dark mazes of antiquity, down to within about two hundred years, or seven generations, of our own time, and whose spirit and traditions, I may add, influence the feelings and actions of the native Irish even to this day! To these laws may we, indeed, justly apply the expressive remark of the poet Moore on the old MSS. in the Royal Irish Academy, that they "were not written by a foolish people, nor for any foolish purpose". Into the particulars and arrangement of this mass of laws I shall not enter here, since they are, as I have already stated, in the hands of a Commission on whose prerogatives I have no disposition to trench. I may, however, be permitted to observe that, copious though the records in which the

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The "Brehon Law" MSS.

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The "Brehon
Law" MSS.

actions and everyday life of our remote ancestors have come down to us, through the various documents of which I have been speaking, still, without these laws, our history would be necessarily barren, deficient, and uncertain in one of its most interesting and important essentials. For what can be more essential for the historian's purpose than to have the means of seeing clearly what the laws and customs were precisely, which governed and regulated the general and relative action of the monarch and the provincial kings; of the provincial kings and the hereditary princes and chiefs; of these in turn, and of what may be called the hereditary proprietors, the *Flaiths* [pronounced "flahs"], or landlords; and below these again, of their farmers, and tenants, of all grades and conditions, native and stranger;—and what is even more interesting, if possible, the conditions on which these various parties held their lands, and the local customs which regulated their agrarian and social policy; as well as in general the sumptuary and economical laws, and the several customs, which distinguished all these classes one from another, compliance with which was absolutely necessary to maintain them in their proper ranks and respective privileges? There are thousands of allusions to the men and women of those days, as well as to various circumstances, manners, customs, and habits, to be met with in our historic writings, otherwise inexplicable, which find a clear and natural solution in these venerable institutes. And there are besides, too, a vast number of facts, personal and historical, recorded in the course of the laws (often stated by the commentator or scribe as examples or precedents of the application of the particular law under discussion), which must be carefully gleaned from them, before that History which is yet to be framed out of the materials I have described to you, can ever be satisfactorily completed.

These things will become accessible to all when the labours of the Commission are concluded, when the immense and magnificent work which the Commission is charged to publish shall be (a few years hence) arranged, indexed, and printed. And perhaps this may be but the second great step in these times—Mr. George Smith's publication of the *Annals* having been the first—towards the vindication of the ancient honour of the noble race of Erinn. Much more, both in ecclesiastical and secular history, remains to be done. Is the next step after these reserved to be taken under the auspices of a great National Institution, such as one may surely hope this, the Catholic University of Ireland, is destined to become?

LECTURE X.

[Delivered March 6, 1856.]

The Books of Genealogies and Pedigrees.

IN the present Lecture I propose to finish this part of our Introductory course on the existing MS. materials of ancient Irish History, by giving you some account of the great Records of the GENEALOGIES and PEDIGREES of the Gaedhlic race, found in the earliest and most reliable of the books I have described to you.

In all civilized nations, where the possession of property or the governing power was, from whatever cause, vested in any one individual, with the right of transmission to posterity through his legitimate descendants, direct or collateral, it follows, as a mere matter of course, that all persons living subject to such a legal arrangement must have taken good care to preserve accurate evidences of their descent and identity,—accurate evidence such as might sustain their claims to the succession, whether of property or dignity, territory or emoluments, whenever any dispute upon such subjects should arise. And the natural necessity of preserving genealogies and pedigrees being thus simply established, it must be clear that the important duty of their preservation could not be left to the care of irresponsible persons alone; and that, therefore, while every branch of the family kept a proper record of its own descent (as well as of all the other branches in relation to its own), some qualified persons must at all times have been set apart for the express purpose of keeping a public record of all the descending branches of the original tree. Such records must have been kept, in order that, whenever a reference to records was found necessary, no individual representative should be able to advance his own claims upon any mere private proofs within his own private power, nor on any authority save such as might be found to accord with that of a responsible public officer.

And such precautions, we find, were effectually taken under the ancient customs and laws of Erin.

To obviate all difficulties in respect of the right of succession to the supreme rule, therefore, we find that the monarch of

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Erinn had always an officer of high distinction attached to his court, whose office it was to keep, from generation to generation, a written record, or genealogical history, of all the descending branches of the royal family. And the same officer was obliged to keep true record not only of these, but of the families of all the provincial kings, and of all the principal territorial chiefs in each province, in order that, in case of a dispute among them and a final appeal to the court of the chief king, he might be in a position to decide such a dispute by the solemn authority of a sure and impartial public record.

This public officer, according to law, could only be elected from the order of *Ollamhs*; and the *Ollamh* may be described as a doctor, or man who had arrived at the highest degree of historical learning and of general literary attainments under the ancient Gaedhlic system of education. Every *Ollamh* should also (according to the laws of the country, now popularly called the "Brehon Laws") be an adept in regal synchronisms, should know the boundaries of all the provinces and chieftaincies, and should be able to trace the genealogies of all the tribes of Erinn up to Adam. An *Ollamh* should also, according to the same law, be civil of tongue, unstained by crime, and pure in morals.

The officer I have thus spoken of should be, then, an *Ollamh* thus qualified; and he was privileged and bound to make periodical visits to the provincial courts, and to the mansions of all the chiefs throughout the land; to inspect their books of family history and genealogies; to enter the names and number of the leading or eldest branches of each family in his own book; and, on his return to Tara (or wherever the monarch might happen to hold his residence), to write these matters into what was of old called the Monarch's Book, but which, in more modern times, seems to have been designated the Saltair of Tara.

And not only had the Monarch his *Ollamh* for these important state purposes, but every provincial king, and even every smaller territorial Chief, had his own *Ollamh*, or *Seanchaidhé* [pron. "shanachy"=historian], for the provincial and other territorial records; and in obedience to an ancient law (established long before the introduction of Christianity in the fifth century), all the provincial records, and those of the various clann chieftains, were returnable every third year to a great convocation or feast at Tara, where they were solemnly compared with each other, and with the great Book or Saltair of the monarch, and purified and corrected where or whenever they required it.

As a very sufficient authority for the existence of this great Monarchical Book, in the third century of the Christian era, I may refer you, among many others, to the poem by *Cinaeth*

[or Kenneth] O'Hartigan, on Tara, and on King Cormac *Mac Airt*, of which I have spoken in a former lecture. LECT. X.

It has long been the fashion among English writers, and those who ignorantly follow them in Ireland, to sneer at the very idea of any nation, or any families of a nation, being able to preserve their genealogies and pedigrees for one, two, or three thousand years; and as for the suggestion, that an Irishman, or a Welshman, of the year of our Lord 1856, should be able, with any conceivable probability or even possibility, to trace his generations up to Noah, it is set down as much worse than absurd; it is contemptuously termed an "Irish pedigree", or a "Welsh pedigree", and even the very name of it is deemed, as a matter of course, a subject fit only for ridicule. Let us, however, look a little into the question, and consider for a moment the justice of this scepticism. Credibility of the antiquity of our Genealogies.

You are all aware that the original genealogies and pedigrees of the human race (and, indeed, the very form in which our own ancient genealogies and pedigrees were recorded), are to be found in the Holy Bible; as in Genesis, chapter x., verses 1 to 5, beginning: "These are the generations of the sons of Noë (or Noah): Sem, Cham, and Japheth; and unto them sons were born after the flood". Now this Scripture record goes on:—

2. "The sons of Japheth [were]; Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Thubal, and Mosoch, and Thiras.

3. "And the sons of Gomer [were]; Ascenez, and Riphath, and Thogorma.

4. "And the sons of Javan [were]; Elisa, and Tharsis, Cetthim, and Dodanim.

5. "By these were divided the islands of the Gentiles in their lands; every one according to his tongue, and their families in their nations", etc.

It is curious that the sons of Magog, the second son of Japheth, are not enumerated in this genealogy; and yet it is to this remote ancestor that all the ancient colonists of Ireland carry up their pedigrees, as recorded here long before Christianity and Christian books found their way into the country. Nor are the Gaedhils the only people said to have descended from Magog; for I may remark, in passing, that the Bactrians, the Parthians, and others, also claimed descent from him.

I shall not, however, follow to-day the subject of the verification of the ancient descent of the royal races of Erin; and I have only thrown out so much by way of hinting to you, that, notwithstanding the sneers to which I have alluded, still a great deal of serious study may be required before any rational con-

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Actual historical account of the Genealogies.

clusion can be arrived at with certainty in relation to it. I have only to-day to do with the plan and method followed by our ancestors, in recording and preserving the Genealogies of the Irish nation, as these have actually been handed down to us from the days of our early kings. I desire to deal with them simply as one branch of those materials for our history, of which I have described to you so many, as having come down to us in an authentic form. And whatever may be the opinions of modern commentators (all of them very ill informed on the subject) as to the truth of the more remote genealogies before the arrival of the Gaedhlic colony in Erin, I think I have given you the most solid reason to trust the records of the Gaedhlic genealogies from that or at least from a very remote time downwards, made and preserved, as we know they were, with the care prescribed by the laws to which I have just called your attention.

I have shown in a former lecture, on authority that cannot well be questioned, that the Pedigrees of the Gaedhlic nation were collected and written into a single book (which was called the *Cin*, or Book, of *Dromsneacht*) by the son of *Duach Galach*, king of Connacht,—and an *Ollamh* in history, in genealogies, etc.,—shortly before the arrival of Saint Patrick in Ireland, which happened in the year 432. It follows necessarily that those pedigrees and genealogies must have been already in existence,—doubtless in the various tribe-books; and it is more than probable that their leading portions had before then been entered, in the manner and under the law I have already explained, in the great Book of Tara.

Without going farther back, then, than this Book of *Dromsneacht*, which is so often quoted in our ancient MSS., it will be plain that succeeding *Ollamhs* and genealogists had before them a plan and mode of proceeding with their work, either founded on still more remote precedents, or, at all events, adopted so long ago as the earlier portion of the fifth century, by the author of that celebrated book.

Nothing could be more simple than the plan of keeping local Pedigrees, where, as was the case in Ireland, each kingdom, province, and principality appointed a fully qualified officer for the purpose.

Every free-born man of the tribe was, according to the law of the country, entitled by blood, should it come to his turn, to succeed to the chieftaincy; and every principal family kept its own pedigree as a check on the officer of the tribe or province, and as an authority for its own claim, should the occasion arise.

As the Milesians were the last of the ancient colonists, and

had subdued the races previously existing in Ireland, it is their genealogies only, with some very few exceptions, that have been thus carried down to the later times.

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The Milesian Genealogies.

The genealogical tree then begins with the brothers Eber and Eremon, the two surviving leaders of the Milesian expedition; and, after tracing their ancestors so far back as to Magog, the son of Japheth, the earliest genealogies give us the manner of the death of each of these sons of Milesius, and the number and names of their sons again, respectively.

From Eber, according to all the genealogies, descend all the families of the south of Ireland, represented at present by the race of *Oilioll Oluim*: as the Mac Carthys, the O'Briens, and their various branches. From Eremon, on the other hand, descend the great races of Connacht and Leinster, represented by the O'Conors, the Mac Murrochs, etc., as well as the great races of Ulster, also, from the fourth century down, represented by the O'Donnells, the O'Neills, etc.

The Lines of Eber and Eremon.

Besides these two chief races, the records relate the descent of two others of great historical importance. From Emer, the son of Ir (who was the brother of Eber and Eremon), descend the races of *Uladh*, or Ulidia [an ancient district consisting nearly of the present counties of Down and Antrim], now represented by the family of Magenis of Down; and from *Lugaidh*, the son of *Ith*, their cousin, who settled in the west of the present county of Cork, descended the races of that district, represented in chief by the family of O'Driscoll. [This latter race of Gaedhils is minutely traced in the Miscellany of the Celtic Society, published in 1849.]

The Irian and Ithian lines.

To these four,—or rather, indeed, with very few exceptions, to the two brothers, Eber and Eremon,—all the great lines of the Milesian family, all the great chieftain lines of ancient Erin, are traced up. It is not, however, to be expected that any record of the genealogies of the people in general, in those remote ages, could possibly have come down to our times. It is only in the succession of the monarchs, of the provincial kings and chieftains, and in the lines of saints and other remarkable persons, that we invariably find the new king or personage traced back through all the generations, either to his remote ancestor, Eber, Eremon, Ir, or Ith, or at all events, to some person whose pedigree has been in some previous part of the great genealogical records already traced up to these sources.

The first great starting point in the Eremonian lines of pedigrees, and from which the great families of Connacht and Leinster branch off, is to be found in *Ugainé Mór*, who flourished,

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The Eremonian lines, from *Ugainé Mór*.

according to our annals, more than 500 years before the Incarnation of our Lord. From his elder son *Cobhthach* (pron. nearly "Côv-a", now "Coffey"), descend all the families of Connacht, as well as the O'Donnells, the O'Neills, and others, of Ulster; and from his second son, *Laeghairé* (pron. nearly "Lea-ry"), descend the chief families of Leinster.

Again, in the second century of the Christian era a great division of families took place in Leinster, that, namely, of the sons of the monarch *Cathair Mór* (pron. "Ca-hir more"), who divided his hereditary kingdom of Leinster among his sons, to some one of whom all the later Leinster families trace up their pedigrees.

The Dalcassians and Eoghanacts of Munster.

In the next, the third century, again, a great division of territories took place in Munster between *Fiacha Muilleathan*, the son of *Eóghan Mór* the elder, and Cormac Cas, the younger son of *Oilioll Oluim*, the king of that province; Eoghan's son taking South Munster, and his uncle Cormac Cas, North Munster, or Thomond; and it is to one or the other of these two personages that all the great Munster families of the line of Eber trace up their pedigrees.

Again, in the fourth century a great division of families and of territory took place in Connacht and Ulster, between the three sons of the monarch *Eochaidh Muighmheadhoin*,—Brian, *Fiachra*, and Niall, afterwards called Niall of the Nine Hostages. The two elder sons were settled in Connacht; and from them descend the chief families of that province, north and south, excepting the O'Kellys, the Mac Rannalls, and some others. The younger son, Niall, succeeded to the monarchy: and this Niall had seven sons, among whom he divided the territories of Meath and Ulster, the district comprising the present counties of Antrim and Down excepted; and it is to these sons that all the great families of these territories trace up their pedigrees.

Having so far placed before you, with much more brevity than I could wish, the remote leading points at which the great families of Ireland are recorded to have separated, I shall now proceed to show you how the genealogies have been arranged, and, with their still continued separations, carried down in some instances even to our times; and as a Musterman and Dalcassian, not, I trust, unreasonably attached to my race, I shall take my example from the really great line of the O'Brien. As, however, it would be tedious, as well as unnecessary, for the purpose of a mere example, to carry the line down for you all the way from Eber, the son of Milesius himself, I shall begin with *Oilioll Oluim*, King of Munster, who

died, according to our annals, in the year of our Lord 234. I shall adopt the very form and plan of the old genealogies themselves, in the abridged account I am about to give you; because I wish thus practically to make you acquainted with the mode in which the family pedigrees were recorded by the *Ollamhs* of old, and because, also, you will thus best understand the importance of the class of MSS. which we are now considering, in the study of the true history of the country.

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Clanns, from
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Oluim.

Oilioll Oluim had several sons, seven of whom were killed in the celebrated battle of *Magh Mucruimhé*, in the county of Galway; and among them *Eóghan*, or Eugene, the eldest, from whom (through his son again, *Fiacha Muilleathain*) descend what is called by old writers the "Eugenian" line, to which belong the Mac Carthys, the O'Callachans, the O'Sullivans, the O'Keeffes, and so forth.

Cian was another of the sons of *Oilioll Oluim* killed in this battle; he left a son *Tadhg* [a name now known as Teige or Thaddeus], from whom descend the O'Carrolls of Ely O'Carroll, the O'Reardons, the O'Haras, the O'Garas, etc., as well as several families of East Meath.

Cormac Cas, the second son of *Oilioll Oluim*, was the only one of his children who survived the great battle of *Magh Mucruimhé*, and between him and *Fiacha* (the son of the eldest son, Eugene), the old king divided his territory into North and South Munster, giving to *Fiacha* the south, and to Cormac the north part. (This north part, I should observe, did not then comprehend the present county of Clare, that territory being at the time in the occupation of a tribe of the old Firbolg race.)

Cormac Cas (whose wife was the daughter of the celebrated poet *Oisín*, or Ossian, son of the great warrior *Finn Mac Cumhaill*, or Mac Coole) had a son *Mogh Corb*, who had a son *Fer Corb*, who had a son Aengus, called *Tírech*, or the wanderer, who had a son called *Lughaidh Meann* (pron: "Loo-y Mên"). It was this *Lughaidh Meann* that first wrested the present county of Clare from the Firbolgs, and attached it to his patrimony; and the whole inheritance has been ever since denominated *Tuadh Mhumhain*, or North Munster, a name in modern times Anglicized into Thomond.

Lughaidh Meann had a son Conall, called Conall *Eachluaith*, or Conall of the Fleet Steeds; who had a son Cas. This Cas (from whom the Dalcassians derive their distinctive name) had twelve sons, namely, Blod, *Caisin*, *Lughaidh*, *Séadna*, Aengus *Cinnathrach*, *Carthainn*, *Cainioch*, Aengus *Cinnaitín*, *Aedh*, *Nae*, *Loisgenn*, and *Dealbaeth*.

Blod, the eldest son of Cas, is the great stem of the Dalcas-

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sian race, directly represented by the O'Brians. From *Caisin*, the second son of Cas, descend the *Siol Aodha*, represented by the Mac Namaras, the O'Gradys, the Mac *Flannchadhas* (now called *Clanchys*), and the *O'Caisins*, etc. From *Lughaidh*, the third son of Cas, descend the *Muintir Dobharchon* (now represented by the O'Liddys of Clare). From *Sedna* (pron: "Shêdna") the fourth son of Cas, descend the *Cinel Sedna* (not, I believe, now represented). From Aengus *Cinnathrach*, the fifth son, descend the O'Deas. From Aengus *Cinnaitin*, the sixth son, descend the O'Quinns (a family who may now be considered to be represented by the Earl of Dunraven), and the O'Nechtanns. From *Aedh* (or Hugh), the seventh son of Cas, descend the O'Heas. From *Dealbeath*, the eighth son of Cas, descend the Mac Cochlanns of *Dealbhna*, or Delvin (in the county of Westmeath), the O'Scullys, etc. The descendants of the other sons are not now to be distinguished.

It is curious to observe, in this recital, at how early a period the ancestors of those various Dalcassian families separated from each other.—But to return to the progenitor of the O'Briens.

Blod, the eldest son of Cas, had two sons: *Cairthinn Finn*, and *Brenan Bán*. From this *Brenan Bán*, the second son, descend the O'Hurllys and the O'Malonys.

Cairthinn Finn, the eldest son of Blod, had two sons, *Eochaidh*, called *Bailldearg* (or "of the Red Mole"), and Aengus. From Aengus, the younger son, descend, among others, the families of *O'Comhraidhé* (now called Curry); the O'Cormacans (now called *Mac Cormacks*); *O'Seasnain*, now Sexton; *O'Riada*, now Reidy, etc.

Eochaidh Bailldearg, the eldest son of *Cairthinn Finn*, was born during the time that St. Patrick was on his first mission in Munster, and received baptism and benediction at the hands of the great apostle himself. This *Eochaidh Bailldearg* had a son Conall, who had a son *Aedh Caemh*, or Hugh the Comely.

Aedh Caemh, the son of Conall, had two sons, *Cathal* (pron: "Cahal") and Congal. From Congal, the younger son, descend the O'Neills of Clare, and the *O'n-Eoghans*, or Owens. *Cathal*, the elder son of *Aedh Caemh*, had two sons, Torloch and *Ailgenan*. It is from this *Ailgenan* that the O'Mearas descend.

Torloch, the elder son of *Cathal*, had a son, *Mathghamhain*, or Mahon; who had a son, Corc; who had a son *Lachtna* (the ruins of whose ancient palace of *Grianan Lachtna*, situated about a mile north of Killaloe, I was, by means of the records of these ancient pedigrees, first enabled to identify, in the year 1840, during the investigations of the Ordnance survey).

Lachtna, the son of Corc, had a valiant son, *Lorcán* (a name

now Anglicised "Lawrence"). *Lorcán* had three sons, *Cinneidigh* or Kennedy; *Cosgrach*; and Bran. From *Cosgrach*, the second son, descend the O'Lorcans, or Larkins; the O'Sheehans; the *O'Chaimhins* (now Bowens); the O'Hogans; the O'Flahertys; the O'Gloiarns; the O'Aingidys; and the O'Maines. From Bran, the third son, descend the *Sliocht Branfinn*, in Dufferin in Wexford, a clann who subsequently took, and still retain, the name of O'Brien.

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Cinneidigh, or Kennedy, the eldest son of *Lorcán*, had twelve sons, four only of whom left issue—namely, Mahon, Brian, *Donnchuan* (or Donean), and Echtighern.

From Mahon, the eldest son of Kennedy, descend the O'Bolands, the O'Caseys, the *O'Siodhachans*, the Mac Inirys, the O'Connallys, and the O'Tuomys, in the county of Limerick,

From the great Brian *Boroimhé*, the second son of Kennedy, descend the O'Briens and the Mac Mahons of Clare.

Donnchuan, third son of Kennedy, had five sons—namely, two of the name of Kennedy, *Riagan*, *Longargan*, and *Ceileachair*. From one of the two Kennedys descend the family of *O'Conuing* (now Gunning), and from the other the family of O'Kennedy. From *Riagan* descend the O'Riagans, or O'Regans, of Clare and Limerick. From *Longargan* descend the O'Longergans, or Lonergans; and from *Ceileachair*, the fifth son, descend the *O'Ceileachairs*, or Kellehers.

Brian *Boroimhé*, the second son of Kennedy, had six sons: *Murchadh*, or Moroch, killed at the battle of Clontarf; *Tadhg*; *Donnchadh*, or Donoch; *Domhnall*, or Donnall; Conor; and Flann;—but two of them only left issue, namely *Tadhg*, the eldest after Moroch, and Donoch. From *Tadhg* descend the great family of the O'Briens of Thomond; and from Donoch, the O'Briens of *Cuanach* and *Eatharlagh*, in the present counties of Limerick and Tipperary.

Tadhg, the eldest surviving son of Brian *Boroimhé*, after the battle of Clontarf, had a son, Torloch. Torloch had two sons, *Muircheartach*, or Mortogh, and *Diarmaid*, or Dermod.

Mortogh, from whom descend the Mac Mahons of Clare, assumed the monarchy of Ireland, and died in the year 1119; and the Book of Leinster brings down the genealogies of the race of Eber to these two brothers of the Daleassian line, and to their co-descendants, the brothers Cormac and *Tadhg* Mac Carthy of the Eugenian line, both of whose names are inscribed on that beautiful bronze shrine of Saint Lachtin's arm, which was exhibited in the great Dublin Exhibition in 1853, and of which some account will be found in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (vol. v., page 461). This Cormac Mac Carthy

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died in the year 1138. (And I may here observe, that by a general rule, from which, so far as I have known, there is never any deviation, the termination of these lines of genealogies in ancient Irish manuscript books marks the date of the compilation of such books. But to return:)

Dermot, the second son of Torloch, and brother of Mortoch, and from whom descend the O'Brians, had a son, Torloch. This Torloch had a son, Donnall *Mór* O'Brian, who was king of Munster at the period of the Anglo-Norman invasion in 1172.

Donnall *Mór* had a son, Donoch (*Donnchadh*) *Cairbrech*, who had a son Conor of *Siubhdaineach*, who erected the great Abbey of Corcamroe, in which he was buried in the year 1260.

Conor of *Siubhdaineach* (that is, Conor of the wood of *Siubhdaineach*, in Burren, where he was killed in battle by the *O'Lochlainns*, in the above year) had two sons, *Tadhg Caeluisgé*, and Brian *Ruadh*, or Roe, the ancestor of the O'Brians of Arra, in Tipperary.

Tadhg, the eldest son of Conor, had a son Torloch, the great hero of the wars of Thomond; who had a son, Murtoch; who had a son, Mahon; who had two sons, Brian and Conor; from the latter of whom descend the O'Brians of *Carraig O'g-Conaill* (now called "Corrig-a-gunnell"), near Limerick.

Brian, the elder son of Mahon, and who was styled Brian of the battle of Nenagh, died in the year 1399.

The Book of Ballymote, which was compiled in the year 1391, and the Book of Lecan, which was compiled in the year 1416, bring down the O'Brian pedigree, as well as all other pedigrees, to this Brian of the battle of Nenagh, who died in 1399, from where the Book of Leinster stops (that is, from the year 1119); and *Dubhaltach Mac Firbisigh*, of whose book we shall presently speak, continues the lines from 1399 down to his own time in 1664, as follows:—

Brian of the battle of Nenagh had a son, Torloch; who had a son, *Tadhg*, of *Comhad*; who had a son, Torloch; who had two sons, Conor and *Murchadh*, or Moroch, of whom the last-named became the first Earl of Thomond and Baron of Inchiquin.

Conor had a son, *Donnchadh*, or Donoch; who had a son, Conor; who had a son Donoch; who had a son, Brian; who had a son, Henry, seventh Earl of Thomond, living in the year 1646, at which date Mac Firbis stops; and from that period the line is, of course, preserved in many public documents, as well as in local Irish records, to the late Marquis of Thomond, who died in 1855.

You have heard (in a general way, indeed, for our time allowed of no other) the evidences upon which such a pedigree

as I have thus traced for you, may claim credence. You have heard in what manner the records from which I have derived it were kept—legal records, whose authenticity, so far at least, I think, it will be in vain for the most sceptical critic to call in question, when he has properly examined and studied them. And if ancient pedigree in an unbroken line be indeed so honourable as modern fashion seems to insist it is, then here is a line of pedigree and genealogy that would do honour to the most dignified crowned head in the world.

Of the Dalcassian line we find that Cormac Cas, the founder, was king of Munster about the year of our Lord 260; Aengus *Tireach*, about the year 290; Conall of the Swift Steeds, in 366; *Cairthinn Finn*, in 439; *Aedh Caemh*, from 571 to his death in 601; *Lorcán*, in 910; *Cinneidigh*, or Kennedy, the father of Brian *Boroimhé*, in 954; and Brian himself, from 975 to the year 1002, when he became monarch of all Erin, and as such reigned till his death, at the battle of Clontarf, in 1014.

Genealogy of the Dalcassians, an example of the recorded Gaedhlic Genealogies.

The succession to the kingship of Munster was alternate between the Eugenians and the Dalcassians; but the former being the most powerful in numbers and in extent of territory, monopolized the provincial rule as far as they were able. The line of the Dalcassians were, however, always kings or chiefs of Thomond in succession, and kings of the province as often as they had strength enough to assert their alternate right; and it is a fact beyond dispute that the kindred of the late Marquis of Thomond hold lands at the present day which have descended to them, through an unbroken line of ancestry, for 1600 years. Now the Dalcassians, whose genealogical line I have only presented to you as an example, were but one out of about forty different great tribes of the line of Eber, which existed in Munster in the sixth and seventh centuries; all and each of whom held separate and peculiar territories of their own, which were again subdivided; and in these territories every man of the tribe, who could prove his relationship, had a legal share. And as the law and the custom were the same throughout all Erin, it follows almost as a matter of necessity that the genealogies and pedigrees—the only proofs of title to the tribal lands—must have been kept with all the jealous care and accuracy we have ascribed to the compilation of records practically so important.

A most curious feature in our ancient national records, in connexion with these genealogies, is the information they contain concerning the manner and time at which several of the ancient independent tribes and families lost their inheritance and

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Importance
of the Gene-
alogies under
the ancient
Laws.

independence, becoming sometimes mere rent-payers, sometimes servitors in the free lands of their fathers, and at other times settling as strangers in other territories and provinces. The laws under which such changes could take place, will of course be explained when the work of the Brehon Law Commission is completed. Historic facts, illustrative of many of them, are recorded in the genealogical tracts, which in this respect also will be found to contain many important items of historical information not entered in any of the annals.

Family
names first
introduced
about A.D.
1000.

Previous to the time of the monarch Brian *Boroimhé* (about the year 1000), there was no general system of family names in Erin; but every man took the name either of his father or his grandfather for a surname. Brian, however, established a new and most convenient arrangement, namely, that families in future should take permanent names, either those of their immediate fathers, or of any person more remote in their line of pedigree. And thus *Muireadhach*, the son of *Carthach*, took the surname of *Mac Carthaigh* (now Mac Carthy); "*Mac*" being the Gaedhlic for "son". *Toirdhealbhagh*, or Turloch, the grandson of Brian himself, took the surname of O'Brian, or the grandson of Brian, "*O*" being the Gaedhlic for "grandson"; *Cathbharr*, the grandson of Donnell, took the name of O'Donnell; Donnell, the grandson of Niall *Glundubh*, took the surname of O'Neill; *Tadgh*, or Teige, the grandson of Conor, took the name of O'Conor (of Connacht); Donoch, the son of *Murchadh*, or Muroch, took the surname of Mac Muroch of Leinster; and so as to all the other families throughout the kingdom.

Distinction
between a
Genealogy
and a
Pedigree.

The genealogists always made a distinction between a genealogy and a pedigree. A *Genealogy*, according to them, embraced the descent of a family and its relation to all the other families that descended from the same remote parent-stock, and who took a distinct tribe name, such as, for instance, the Dalcassians. A *Pedigree* meant only the running up of the line of descent of any one of those families, through its various generations, to the individual from whom the name was derived, such as the line of O'Brien, MacNamara, O'Quinn, etc., traced up again to a more remote ancestor, such as *Oilioll Oluim*, without any reference to relationship with the other families descended from the same remote progenitor. I have given you an example of a Genealogy,—that of the race of *Oilioll Oluim*. Now, the principal races are all traced in the same way in the great books of Genealogies. The Pedigrees of the different families are afterwards entered, beginning with the individual living at

the time of the record, and tracing his descent backwards (from son to father) up to that ancestor, whoever he was, from whom the name of the family was taken, and who had been already recorded in one of the genealogies as the ancestor of the family.

All the Genealogies, as a general rule, are made to begin, as you have already heard, from the beginning of the world, or at least, from Noah; and you are aware, from what I have told you in relation to O'Clery's "Succession of the Kings", how the line of *Milidh*, or Milesius, was traced. The great genealogical tracts then take up each province separately, and deal with all its tribes, one after another, just as the Dalcassians are dealt with in the example I have to-day given you.

The Book of Leinster is, as you know, the second oldest of our existing historical MSS., the genealogical tracts in that book having been written into it, I may assert, about A.D. 1130. This tract comprises sixty closely-written pages of that celebrated MS. The Book of Ballymote (A.D. 1391) contains the same tracts, enlarged and continued. The same tracts again occur, with still further additions and continuations, in the Book of *Lecain* (A.D. 1416); and among the additions in the last named book, will be found a genealogy of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, the race anterior to the Milesians. I need hardly observe that, at the time those various books were compiled, these tracts were regarded as of the highest authority, as they have been ever since among Irish scholars and historical students; and it is more than probable that that in the Book of Leinster was copied from the Saltair of Cashel and other cotemporaneous books.

But the fullest and most perfect of all is the immense Book of Genealogies, compiled in the years 1650 to 1666 (by being copied from a great number of now lost local records), by that *Dubhaltach Mac Fírbisigh*, or Duaid Mac Fírbis, whose character and works (including the present volume), as well as whose tragical death, I have already described to you in a former lecture.

According to the plan I have observed in reference to the O'Clerys, I propose to make you acquainted with Mac Fírbis himself, as well as with his book, and the reason, as well as the plan, of its compilation, by reading for you, in translation, as much of his introduction as the remainder of our time may permit to day. And, I do so the more readily, because no part of it has yet been given to the world, and it contains an immense quantity of suggestion, of criticism, and of positive information, which I am particularly well pleased to be able to lay before you, upon the foundation of so venerable and learned an authority. [See the original of this Introduction in the APPENDIX, No. LXXXVII.]

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Form of the
Genealogies
in the old
Books.Mac Fírbis'
Book of
Genealogies.

LECT. VII.

Mac Firbis'
Book of
Genealogies.

Mac Firbis begins with the title of his book, which is explanatory of its contents, as the title pages of books in the seventeenth century generally were:—

“The kindred and genealogical branches of every colony that took possession of Erin from the present time back up to Adam (the Fomorians, the Lochlanns, and the Sax-Normans excepted, only as far as they are connected with the history of our country), together with the genealogies of the saints, and the succession of the kings of Ireland. And, lastly, a table of contents, in which are arranged, in alphabetical order, the surnames and the noted places which are mentioned in this book; which was compiled by *Dubhaltach Mac Firbisigh* of *Lecain*, in the year 1650”.

The author then continues:—

“Although the above is the more usual manner of giving titles (to books) in these times, yet we shall not depart from the paths of our ancestors, the old pleasant Irish custom, for it is the plainest, as follows:—

“The place, time, author, and cause of writing this book, are: Its place is the College of Saint Nicholas, in Galway; its time is the time of the religious war between the Catholics of Ireland and the heretics of Ireland, Scotland, and England, and, particularly, the year of the age of Christ, 1650. The author of it is *Dubhaltach*, the son of *Gilla Isa Mór Mac Firbisigh*, historian, etc., of *Lecain Mic Firbisigh*, in Tireragh of the Moy; and the cause of writing the same book is to magnify the glory of God, and to give knowledge to all men in general.

“It may happen that some one may be surprised at this work, because of the copiousness of the pedigrees that appear in it, and of the hundreds of families that are counted in it, up to Adam, in the order of their relation to one another. Because I myself hear people saying that the pedigrees of the Gaedhils cannot be brought thus to their origin. Whatever is their reason for saying this, we might give it an answer, if we thought it worth while, but that is not our present object, but to show the truth, on the authority of ancient writings, of learned elders, old saints, and the highest seanachies or historians of Erin, from the beginning of time to this day. This is a thing of which there can be no doubt; for it is a common and true saying, in the ancient and pure Gaedhlic Books of Erin, showing the classes who preserved their history. Thus do they say: If there be any one who shall ask who preserved the history [*Seanchus*], let him know that they were very ancient and long-lived old men, recording elders of great age, whom God permitted to preserve and hand down the history of Erin, in

books, in succession, one after another, from the Deluge to the time of Saint Patrick (who came in the fourth year of *Laeghairé Mac Neill*), and *Colum Cille*, and *Comhgall* of *Benn-chair* [Bangor], and *Finnen* of Clonard, and the other saints of Erin; which [history] was written on their knees, in books, and which [history] is now on the altars of the saints, in their houses of writings [libraries], in the hands of sages and historians, from that time for ever.

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Mac Firbís' Book of Genealogies.

"So far doth the foregoing say, but it is more at large in the *Leabhar Gabhala*; and that is a book that ought to be sufficient to confirm this fact. Besides that, here, in particular, are the names of the authors of the history and the other poetry [literary productions] of Erin, who came with the different colonists, taken on the authority of very ancient writings, which set them down thus:—

"*Bacorbladhra* was the first teacher of Erin, and *Ollamh* to Partholan.

"*Figma*, the poet and historian of the *Clanna-Nemheidh*.

"*Fathach*, the poet of the Firbolgs, who related history, poetry, and stories to them.

"*Cairbré*, *Aoi*, and *Ædan*, were the poets of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, for history, poems, and stories. And besides that, the greater part of the nobles (or higher classes) of the *Tuatha Dé Danann* were full of learning and of druidism.

"The Gaedhils, too, were not a people that were without preservers of their history in all parts through which they passed: because *Fénias Farsaidh*, their ancestor, was a prime author in all the languages; and it is not to be wondered at that he should know his own history. So it was with *Nel*, the son of *Fénias*, in Egypt, [who was invited by Pharoah]. So *Caicher*, the druid, in Scythia and in Getulia, and between them (Egypt and Getulia), where he foretold that they would come to Erin. So *Milesius* of Spain, who was named *Golam*, after going out of Spain into Scythia, and from that to Egypt, and parties of his people learned the chief arts in it (Egypt): that is, *Seudga*, *Suirgé*, and *Sobaircé*, in the arts; *Mantán*, *Falman*, *Caicher*, in druidism; three more of them were just judging judges, that is, *Gostin*, *Amergin*, and *Donn*; *Amergin Glungeal* the son of *Niul*, *Cacham*, and *Cir* the son of *Cis*, were the three poets of the Milesians; *Amergin* and *Cacham* were poets, brehons, historians, and story-tellers; *Cir*, the son of *Cis*, was a poet and a story-teller [but not a historian]; *Onna* was the musician and harper of the Milesians, as given in the Book of Invasions, in the poem beginning, 'The two sons of *Mileadh* [Milesius], of honourable arts'

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"The sons of *Ugainé Mór* were, some of them, full of learning, as is evident from *Roighné Rosgadach*, the son of *Ugainé*, who was the author of many ancient law máxims.

"*Ollamh Fodhla*, the king of Erin, who was so called from the extent of his *Ollamh* learning; for *Eochaidh* was his first name. It was he that made the first *Feis* of Tara, which was the great convocation of the men of Erin, and which was continued by the kings of Erin from that down, every third year, to preserve the laws and rules, and to purify the history of Erin, and to write it in the *Saltair* [or psalter] of Tara, that is, the Book of the *Ard Rígh* [chief king or monarch] of Erin.

"Would not this alone be sufficient to preserve the history of any kingdom, no matter how extensive? But it is not that they were trusting to this alone; for it is not recorded that there came any race into Ireland, who had not learned men to preserve their history.

"At one time, in the time of *Conor Mac Nessa*, there were 1200 poets in one company; another time 1000; another time 700, as was the case in the time of *Aedh Mac Ainmiré* [Hugh, the son of *Ainmiré*] and *Colum Cillé*; and besides, in every time, between these periods, Erin always thought that she had more of learned men in her than she wanted; so that, from their numbers and their pressure [that is, the tax their support made necessary upon the people], it was attempted to banish them out of Erin on three different occasions, until they were detained by the Ultonians for hospitality sake. This is evident in the *Amhra Cholum Chillé*, who [*Colum Cillé*] was the last that kept them in Ireland; and *Colum Cillé* distributed a poet to every territory, and a poet to every king, in order to lighten the burden on the people in general; so that there were people in their following [that is, keeping up the succession of the ancient professors of poetry], contemporary with every generation, to preserve the history and events of the country at this time. Not these alone, but the kings and saints, and churches of Erin, as I have already stated, preserved the history in like manner.

"*Ferceirtné*, the poet; *Seancha*, the son of *Ailell*; *Neidé*, the son of *Adhna*; and *Adhna* himself, the son of *Uither*; *Morann*, son of *Maon*; *Athairné*, the poet; *Cormac Ua Cuinn* [grandson of *Conn*], Chief King of Erin; *Cormac Mac Cuilennain*, King of Munster; *Flann Mainistreach*; *Eochaidh O'Flinn*; *Gilla na Naemh O'Duinn*, etc. Why should I be enumerating them, for they cannot be counted without writing a large book of their names, and not to give but the titles of the tracts, alone, which they wrote, as we have done before now. However, these men preserved the history until latter times, say about 500 or 600

years ago, that is, to the time of Brian *Boroimhé*. About that time was settled the greater number of the family names of Erin; and certain families chose or were ordered to be professors of history and other arts at that time, some of them before, and some after that time. So that they remain in the countries of Erin, with the chiefs all round, for the purpose of writing their genealogies, and history, and annals; and to compose noble poems on these histories, also; and also to preserve and to teach every instruction that is difficult or obscure in Gaedhlic, that is, to teach the reading of the ancient writings.

“Here follow the names of a number of these historians, and the territories, and the noble families for whom they speak in those latter times. The O’Mulchonries, with the Siol Murray (O’Connors) round Cruachain; another portion of them in Thomond; another portion in Leinster; and another portion of them in Annally (Longford, O’Ferrall’s country). The Clann *Fírbisigh*, in Lower Connacht, and in *Ibh Fiachrach Moy*; and in *Ibh Amhalghaidh*; and in *Cearra* (county Sligo), and *Ibh Fiachrach Aidhné*, and in *Eachtga*; and with the race of *Colla Uais* (the Mac Donnells of Antrim); the O’Duigenans, with the Clann *Maolruanaidh* (Mac Dermotts, Mac Donachs, etc.); and with the *Conmaicné Maigh rein*. The O’Curníns, with the O’Ruars, etc.; the O’Dúgans, with the O’Kellys of *Ibh Mainé*; the O’Clerys and the O’Cananns, with the *Cinel Conaill* in Donegall; the O’Luíníns, in Fermanagh; the O’Clercíns, with the *Cinél Eoghain* (Tyrone); the O’Duíníns, chiefly in Munster, *i. e.*, with the race of *Eoghan Mór* (the M’Carthys, etc.); the *Mac an Ghobhan* (a name now Anglicised “Smith”), with the O’Kennedys of Ormond; the O’Riordans, with the O’Carrolls and others, of Ely; the Mac Curtins and Mac Brodies, in Thomond; the Mac-Gilli-Kellys, in west Connacht, with the O’Flaherties, etc. And so there were other families in Ireland of the same profession; and it was obligatory on every one of them who followed it, to purify the profession [*i. e.*, to drive out of it every impropriety].

“Along with these, the Judges of *Banbha* used to be in like manner preserving the history; for a man could not be a Judge without being an historian; and he is not an historian without being a Judge in the *Brethibh Nimhedh*, that is the last Books of the works [study] of the *Seanchaidhe* [Seanchies] or historians, and of the Judges themselves

“According to these truthful words, we believe that henceforth no wise person will be found who will not acknowledge that it is feasible to bring the genealogies of the Gaedhils to their origin, to Noah and to Adam; and if he does not believe

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that, may he not believe that he himself is the son of his own father. For there is no error in the genealogical history, but as it was left from father to son in succession, one after another.

“Surely every one believes the Divine Scriptures, which give a similar genealogy to the men of the world, from Adam down to Noah; and the genealogy of Christ and of the holy fathers, as may be seen in the Church [writings]. Let him believe this, or let him deny God. And if he does believe this, why should he not believe another history, of which there has been truthful preservation, like the history of Erin? I say truthful preservation, for it is not only that they [the preservers of it] were very numerous, as we said, preserving the same, but there was an order and a law with them and upon them, out of which they could not, without great injury, tell lies or falsehoods, as may be seen in the Books of *Fenechas* [Law] of *Fodhla* [Erinn], and in the degrees of the poets themselves, their order, and their laws. For there was not in Erin (until the country was confounded) a laity [of a territory], nor a clergy of a church, on whom there was not some particular order [lay or ecclesiastical], which are called *Gradha* [or Degrees]. And it was obligatory on them to maintain the laws of these degrees, under the pain or penalty of fine, and the loss of their dignity [and privileges], as we have written in our *Fenechas* [Law] Vocabulary, which speaks at length of these laws, and of the laws of the Gaedhils in general.

“The historians of Erin, in the ancient times, will scarcely be distinguished from the *Feinigh*, [or story-tellers,] and those who are called *Aos dána* [or poets] at this day; for it was at one school often that they were educated, all the learned of Erin. And the way that they were divided was into seven degrees: *Ollamh*, *Anrad*, *Cli*, *Cána*, *Dos*, *Macfuirmid*, *Foclog*, were the names of the seven degrees, like the ecclesiastical degrees, such as priest, deacon, sub-deacon, etc. The Order of Poets, was, among its other laws, obliged to be pure and free from theft and killing, and of satirizing, and of adultery, and of every thing that would be a reproach to their learning, as it is found in this *rann* (or verse):—

“Purity of hand, bright without wounding,
Purity of mouth, without poisonous satire,
Purity of learning, without reproach,
Purity of ‘husbandship’ [or marriage].

“Any *Seanchaidhe*, then, whether an *Ollamh*, an *Anrad*, or of any other degree of them, who did not preserve these purities, lost half his income and his dignity, according to law,

and was subject to heavy penalties beside; therefore, it is not to be supposed that there is in the world a person who would not prefer to tell the truth, if he had no other reason than the fear of God and the loss of his dignity and his income; and it is not becoming to charge partiality upon these selected historians of the nation. However, if unworthy people wrote falsehood, and charged it to an historian, it might become a reproach to the order of historians, if they were not guarded, and did not look for it, to see whether it was in their prime books of authority that those writers obtained their knowledge. And that is what is proper to be done by every one, both the lay scholar and the professional historian; every thing of which they have a suspicion, to look for it, and if they do not find it confirmed in good books, to note down its doubtfulness along with it, as I myself do to certain races hereafter in this book: and it is thus that the historians are freed from the errors of other parties, should these be cast upon them, which God forbid.

“The historians were so anxious and ardent to preserve the history of Erin, that the descriptions of the nobleness and dignified manners of the people, which they have left us, however copious they may be, should not be wondered at; for they did not refrain from writing even of the undignified artizans, and of the professors of the healing and building arts of the ancient times,—as shall be shown below, to show the fidelity of the historians and the error of those who make such assertions as [for instance] that there were no stone buildings in Erin until the coming of the Danes and Anglo-Normans into it.

“Thus saith an ancient authority: The first doctor, the first builder, and the first fisherman, that were ever in Erin, were:—

“*Capa*, for the healing of the sick,
In his time was all-powerful;
And *Luasad*, the cunning builder,
And *Laighné*, the fisherman.

“*Eaba*, the female physician who accompanied the lady *Ceasair* into Erin, was the second doctor; *Slanga*, the son of *Partholan*, was the third doctor that came into Erin (with *Partholan*); and *Fergna*, the grandson of *Crithinbel*, was the fourth doctor who came into Erin (with *Nemed*). The doctors of the *Firbolgs* were, *Dubhda Dubhlosach*, *Codan Corinchisnech*, and *Fingín Físioedha*, *Mainé*, the son of *Gressach*, and *Aongus Anternmach*. The doctors of the *Tuatha Dé Danann* were, *Dianceacht*, *Airmédh*, *Miach*, etc.

“Of ancient builders, the following are the names of a few, who

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were styled the builders of the chief stone edifices (of the world): "Ailian was Solomon's stone-builder; Cabur was the stone-builder of Tara; Barnab was the stone-builder of Jerico; Bacus was the rath-builder of Nimrod; *Cidoín*, or *Cidoim*, was *Curoi* (*Mac Dairé's*) stone-builder; *Cir* was the stone-builder of Rome; Arond was the stone-builder of Jerusalem; *Oilen* was the stone-builder of Constantinople; Bole, the son of Blar, was the rath-builder of Cruachain; Goll, of Clochar, was stone-builder to *Nadfraich* [king of Munster at the close of the fourth century]; Casruba was the stone-builder of *Ailiac* [*Ailinn?*]; *Ringín*, or *Rigrín*, and *Gabhlan*, the son of *Ua Gairbh*, were the stone-builders of *Aileach*; *Troighleathan* was the rath-builder of Tara; *Bainché*, or *Bainchné*, the son of Dobru, was the rath-builder of Emania; Balur, the son of *Buanlamh*, was the builder of *Rath Breisé*; *Cricil*, the son of *Dubhchruit*, was the builder of the *Rath of Ailinn*.

[This list of names is repeated here in verse by Donnell, the son of *Flannacan*, king of *Fer-li* (?), about the year 1000].

"We could find a countless number of the ancient edifices of Erin to name besides these above, and the builders who erected them, and the kings and noble chiefs for whom they were built, but that they would be too tedious to mention here. Look at the Book of Conquests if you wish to discover them; and we have evidence of their having been built like the edifices of other kingdoms of the times in which they were built;—and why should they not? for there came no colony into Erin but from the eastern world, as from Spain, etc.; and it would be strange if such deficiency of intellect should mark the parties who came into Ireland, since they had the courage to seek and take the country, as that they should not have the sense to form their residences and dwellings after the manner of the countries from which they originally went forth, or through which they travelled; for it is not possible that they were not acquainted with the style of buildings of the greater part of Europe, after having passed through such travels as they did—from Scythia, from Egypt, from Greece and Athens, from Felesdine [*sic*; qu. for Palestine?] from Spain, etc., into Erin.

"And if those colonists of ancient Erin erected buildings in the country similar to those of the countries through which they came, as it is likely they did, what is the reason that the fact is doubted? There is no reason, but because there are not lime-built walls standing in the places where they were erected, fifteen hundred, two thousand, or three thousand years ago; when it is no wonder that there are not, since, in much shorter spaces of time than these, the land grows over buildings, when

once they are broken down, or fall of their own accord, from old age. LECT. X.

“In proof of this, I have myself seen, within the last sixteen years, lofty lime-built castles, built of lime-stone; and at this day, after they have fallen, there remains nothing of them but an earthen mound to mark their sites, nor could even the antiquarians easily discover that any edifices had ever stood there at all.

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“Compare these to the buildings which were erected hundreds and thousands of years ago, one with another; and it is no wonder, should this be done, except for the superiority of the ancient building over the modern, that not a stone, nor an elevation of the ground should mark their situation. Such, however, is not the case, for, such is the stability of the old buildings, that there are immense royal raths [or palaces] and forts [*Lios*] throughout Erin, in which there are numerous hewn and polished stones, and cellars and apartments under ground, within their walls; such as there are in *Rath Maoileatha*, in Castle Conor, and in Bally O'Dowda, in Tireragh, on the banks of the Moy. There are nine smooth stone cellars under the walls of this rath; and I have been inside it, and I think it is one of the oldest raths in Erin; and its walls are of the height of a good cow-keep still. I leave this, however, and many other things of the kind, to the learned to discuss, and I shall return to my first intention, namely, the defence of the fidelity of our history, to which the ignorant do an additional injustice, by saying that it carries [the genealogies of all] the men of Erin up to the sons of Milesius.

“They will acknowledge their own falsehood in this matter, if they will but see the number of alien races which are given in this book alone, which are not carried up to the sons of Milesius, as may be seen in several places in the body of the book, and let them compare them with one another.

“Here, too, is the distinction which the profound historians draw between the three different races which are in Erin—that is, between the descendants of the Firbolgs, *Fir Domhnanns* and *Gailiuns*, and the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, and the Milesians.

“Every one who is white [of skin], brown [of hair], bold, honourable, daring, prosperous, bountiful in the bestowal of property, wealth, and rings, and who is not afraid of battle or combat; they are the descendants of the sons of Milesius, in Erin.

“Every one who is fair-haired, vengeful, large; and every plunderer; every musical person; the professors of musical and

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entertaining performances; who are adepts in all Druidical and magical arts; they are the descendants of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, in Erin.

“Every one who is black-haired, who is a tattler, guileful, tale-telling, noisy, contemptible; every wretched, mean, strolling, unsteady, harsh, and inhospitable person; every slave, every mean thief, every churl, every one who loves not to listen to music and entertainment, the disturbers of every council and every assembly, and the promoters of discord among people, these are the descendants of the Firbolgs, of the *Gailiuns*, of *Liogairné*, and of the *Fir Domhnanns*, in Erin. But, however, the descendants of the Firbolgs are the most numerous of all these.

[This is summed up in verse here, but we pass it for the present.]

“This is taken from an old book. However, that it is possible to identify a race by their personal appearance and their dispositions I do not take upon myself positively to say; though it may have been true in the ancient times, until the races subsequently became repeatedly intermixed. For we daily see, in our own time, and we often hear it from our old people, a similitude of people, a similitude of form, character, and names, in some families in Erin, with others; and not only is this so, but it is said that the people of every country have a resemblance to each other, and that they all have some one peculiar characteristic by which they are known, as may be understood from this poem:—

“For building, the noble Jews are found,
And for truly fierce envy;
For size, the guileless Armenians,
And for firmness, the Saracens;
For acuteness and valour, the Greeks;
For excessive pride, the Romans;
For dullness, the creeping Saxons;
For haughtiness, the Spaniards;
For covetousness and revenge, the French;
And for anger, the true Britons.—
Such is the true knowledge of the trees.—
For gluttony, the Danes, and for commerce;
For high spirit the Picts are not unknown;
And for beauty and amorousness, the Gædhils;—
As *Giolla-na-naemh* says in verse,
A fair and pleasing composition.

“We believe that it is more likely to find the resemblance in Erin (than anywhere else), because there is a law in the

Seanchas Mór, ordered by St. Patrick, which says, that if it should happen that a woman knew two men, at the time of her conception,—so that she could not know which of them was the father of the child begotten at that time,—the law says, if the child cannot be affiliated on the true father by any other mode, that he is to be borne with for three years, until he shall betray family likeness, family voice, and family disposition; and the woman was thus assisted to identify him as the father to whom these characteristics bore the closest resemblance; as it is supposed that it is to him whom he the more resembles he belongs. And as this has been laid down in St. Patrick's law, it is no wonder that it should be a remarkable distinction of some families more than others. And though it may not be found true in all cases, there is nothing inconsistent with reason in it. And, further, it is an argument against the people who say that there is no family in this country which the genealogists do not trace up to the sons of Milesius. And notwithstanding this, even though it were so, it would be no wonder; for, if a man will look at the sons of Milesius, and the great families that sprung from them in Erin and in Scotland, and how few of them exist at this day, he will not wonder that people inferior to them, who had been a long time under them, should not exist; for it is the custom of the nobles, when their own children and families multiply, to suppress, blight, and exterminate their farmers and followers.

“Examine Erin and the whole world, and there is no end to the number of examples of this kind to be found; so that it would be no wonder that the number of genealogies which are in Erin at this day were carried up to Milesius.

“It having been the custom of the genealogists to give distinct names of books according to their variety, to the [tracts which relate to the] Gaedhils, who alone were the particular objects of their care; such as the Book of Connacht, the Book of Ulster, the Book of Leinster, and the Book of Munster, I shall, in like manner, divide and classify this book. I will divide it into different books, according to the number of the conquests of Erin before the Gaedhils, and according to the number of the three sons of Milesius of Spain, who took the sovereignty of Erin; a book for the saints, and a book for the Fomorians, Lochlanns or Danes, and the Normans, and Anglo-Normans, old and new, after them.

“I shall devote the first book to *Partholan*, who first took possession of Erin after the Deluge, devoting the beginning of it to the coming of the lady *Ceasair*, as they are not worth

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dividing; the second, to Nemed; the third, to the Firbolgs; the fourth, to the *Tuatha Dé Danann*; the fifth, to the Gaedhils, and all the sons of Milesius, though it is only of the race of Eremon it treats, till they are finished; and this book is larger than seven books of the old division, because it contains more than they did, and it is more copious than ever it [that is, than ever this branch of the Gaedhlic genealogies] was before. The sixth book, to the race of *Ir*, and the *Dal Fiatach*; these are also of the race of Eremon, and occupants of the same country of Ulster for a long time. The seventh book, to the race of *Eber*, and the descendants of *Lughaidh*, the son of *Ith*; for Munster is the original country of both. The eighth book, to the saints of Erin. The ninth and last book, to the Fomorians, the Lochlanns, and the Normans.

“As to the arrangement of our book—O reader! if you are not pleased with placing the younger before the elder, I do not deny that you will often find it so in it, from *Fenias Farsaidh* down. Behold the sons of Fenias himself: that *Niul*, the younger, has been from the beginning spoken of with preference by the historians, while *Naenbal*, the elder, is little spoken of.

“Eremon, too, the son of Milesius, is placed in it before the rest of the sons of Milesius, who were older than him; and there is no computing the number of such cases contained in it, down to the latter families which we have at this day.

“See how the historians of Munster place the Mac Carthys before the O’Sullivans, who are their seniors in descent, and the O’Briens before their seniors the Mac Mahons.

“Other books of the northern half of Erin, as well as Doctor Keting, place Niall of the Nine Hostages, and his descendants, though junior, before the rest of his brothers, his seniors.

“See how *Duach Galach*, the youngest son of Brian, took precedence of the other three-and-twenty sons, his seniors.

“The historians of the *Siol Muiredhaigh*, place the O’Conors (of Connacht) before their seniors.

“The Ulidians place *Mac Aonghusa* (or Magenís), of the race of *Conall Cearnach*, before the descendants of Conor, the king, because Conall’s descendants were the more distinguished; and it was the same as regarded many other families, which it would be tedious to enumerate. And if these are allowed to be proper, why not I have a right to follow the same course?

“And further, should any one suppose that this is an arbitrary proceeding, I can assure him it is not; and that very often it cannot be avoided, where the descent of many tribes

and races has become complicated; so that, in order to separate them, it is often found necessary to pass over the senior, and write of the junior first, and then to return to the senior again.

“Understand, moreover, O reader! that it was a law in Erin to raise the junior sometimes to the chiefship, in preference to the senior, as the following Rule of Law, taken from the *Seanchas Mór*, and from the *Fenechas* in common, says: ‘The senior to the tribe, the powerful to the chiefship, the wise to the Church’. That is, the senior person of the tribe is to be put at the head of that tribe or family, alone; the man who has most supporters and power, if he be equally noble with his senior, to be placed in the chiefship or lordship; and the wisest man to be raised to the supreme rule of the Church.

“However, if the senior be the more wealthy and powerful, or if there be no junior of more wealth and power than him, according to the law, then he takes the chiefship. This, however, is the same as what has been already said.

“There is a common verse, which is repeated, to prove that it is lawful that an eligible junior ought to be elevated to the sovereignty, in preference to any number of his seniors, who were deficient in the lawful requirements.

‘Though there be nine in the line,
Between a good son and the sovereignty,
It is the right and proper rule
That he be forthwith inaugurated’.

“And it is, therefore, sometimes proper that the junior be elevated to the sovereignty. Why, then, if one should choose it, that he should not be placed at the beginning of a book? And, besides, it would be an unbecoming arrangement to place the most important of the guests at the foot of the table, while all the rest, even though they were his elder brothers, were placed at the head, when they are not kings.

“See, too, how the ignoble of descent are now placed in high positions in Erin, in preference to the nobles, because they possess worldly wealth, which is more to be wondered at than the above; and it is a far greater insult to the native nobles of Erin than any arrangement of their genealogies which we may happen to make, particularly as we receive no remuneration from any one of them. I pray them, therefore, to excuse their devoted servant *Dubhaltach Mac Fírbísigh*”.

I have stated, in a former lecture, that the autograph of *Mac Fírbísigh's Book*, which is written on paper, is in the possession of the Earl of Roden, and that I made a fac-simile copy of it

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for the Royal Irish Academy, in the year 1836. I have only to add, as before, with respect to the other books, a calculation of the extent of the Gædhlic text of this book, estimated, as before, in reference to the size of the pages of O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, supposing the Irish text alone were printed at full length, that it would make about 1300 pages.

You will now, I think, be able to comprehend why it is that I have attached so much importance to the genealogical tracts; and you, perhaps, already feel with me that by the future historian these great records will not be found less valuable than any of the annals themselves, to the accuracy of which they supply a check so invaluable in the comparison of historical materials. The last, the most perfect, and the greatest of these works is Mac Firbis's vast collection.

Mac Firbis found the great lines and general ramifications of the Gaedhlic genealogies, already brought down, in the Books of Leinster, Ballymote, and Lecan, to the beginning of the fifteenth century. These he continued down to his own time, from A.D. 1650 to 1666, with most important additions, collected evidently from various local records and private family documents, as well as from the State Papers in the public offices in Dublin, to which he seems to have had access, probably through the influence of Sir James Ware.

His book is, perhaps, the greatest national genealogical compilation in the world; and when we remember his great age at the time of its compilation, and that he neither received nor expected reward from any one,—that he wrote his book (as he himself says), simply for the enlightenment of his countrymen, the honour of his country, and the glory of God,—we cannot but feel admiration for his enthusiasm and piety, and veneration for the man who determined to close his life by bequeathing this precious legacy to his native land.

LECTURE XI.

[Delivered June 19, 1856.]

Of the existing pieces of detailed History in the Gaedhlic Language. The History of the Origin of the Boromean Tribute. The History of the Wars of the Danes and the Gaedhils. The History of the Wars of Thomond. The "Book of Munster". Of the Historic Tales appointed to be recited by the Poets and Ollamhs. Of the legal education of the *Ollamh*. THE HISTORIC TALES, with Examples. 1. Of the *Catha*, or Battles. The "Battle of *Mágh Túireadh*". The "Battle of *Mágh Túireadh* of the Fomorians".

IN the previous part of this course, we have already disposed of the series of the Annals, the foundation of our yet unwritten history. You have also heard something of the general contents of the great books of Gaedhlic manuscripts still preserved, and I have endeavoured to give you some idea of the extent of these great remains of our ancient literature. Before I proceed to give an account of the compositions I have termed Historic Tales, in which so vast a body of information is to be found as to the details of isolated occurrences, and the life and exploits of particular historic personages, I have still to introduce to your notice a few works of a yet more important character.

When I explained to you the nature of the meagre entries of which the earlier Annals for the most part consist, I told you that the intention of their compilers was confined to a record of mere dates of the more remarkable historical events, and of the succession and deaths of the Chiefs, Kings, Bishops, and Saints. They omitted the details of the events thus recorded, and of the lives of the sages and rulers of Erin in these general annals, because such details formed the subject of compositions of another kind. There were many extensive local histories regularly kept, and many enlarged accounts of important historical events, which filled up what was wanted in the general annals. Of those systematic historical compositions, embracing accounts of events extending over a considerable number of years or generations, many are known to have existed, but a few only have come down to us. These few are, however, tracts so much larger in extent, and so much more ambitious in their aim, than the pieces I have classed under the name of Historic Tales, that they demand our notice in somewhat greater detail. And as they rank in importance next to the Annals and the great Books

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of Genealogy themselves, it is to these pieces that I have now to direct your attention. These larger tracts, then, of which I am about to speak, are those which may be distinguished from the smaller pieces, recording only isolated events, exploits, and battles, in so far as they form connected narratives of the history of the whole country, or of some large portion of it, throughout a series of years. They may, therefore, be considered as complete pieces of history so far as they go, and were, no doubt, intended to form a portion of the full and complete history of the country, of which the Annals embrace but the meagre outline.

The History
of the OR-
IGIN OF THE
BOROMEAN
TRIBUTE.

The first of this class of pieces to which I shall call your attention, is one covering a considerable space of time, and chiefly, if not entirely, within the acknowledged historic period. It is the remarkable history which gives an account of the Origin of the BOROMEAN TRIBUTE, so long the source of such fierce internal warfare among the princes of Erin; and which details the chief contests, battles, and social broils to which that tribute gave rise, from the period of its imposition in the first century, to its final remission in the seventh.

About the middle of the first century, the mere rent-payers and unprivileged classes of Erin, the *Aitheach Tuatha* (a word incorrectly Anglicised "Attacots"), rose up against their lords, and by a sudden rebellion succeeded in overthrowing their power, and even in destroying the chief part of the nobility, together with the monarch *Fiacha*, in whose stead they placed their own leader, *Cairbré Cinn-Cait* [Carbry Cat-head], on the throne. *Cairbré* reigned five years, and was succeeded by *Elim Mac Conrach*, one of the Rudrician race. This *Elim* reigned over Erin for twenty years, after which he was at last slain at the battle of *Acaill* (a place now known as the hill of Skreen, near Tara) by *Tuathal Teachtmair*, son of the former or legitimate monarch *Fiacha*. *Tuathal* assumed the sovereignty with the hearty good will of the majority of the people, who were tired out by the inability of the usurping ruler to govern the nation in peace and order. He immediately set about consolidating his power, by reducing to obedience all such chiefs as remained still favourable to the revolutionary cause; and, having fully succeeded in accomplishing this work, he formally received at last the solemn allegiance of his subjects, and sat down in full power and honour in the palace of the kings at Tara.

Tuathal had, at this time, two beautiful marriageable daughters, named *Fithir* and *Dairiné*. *Eochaidh Aincheann*, the king of Leinster, sought and obtained the hand of the younger daughter *Dairiné*, and, after their nuptials, carried her home to

his palace at Naas, in Leinster. Some time afterwards his people persuaded him that he had made a bad selection, and that the elder was the better of the two sisters, upon which *Eochaidh* resolved by a stratagem to obtain the other daughter too. For this purpose, he shut up his young queen in a secret chamber of his palace, at the same time giving out that she was dead; after which he repaired to Tara, told the monarch *Tuathal* that *Dairiné* was dead, and expressed his great anxiety to continue the alliance by espousing the other daughter. To this *Tuathal* gave his consent, and *Eochaidh* returned again to his own court with a new bride.

After some time the injured lady, *Dairiné*, contrived to make her escape from her confinement, and quite unexpectedly made her appearance in the presence of her faithless husband and his new wife. The deceived sister, on seeing her alive and well, for the first time knew how falsely both had been dealt with, and, struck with horror, disgust, and shame, fell dead on the spot. *Dairiné* was no less affected by the treachery of her husband and the death of her sister; she returned to her solitary chamber, and in a short time died of a broken heart.

The monarch *Tuathal* having heard of the insult put upon his two daughters, and their untimely death, forthwith raised a powerful force, marched into Leinster, burned and ravaged the whole province to its uttermost boundaries, and then compelled the king and his people to bind themselves and their descendants for ever to the payment of a triennial tribute to the monarch of Erin. This tribute he fixed to consist of five thousand ounces of silver, five thousand cloaks, five thousand fat cows, five thousand fat hogs, five thousand fat wethers, and five thousand large vessels of brass or bronze.

This was what was called the "Boromean Tribute"; as it was named from the great number of cows paid in it,—*bo* being the Gaedhlic for a cow.

The levying of this degrading and oppressive tribute by the successive monarchs of Erin, was the cause of periodical sanguinary conflicts, from *Tuathal's* time down to the reign of *Fínnachta* the Festive, who, about the year 680, abolished it, at the persuasion of St. Moling of *Tigh Moling* (now St. Mullen's, in the county of Carlow), though against the will of St. Adamnan, who was then the friend and confessor of the monarch. The tribute was, however, revived and again levied by Brian, the son of *Cinneidigh*, at the beginning of the eleventh century, as a punishment for the adherence of Leinster to the Danish cause: and it was from this circumstance that he obtained the surname of *Boroimhé*.

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of the OR-
IGIN OF THE
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Of the tract devoted to the history of this tribute we have a most valuable copy in the Book of *Lecain*, in the library of the Royal Irish Academy; but we have a still more valuable copy, because much older, in the Book of Leinster, a manuscript of the middle of the twelfth century, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

The most important of the events recorded in the History of the Boromean Tribute, because by far the most detailed, is the battle of *Dun Bolg*, near *Bealach Conglais* [now Baltinglass], in the county of Wicklow. This battle was fought in the year 594, between the monarch of Erin, *Aedh* [Hugh], the son of *Ainmiré*, and the celebrated *Bran Dubh*, King of Leinster, in which the monarch was slain, and his forces routed and slaughtered.

The History
of the WARS
OF THE
DANES
WITH THE
GAEDHILS.

The next great epoch of our history has been described in another similar piece. I allude to that long period, extending over more than two hundred years, during which the Danish and other Scandinavian hordes continued to pour an almost incessant stream of death and destruction on the country. Of the history of this dreadful warfare we have a very ample account, preserved in various contemporary poems and minor pieces of prose; but the most valuable, because the most complete and detailed, account of it remaining, is that contained in the tract specially compiled under the name of *Cogadh Gall re Gaedhil*, or the WARS OF THE DANES WITH THE GAEDHILS.

Of this tract I had the good fortune some sixteen years ago to discover an ancient, but much soiled and imperfect copy, in the library of Trinity College; and this manuscript, with the permission of the College Board, I cleaned and copied. On the discovery of the Brussels Collection of Irish MSS. in 1846, it was found to contain a perfect copy of this tract, in the handwriting of the friar Michael O'Clery. This book was borrowed by Dr. Todd in 1852, and I made a fair transcript of it for the College library, thus securing to an Irish institution, where it might be easily consulted, a full and perfect copy. The ancient fragment must be nearly as old as the chief events towards the conclusion of the war, or the time of the decisive battle of Clontarf; and, as the O'Clery manuscript was not made out from this, we have the advantage of two independent copies of authority so far; and this, I need not tell you, is no small advantage in the case of documents which must have passed through so many successive transcriptions in successive ages, as most of our celebrated pieces have done.

Of the antiquity of the original composition of the tract, and

of its authenticity, we have most important evidence in the fact, that a fragment (unfortunately the first folio only) remains in the Book of Leinster. The existence of this fragment is of double importance. Firstly, because the Book of Leinster, having been compiled between the years 1120 and 1150, at a time that men were living whose grandfathers remembered the battle of Clontarf, this tract must have been at that period recognized as an authentic and veritable narrative, and extensively known, else it could scarcely find a place in such a compilation. And secondly, the fact of this tract containing a great amount of detail, of what must have been at this period very distasteful to the Leinster men, it is but reasonable to believe that neither exaggeration nor falsehood would have been allowed to form part of so great a provincial compilation.

This, to be sure, is arguing in the absence of the now lost copy; but any one acquainted with our ancient books, will be struck with the remarkable agreement which characterizes the record of the same events in books of different and often hostile provinces, even when the writer is recording the defeat, and perhaps disgrace, of the people of his own territory or province.

This book is now in course of publication, as one of the series of Chronicles on the History of Great Britain and Ireland, under the superintendence of the Master of the Rolls, in England. It is to be edited, with a Translation, Notes, and Introduction, by the Rev. Dr. Todd, S.F.T.C.D.

The next great piece of history that I have to call your attention to, in continuation of the historical chain, is one which, though but of local name and importance, still must have had (as indeed it is well known to have had) a considerable influence in stimulating the fierce opposition which the Anglo-Norman invaders met with, in the south and west of Ireland, for near two hundred years after their first disastrous descent upon this country.

The tract I allude to is commonly called the **WARS OF THOMOND**; and up to the present time it is, I am sorry to say, better known by name than by examination. It was compiled in the year 1459, by John, the son of Rory *Mac Craith*, a member of a learned family of that name, which gave many poets and historians to the Dalcassian families of Clare, and many learned ecclesiastics to the Catholic Church,—down to the time of the wretched *Maelmuiré* [or Miler] Mac Grath, who, from being a pious friar of the Franciscan order, became (after some smaller preferments) the first Protestant Archbishop of Cashel, at the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign. It professes to have been compiled from various documents belonging to the families of men

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who took an active and prominent part in the stirring scenes of which it is the record.

The following is the explanatory title-page, prefixed to a fine paper copy of this valuable tract, now preserved in the library of the Dublin University:—

“Here is a copy of that prime historical book, which the learned call *Cathreim Thoirdealbhaigh* [the Wars of Turlogh], in which is set forth every renowned deed that happened in Thomond, or North Munster, for more than two hundred years, or nearly from the Anglo-Norman invasion of Erin to the death of De Clare; first written by John, the son of Rory Mac Grath, the chief historian to the noble descendants of *Cas* [the Dalcassians], in the year 1459, as appears at the nineteenth folio of the same very old book, which may be seen at this day; and now newly written by Andrew Mac Curtin for the use of *Tadhg*, son of John, son of Mahon, son of Donnoch, son of *Tadhg Og*, son of *Tadhg*, son of Donnoch, son of Rory, son of Mahon, son of John, son of *Domhnall Ballach*, son of Mahon the Blind, son of Maccon, son of *Cumeadha*, son of Maccon, son of *Lochlainn*, son of *Cumeadha Mór* Mac Namara of Ranna. A.D. 1721”.

The transcriber of this copy, Andrew Mac Curtin, of Ennistimon, in the county of Clare, was one of the best, if not the very best, Irish scholar of his day; and a transcript from his accurate hand may be received with confidence, and looked upon, for all historical purposes, as of equal value with the original. The Mac Namara, for whom the transcript was made, represented, in the direct line, the ancient chiefs of the *Clann Cuilein*, in Clare; and well might he be anxious to preserve in his family a correct copy of this historical piece, because the Mac Namaras, his ancestors, were the most numerous, the most important, and, if possible, the most valiant of the proud and powerful Dalcassian Clanns who took part in the fearful internal warfare recorded in it.

The tract opens with the death of the brave *Domhnall Mór* O'Brien, the last king of Munster, in the year 1194, and the elevation of his son, Donoch, (or *Donnchadh*) *Cairbrech* O'Brien to his place,—but as chief of the *Dalcass* only (not as King of Munster), with the title of The O'Brien. The incidents of this prince's reign are passed over lightly, to his death, in the year 1242. Donnoch was succeeded by his son Conor, who erected the monastery of Corcomroe, in which his tomb and effigy may be seen at this day. This Conor had two sons, *Tadhg* and *Brian Ruadh* O'Brien, of whom I shall presently speak.

The Anglo-Norman power which came into the country in

the year 1172, had constantly gained ground, generation after generation, as you are of course aware, in consequence chiefly of the mutual jealousies and isolated opposition of the individual chiefs and clans among the Gaedhils. At last the two great sections of the country, the races of the north and the south, resolved to take counsel, and select some brave man of either of the ancient royal houses to be elevated to the chief command of the whole nation, in order that its power and efficiency might be the more effectually concentrated and brought into action against the common enemy. To this end, then, a convention was arranged to take place between Brian O'Neill, the greatest leader of the north at this time, and *Tadhg*, the son of Conor O'Brien, —at *Caeluisgé* [Narrow Water], on Loch Erne (near the present Castle Calwell). O'Neill came attended by all the chiefs of the north and a numerous force of armed men. O'Brien, though in his father's lifetime, went thither, at the head of the Munster and Connacht chiefs, and a large body of men in arms. The great chiefs came face to face at either Bank of the Narrow Water, but their old destiny accompanied them, and each came to the convention fully determined that himself alone should be the chosen leader and king of Erin. The convention was, as might be expected, a failure; and the respective parties returned home more divided, more jealous, and less powerful than ever to advance the general interests of their country, and to crush, as united they might easily have done, that crafty, unscrupulous, and treacherous foe, which contrived then and for centuries after to rule over the clans of Erin, by taking advantage of those dissensions among them which the stranger always found means but too readily to foment and to perpetuate.

This convention or meeting of O'Brien and O'Neill took place in the year 1258, according to the Annals of the Four Masters; and in the year after, that is in 1259, *Tadhg* O'Brien died. In the year after that again, that is, in 1260, Brian O'Neill himself was killed in the battle of Down Patrick, by John de Courcy and his followers.

The premature death of *Tadhg* O'Brien so preyed on his father, that for a considerable time he forgot altogether the duties of his position and the general interests of his people. This state of supineness encouraged some of his subordinate chiefs to withhold from him his lawful tributes.

Among these insubordinates was the *O'Lochlaim* of Burren, whose contumacy at length roused the old chief to action; and in the year 1267 he marched into *O'Lochlaim's* country, as far as the wood of *Siubhdaineach*, in the north-west part of Burren. Here the chief was met by the *O'Lochlainns* and their adhe-

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Thomond

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of the
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rents, and a battle ensued, in which O'Brien was killed and his army routed: and hence he has been ever since known in history as *Conchubhar na Siubhdainé*, or *Conor of Siubhdaineach*.

Tadhg O'Brien, the elder son of *Conor*, left two sons, *Turloch* and *Donoch*; and according to the law of succession among the clans, *Turloch*, though still in his minority, should succeed to the chieftaincy and to the title of O'Brien. In this, however, he was wrongfully anticipated by his father's brother *Brian Ruadh*, who had himself proclaimed chief, and without any opposition. This *Brian Ruadh* continued to rule for nine years, until the young *Turloch* came to full age; when, backed by his relatives the *MacNamaras*, and his fosterers the *O'Deas*, he marched with a great force against his uncle, who, sooner than risk a battle, fled with his immediate family and adherents, taking with him all his property, eastwards into North Tipperary, and left young *Turloch* in full possession of his ancestral rule and dignity.

Brian Ruadh, however, could not quietly submit to his loss and disgrace, and, taking counsel with his adherents, they decided on his seeking the aid of the national enemy, to reinstate him in his lost chieftainship. For this purpose *Brian Ruadh* and his son *Donoch* proceeded to *Cork*, to *Thomas de Clare*, son of the *Earl of Gloucester*, then at the head of all the *Anglo-Norman* forces of *Munster*, and sought his assistance, offering him an ample remuneration for his services. They offered him all the land lying between the city of *Limerick* and the town of *Ardsallas*, in *Clare*. *De Clare* gladly accepted those terms, and both parties met by agreement at *Limerick*, from which they marched into *Clare*; where, before any successful opposition could be offered them, the castle of *Bunratty* was built and fortified by the *Norman* leader.

A short time afterwards, however (in the year 1277), *De Clare* put the unfortunate *Brian Ruadh* to death; having had him drawn between horses and torn limb from limb, notwithstanding that the fidelity of their mutual alliance had been ratified by the most solemn oaths on all the ancient relics of *Munster*. And it was then indeed that the great wars of *Thomond* commenced in earnest; for, notwithstanding the treacherous death of their father, the infatuated sons of *Brian Ruadh* still adhered to *De Clare*, and the warfare was kept up with varying success till the year 1318, when *Robert de Clare* and his son were at last killed, in the battle of *Disert O'Dea*. After this the party of *Brian Ruadh* were compelled to fly once more over the *Shannon* into *Ara*, in *Tipperary*, where their descendants have ever since remained under the clann designation of the *O'Briens of Ara*.

The brave Dalcassians having thus rid themselves both of domestic and foreign usurpation, preserved their country, their independence, and their native laws and institutions, down to the year 1542, when Murroch, the son of Turloch, made submission to Henry the Eighth, abandoned the ancient and glorious title of the O'Brien, and disgraced his lineage by accepting a patent of his territory from an English king, with the English title of Earl of Thomond.

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As illustrative of local topographical and family history, this tract stands unrivalled. There is not an ancient chieftaincy in Clare that cannot be defined, and that has not been defined by its aid; nor a family of any note in that part of Ireland, whose position and power at the time is not recorded in it. Among these families may be found—the O'Briens, the Mac-Namaras, the MacMahons, the O'Quinns, the O'Deas, the O'Griffys (or Griffins), the O'Hehirs, the O'Gradys, the Mac Gormans, the O'Conors of Corcomroe, the O'Lochlainns of Burren, the O'Seasnans (or Sextons), the *O'Comhraidhés* (or Currys), the O'Kennedys, the O'Hogans, etc., etc.

The style of the composition of this tract is extremely redundant, abounding in adjectives of indefinable difference; nevertheless, it possesses a power and vigour of description and narration which, independently of the exciting incidents, will amply compensate the reader's study.

There are several copies of this tract extant in paper, the best of which known to me is Mac Curtin's, in Trinity College library; but there is a large fragment of it in vellum in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, written in a most beautiful, but unknown hand, in the year 1509.

The text of this tract would make about 300 pages of the text of O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters.

The last piece of this class of historical composition which I shall bring under your notice, before proceeding to give some account of the Historic Tales, is the "Book of Munster",—an important collection of provincial history, and to a considerable extent of the history of the whole nation.

The Book
of
MUNSTER.

THE BOOK OF MUNSTER is an independent compilation, but of uncertain date, as we happen to have no ancient copy of it; but as its leading points are to be found in the Books of Leinster, Ballymote, and Lecain, we may believe that they must have taken their abstracts from this ancient book in its original form. There are two copies of it on paper in the Royal Irish Academy, both made at the beginning of the last century, but neither of them giving us any account of the originals from which they were transcribed.

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The book (as is usual in all the very ancient independent compilations of this kind) begins with a record of the creation (taken, of course, from the Book of Genesis), and this merely for the purpose of carrying down the pedigrees of the sons of Noah, and particularly of Japhet, from whom the Milesians of Erinn descend.

The history of the Eberians, or southern branch of the Milesian line, is then carried down from *Eber* to *Brian Boroimhé* and the time of the battle of Clontarf.

The line of succession of the kings and great chiefs of Munster may be easily collected from the great books which I have before mentioned; but in this particular "Book of Munster" there is a mass of details relative to the various disputes and contentions for this succession (between rival local aspirants, as well as between north and south Munster, or the Dalcassian and Eugenic lines), not to be found in any other work that I am acquainted with.

Space will not, however, here allow me to enter into a minute analysis of this important tract; but I may particularly call your attention to the detailed account it contains of the contests and circumstances attending the succession to the throne of Munster of *Cathal Mac Finguiné*, about the year 720; of *Feilim Mac Crimthainn*, about 824; of *Cormac Mac Cullinan*, about 885; of *Ceallachain* of Cashel, about 934; and of *Brian Boroimhé*, about 976; all of which are full of historic interest, and the more so, as they are founded upon indisputable facts not elsewhere minutely or satisfactorily recorded.

The Book of Munster, including the pedigrees of the leading Munster families, consists of 260 pages folio, on paper, equal to 400 pages of the Four Masters. I believe there is a vellum copy of it in the College of St. Isidore at Rome.

Of the
HISTORIC
TALES.

In the very short account I have thus given you of the larger historical tracts, which supply, for those portions of our history which they describe, the chief details passed over in the mere Annals, I have only endeavoured to make you aware of the scope of this class of works, without enlarging on their special importance to the future historian of the country, who will find in them so much of continuous narrative nearly made to his hand. A little consideration will indeed suggest to you how much I could have offered on this subject. I pass, therefore, without more delay to the consideration of a department of our literature, which is, perhaps, the largest in extent, and hardly the least in importance, among the materials for the elucidation of our ancient history, but which I find I must, for the proper

understanding of it, introduce to your notice here by some observations of an introductory character. I allude to those shorter pieces, which we may call the HISTORIC TALES, and which consist of detailed accounts of isolated exploits and incidents, strictly historical in the main, but recited often with no inconsiderable amount of poetical or imaginative accompaniment of style.

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TALES.

Of these compositions, a very large number have come down to us, and when, by careful collation, and by the judicious application to them of an enlightened criticism, the true facts of history with which they abound shall be collected, the future historian will find himself at no loss for materials of the most valuable kind.

I do not purpose in this place to enter into any detailed examination of the authority of these tracts. Many of them consist entirely of pure history; many others contain recitals of indubitable historic facts in great detail, but mixed with minor incidents of an imaginative character. That they are all true in the main, I have myself no doubt whatever; but the investigation of their claims to respect in this regard would lead me at present too far from the prescribed track of an introductory course. I shall, therefore, only open to you shortly the circumstances under which tales of this kind were composed, and the general character and profession of their authors; and I shall refer you to a few examples of the recognition of their authority by some of our earliest, most careful, and authentic writers. I shall then at once proceed to describe to you the contents and plan of a few of these compositions, which may be taken as specimens of the remainder of them in each department.

I have already shown you in a former Lecture, that under the ancient laws of Erin an obligation was imposed upon certain high officers to make and preserve regular records of the history of the country.

The education and duties of *Ollamhs*.

The duty of the *Ollamhs* was, however, a good deal more extensive than this, for they were bound by the same laws to make themselves perfect masters of that history in all its details, and to teach it to the people by public recitals; as well as to be the legal referees upon all subjects in dispute concerning history and the genealogies (and you will bear in mind that the preservation of the rights of property of individuals intimately depended on the accuracy of that history and of those genealogies). The laws provided strictly for the education of the *Ollamh* (and no one could act as a Brehon or Judge that had not attained the degree of an *Ollamh*), and they conferred upon

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him valuable endowments and most important privileges, all which he forfeited for life, as I had occasion before to observe to you, if he became guilty of falsifying the history of any fact or the genealogy of any family.

The education of the *Ollamh* was long and minute. It extended over a space of twelve years "of hard work", as the early books say, and in the course of these twelve years certain regular courses were completed, each of which gave the student an additional degree, as a *Filé*, or Poet, with corresponding title, rank, and privileges.

In the Book of *Lecain* (fol. 168) there is an ancient tract, describing the laws upon this subject, and referring, with quotations, to the body of the *Brethibh Nimhedh*, or "Brehon Laws". According to this authority, the perfect Poet or *Ollamh* should know and practise the *Teinim Laegha*, the *Imas Forosnadh*, and the *Dichedal do chennaibh*. The first appears to have been a peculiar druidical verse, or incantation, believed to confer upon the druid or poet the power of understanding everything that it was proper for him to say or speak of. The second is explained or translated, "the illumination of much knowledge, as from the teacher to the pupil", that is, that he should be able to explain and teach the four divisions of poetry or philosophy, "and each division of them", continues the authority quoted, "is the chief teaching of three years of hard work". The third qualification, or *Dichedal*, is explained, "that he begins at once the head of his poem", in short, to improvise extempore in correct verse. "To the *Ollamh*", says the ancient authority quoted in this passage in the Book of *Lecain*, "belong synchronisms, together with the *laegha laidhibh*, or illuminating poems [incantations], and to him belong the pedigrees and the etymologies of names, that is, he has the pedigrees of the men of Erin with certainty, and the branching off of their various relationships". Lastly, "Here are the four divisions of the knowledge of poetry (or philosophy)", says the tract I have referred to; "genealogies, synchronisms, and the reciting of (historic) tales form the first division; knowledge of the seven kinds of verse, and how to measure them by letters and syllables, form another of them; judgment of the seven kinds of poetry, another of them; lastly, *Dichedal* [or improvisation], that is, to contemplate and recite the verses without ever thinking of them before".

It thus appears that the *Ollamh* was bound (and even from the very first course of his professional studies), among other duties, to have the Historic Stories; and these are classed with the genealogies and synchronisms of history, in which he was to preserve the truth of history pure and unbroken to suc-

ceeding generations. According to several of the most ancient authorities, the *Ollamh*, or perfect Doctor, was bound to have (for recital at the public feasts and assemblies) at least Seven Fifties of these Historic narratives; and there appear to have been various degrees in the ranks of the poets, as they progressed in education towards the final degree, each of which was bound to be supplied with at least a certain number. Thus the *Anroth*, next in rank to an *Ollamh*, should have half the number of an *Ollamh*; the *Cli*, one-third the number, according to some authorities, and eighty according to others; and so on down to the *Fochlog*, who should have thirty, and the *Driseq* (the lowest of all), who should have twenty of these tales.

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To each of these classes, as I have observed, proportionate emoluments and privileges were secured by law.

It is thus perfectly clear that the compositions I have already called the Historic Tales, were composed for a much graver purpose than that of mere amusement; and when the nature of the profession of the *Ollamh*, the Poet, the Historical Teacher, is considered, as well as the laws by which it was regulated, it will not seem surprising that the poems and tales in which these officers preserved the special facts and details of history, should have been regarded at all times as of the greatest authority. Accordingly, we find them quoted and followed by the most distinguished of the early critics and teachers of our history, such as the celebrated Flann of Monasterboice, and others.

The authority of the "Historic Tales" as pieces of History.

As instances of such references, I shall take a few examples at random from the Book of Lecain; but they occur in innumerable places in that and other ancient MSS.

The Book of *Lecain*, at folio 15, b. a., after a poem on the death of *Aengus Ollmucadh*, quotes as authority for it a poem by *Eochaidh O'Flinn*; and at 16, b. b., it quotes from another poem by the same writer.

At folio 25, b. b., a poem by *Finntan* (sixth century) is quoted as an authority on the subject of the colonies of *Parthalon*, and *Nemhed*, and of the *Firbolgs*.

At folio 277, b., a poem by *Mac Liag*, on the *Firbolg* colonies, is quoted as having been taken from their own accounts of themselves; and at 278, a., another on the same subject.

At folio 280, is quoted a poem by *Eochaidh O'Flinn*, on the *Tuatha Dé Danann* and the first battle of *Magh Tuireadh*—a poem, in which the account of that battle corresponds with that of the ancient prose tale I have presently to describe to you. And so on.

One reason, perhaps, why even the poems of the learned men of ancient times have thus been regarded as of such im-

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portance, is that the *Ollamhs* were in the habit of teaching the facts of history to their pupils in verse, probably that they might thus be the more easily remembered. Thus we find in the Book of *Lecain* (fol. 27, a. b.) a poem by *Colum Cille*, in praise of *Eochaidh Mac Eirc*, addressed to a pupil who questioned him; and this poem contains a minute account of the battle of *Magh Tuireadh*, and also of the Milesian expedition to Erin.

And Flann of Monasterboice (perhaps the greatest of our early critics), the celebrated compiler of the synchronisms which pass under his name, frequently quotes from and refers to poems earlier than his time as authorities for historic facts, and he also often communicates in verse to his pupils his own profound historic learning. Of Flann's critical and historical poems there are several in the Book of *Lecain*: as at folio 24, b. b., one on the kings, from *Eochaidh Feidhleach* to *Laeghairé*, in which he gives an account of the *Cathréim Dathi*, and the *Bruighean Da Derga*, exactly corresponding with the recitals of those events in the Historic Tales so named. So also, *Lecain*, folio 25, a.; 28, a. a.; 280, etc., etc., etc.,

It seems strange enough that the authors of the Historic Tales should have been permitted at all to introduce fairy agency in describing the exploits of real heroes, and to describe purely imaginative characters occasionally among the subordinate personages in these stories. This seems strange, because they could not alter the historic occurrences themselves, nor tamper with the truth of the genealogies and successions of the kings and chieftains,—which it was their professional duty to teach in purity to the people,—without hazarding the loss of all their dignities and privileges. It is, however, certain that the rules of these compositions permitted the introduction of a certain amount of poetical machinery. These rules, and the circumstances under which, and the extent to which, the *Ollamhs* used such licence, must remain matter for critical investigation. It only belongs to my present design to assure you of the historical authority of all the substantial statements respecting the battles, the expeditions, and the alliances of our early kings, contained in these *Secla*, or Tales: and of this authority there cannot be any doubt, if we are to believe the testimony of the most accurate of our early critics and the most venerable MSS. which have been handed down to us.

One other observation remains to be made. That the Historic Tales which I am about to describe to you are indeed those which the *Ollamhs* were bound, under the laws I have quoted, to have for recital to the people, we are fortunately in a condition to prove out of one of the earliest, and on the whole,

I believe I may say, the most valuable, of all the early historic books now in existence. I mean no other than the Book of Leinster itself. (T.C.D.; H. 2. 18).

At folio 151, a., of this venerable MS., we find recorded the rule I have already referred to as to the number of Historic Tales which each class of poet, or teacher, was bound to have.—[See original in APPENDIX, No. LXXXVIII.]

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The authenticity of the "Historic Tales" as they have come down to us.

"Of the qualifications of a poet in stories and in deeds to be related to kings and chiefs, as follows, viz.: Seven times fifty stories, *i.e.*, five times fifty prime stories, and twice fifty secondary stories; and these secondary stories are not permitted [that is, can only be permitted] but to four grades only, viz.: an *Ollamh*, an *Amrath*, a *Clí*, and a *Cano*. And these 'Prime Stories' are: Destructions and Preyings, Courtships, Battles, Caves, Navigations, Tragedies (or Deaths), Expeditions, Elopements, and Conflagrations". And afterwards, "These following reckon also as prime stories: stories of Irruptions, of Visions, of Loves, of Hostings, and of Migrations".

A vast number of examples of these different prime stories follow, by which we are supplied with the names of so many as 187 in all, classified under their different heads; and this invaluable list has been the means of identifying very many of these ancient tales among the MSS. which have been preserved to our times.—[See this List in the APPENDIX, No. LXXXIX.]

The number of the ancient Historic Tales yet in existence is considerable, and several of them have been identified. Many of these, of course, are not known to us in so pure a state as we could wish, but each year's investigation throws some additional light on even the least of them, and brings out their historic value. I need only add, that the strictly Historic Tales known to me may be calculated as embracing matter extensive enough to occupy about 4000 pages of O'Donovan's Annals.

Of the Historic Tales a few have been printed within the last few years, which may be taken, to some extent at least, as specimens of the remainder. The *Cath Muighé Rath* (Battle of *Magh Rath*, or Moyra), published by the Archæological Society in 1842, is one of the tales in the list in the Book of Leinster. The Celtic Society also printed two of the Historic Tales in 1855, the *Cath Muighé Leana*, and the *Tochmarc Moméra*, both of which are of remarkable interest and great historic value.

Of those which I have selected shortly to introduce to your notice here, the first is also one of the CATHA, or BATTLES. It is that of *Magh Tuireadh*, one of the earliest battles recorded in our history, and almost the earliest event upon the record of which we may place sure reliance. It was in this battle that

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the Firbolgs were defeated by the *Tuatha Dé Danann* race, who subsequently ruled in Erin till the coming of the Milesians from Spain; so that it forms a great epoch and starting point in our history. The tract which goes by the name is somewhat long, opening indeed with the same account of the first colonies or expeditions that landed in Erin which we find in the Books of Invasions. It is impossible that I should give you the whole account here, or indeed any considerable part of it, but I shall endeavour to make the contents of the tract as intelligible as our time may permit.

The Firbolgs, according to the Annals, arrived in Ireland about the year of the world 3266. Very soon after landing, the chiefs, though wide apart the spots upon which in different parties they first touched the shore, contrived to discover the fate of each other; and having looked out for a central and suitable place to reunite their forces, they happened to fix on the green hill now called Tara, but which they named *Druim Cain*, or the Beautiful Eminence. Here they planted their seat of government; they divided the island into five parts, between the five brothers, and distributed their people among them. The Firbolgs continued thus to hold and rule the country for the space of thirty-six years, that is, till the year of the world 3303, when *Eochaidh* the son of Erc was their king.

In this year the Firbolgs were surprised to find that the island contained some other inhabitants whom they had never before seen or heard of. These were no other than the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, the descendants of *Iobath*, son of *Beathach*. *Iobath* was one of the Nemedian chiefs who survived the destruction of Conaings Tower (on Tory Island), and passed into the north of Europe; whilst another of them, *Simeon Breac*, passed into Thrace, from whom the Firbolgs descended. Both tribes thus met in the old land once more, after a separation of about 237 years.

The *Tuatha Dé Danann*, after landing on the north-east coast of Erin, had destroyed their ships and boats, and stealthily made their way into the fastnesses of *Magh Rein* (in the County Leitrim). Here they had raised such temporary works of defence as might save them from any sudden surprise of an enemy, and then gradually showing themselves to the Firbolg inhabitants, they pretended that they had, by their skill in necromancy, come into Erin on the wings of the wind.

The king of the Firbolgs, having heard of the arrival of these strange tribes, took counsel with his wise men, and they resolved to send a large, powerful, and fierce warrior of their people forward to the camp of the strangers, to make observations, and ascertain as much of their history and condition as he

could. The chosen warrior, whose name was Sreng, went forward on his mission to *Magh Rein*; but before he reached the camp the *Tuatha Dé Danann* sentinels had perceived him, and they immediately sent forward one of their own champions, named *Breas*, to meet and talk to him. Both warriors approached with great caution, until they came within speaking distance of each other, when each of them planted his shield in front of him to cover his body, and viewed the other over its border with inquiring eyes. *Breas* was the first to break silence, and Sreng was delighted to hear himself addressed in his own language, for the old Gaedhlic was the mother-tongue of each. They drew nearer each other, and, after some conversation, discovered each other's lineage and remote consanguinity.

They next examined each other's spears, swords, and shields; and in this examination they discovered a very marked difference in the shape and excellence of the spears; Sreng being armed with two heavy, thick, pointless, but sharply rounded, spears; while *Breas* carried two beautifully shaped, thin, slender, long, sharp-pointed spears. *Breas* then proposed on the part of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, to divide the island into two parts, between the two great parties, and that they should mutually enjoy and defend it against all future invaders. They then exchanged spears for the mutual examination of both hosts; and after having entered into vows of future friendship, each returned to his people.

Sreng returned to Tara, as we shall in future call that place; and having recounted to the king and his people the result of his mission, they took counsel, and decided on not granting to the *Tuatha Dé Danann* a division of the country, but, on the contrary, prepared to give them battle. In the meantime, *Breas* returned to his camp, and gave his people a very discouraging account of the appearance, tone, and arms of the fierce man he had been sent to parley with. The *Tuatha Dé Danann* having drawn no favourable augury of peace or friendship from this specimen of the Firbolg warriors and his formidable arms, abandoned their holdings, and, retiring farther to the south and west, took up a strong position on Mount Belgadan, at the west end of *Magh Nia* (the plain of Nia), which is now called *Magh Tuireadh* (or Moytura), and is situated near the village of Cong, in the present county of Mayo. The Firbolgs marched from Tara, with all their forces, to this plain of Moytura, and encamped at the east end of it. Nuada, who was the king of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, however, wishing to avoid hostilities if possible, opened new negotiations with King *Eochaidh* through the medium of his bards. The Firbolg king declined

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to grant any accommodation, and the poets having returned to their hosts, both the great parties prepared for battle.

The battle took place on Midsummer-day. The Firbolgs were defeated with great slaughter, and their king (who left the battle-field with a body guard of a hundred brave men, in search of water to allay his burning thirst) was followed by a party of a hundred and fifty men, led by the three sons of Nemedh, who pursued him all the way to the strand called *Traigh Eothailé* [near Ballysadare, in the county of Sligo]. Here a fierce combat ensued between the parties, in which King *Eochaidh* fell,—as well as the leaders on the other side, the three sons of *Nemedh*.

The sons of *Nemedh* were buried at the west end of the strand, at a place since called *Leca Meic Nemedh*, or the Grave Stones of the sons of *Nemedh*; and King *Eochaidh* was buried where he fell in the strand, and the great heap of stones known to this day as the Carn of *Traigh Eothaill* (and which was formerly accounted one of the wonders of Erin) was raised over him by the victors.

In the course of the battle, the Firbolg warrior Sreng dealt the king of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, Nuada, a blow of his heavy sword, which clove the rim of his shield, and cut off his arm at the shoulder. Nuada had a silver arm made for him by certain ingenious artificers attached to his court, and he has been ever since known in our history and romances as *Nuada Airgead-lamh*, or the Silver-handed.

The battle of *Magh Tuireadh* continued for four successive days, until at length the Firbolgs were diminished to 300 fighting men, headed by their still surviving warrior-chief, Sreng; and, being thus reduced to a great inequality of numbers compared with their enemies, they held a counsel and resolved to demand single combat, of man to man, in accordance with the universally acknowledged laws of ancient chivalry. The *Tuatha Dé Danann* thought better, and offered Sreng terms of peace, and his choice of the five great divisions of Erin. Sreng accepted these terms, and took as his choice the present province of Connacht, which, down to the time of Conn of the Hundred Battles, was called by no other name than *Cuigead Sreing*—that is Sreng's province,—in which indeed his descendants were still recognized down so late as the year 1650, according to Duall Mac Firbis.

The antiquity of this tract, in its present form, can scarcely be under fourteen hundred years. The story is told with singular truthfulness of description. There is no attempt at making a hero, or ascribing to any individual or party the per-

formance of any incredible deeds of valour. There is, however, a good deal of druidism introduced;—but the position and conduct of the poets or bards during the battle, and in the midst of it,—the origin of the name of Moytura, or the plain of pillars or columns,—the origin, names, and use of so many of the pillar stones, of the mounds, and of the huge graves, vulgarly called Cromlechs, with which the plain is still covered,—are all matters of such interest and importance in the reading of our ancient history and the investigation of our antiquarian monumental remains, that I am bold to assert that I believe there is not in all Europe a tract of equal historical value yet lying in MS., considering its undoubted antiquity and authenticity.

There is but one ancient copy of this tract known to me to be in existence, and of this I possess an accurate transcript.

The mere facts of the coming in of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, of the battle that ensued, and of the death of King *Eochaidh* only, are told in O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, at the year of the world 3303. That accomplished Irish topographer lays down the position of Moytura, and other places mentioned in our tract, with his usual accuracy; but he has mistaken the account of the second battle (which is in the British Museum) for this; and of that battle I shall now proceed to give you a short sketch, in abstracting for you a second of these Historic Tales, which we may call the Second Battle of *Magh Tuireadh*, or the Battle of *Magh Tuireadh* "of the Fomorians".

After the brief record of the first battle by the Four Masters, at the year of the world 3303, they tell us (at the year 3304) that *Breas*, the chief of the *Tuath Dé Danann*, who was a Fomorian by his father (the same who, as we have seen, held the parley with the Firbolg warrior Sreng), received the regency from his people during the illness of their king, Nuada, who had lost his arm in the battle. *Breas* held the regency for seven years, when he resigned it again to the king; and Nuada (who in the mean time was supplied with a silver arm by his surgeon, *Dian-cecht*, and *Creidne*, the great worker in metals,—and thence called *Nuada Airgid-lamh*, or "of the Silver Hand") reassumed the sovereignty. The Annals pass on then to the twentieth year of Nuada's reign, (that is, A.M. 3330), where they merely state that, he fell in the battle of Moytura of the Fomorians, by the hand of Balor "of the stiff blows", one of the Fomorians.

Now nothing could be more dry or less attractive than this simple record, in four lines, of the death in battle of the king of a country and people, without a single word of detail, or any reference whatever to the cause of the war, or to the other actors in the battle; so that any person might take it upon himself to

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1^o. Of the
CATHA, or
"Battles".
(The "Battle
of Magh
Tuireadh,"
of the
Fomorians".)

question the veracity of so meagre a record, if there had been no collateral evidence to support it. This, however, like the former battle, had its ancient history, as well as its dry chronicle; and from the former I shall lay before you in the following abstract as much of it as will, at least, I hope arouse the curiosity and attention of my hearers,—begging of them at the same time to remember, that notwithstanding all that has been written and spoken for and against the remote history of Ireland, even up to this day, the test of pure, unbiassed criticism, historical and chronological, has not yet been applied to it.

The tract opens with an account of the lineage of *Breas*, and how it was that he became king.

We have seen that the warrior regent resigned the sovereignty at the end of seven years to Nuada the king; but it was more by compulsion than good will that he did so, for his rule was so marked by inhospitality, and by entire neglect of the wants and wishes of his people, that loud murmurs of discontent assailed him from all quarters long before his regency was terminated. In short, as the chronicler says, the knives of his people were not greased at his table, nor did their breath smell of ale at the banquet. Neither their poets, nor their bards, nor their satirists, nor their harpers, nor their pipers, nor their trumpeters, nor their jugglers, nor their buffoons, were ever seen engaged in amusing them at the assemblies of his court. It is in fine added that he had even succeeded in reducing many of the best and bravest of the *Tuatha Dé Danann* warriors to a state of absolute servitude and vassalage to himself; and his design seems to have been to substitute an absolute rule for the circumscribed power of a chief king under the national law of the clans.

At the time that the discontent was at its height, a certain poet and satirist named *Cairbré*, the son of the poetess *Etan*, visited the king's court; but, in place of being received with the accustomed respect, the poet was sent, it appears, to a small dark chamber, without fire, furniture, or bed, where he was served with three small cakes of dry bread only, on a very small and mean table. This treatment was in gross violation of public law, and could not fail to excite the strongest feeling. The poet accordingly arose on the next morning, full of discontent and bitterness, and left the court not only without the usual professional compliments, but even pronouncing a bitter and withering satire on his host. This was the first satire ever, it is said, written in Erin; and although such an insult to a poet, and the public expression of his indignation in consequence, would fall very far short of penetrating the quick feelings of the nobility or royalty of these times (so different are the customs of an-

cient and modern honour), still it was sufficient in those early days to excite the sympathy of the whole body of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, chiefs and people; and occurring as it did after so many just causes of popular complaint, they determined without more to call upon *Breas* to resign his power forthwith. To this call the regent reluctantly acceded; and having held council with his mother, they both determined to retire to the court of his father, *Elatha*, at this time the great chief of the Fomorian pirates, or sea kings, who then swarmed through all the German Ocean, and ruled over the Shetland Islands and the Hebrides.

Though *Elatha* received his son coldly, and seemed to think that his disgrace was deserved, still he acceded to his request to furnish him with a fleet and army with which to return and conquer Erin for himself, if he could, from his maternal relations the *Tuatha Dé Danann*. *Breas* was therefore recommended by his father to the favour of the great Fomorian chiefs, Balor "of the Evil Eye", king of the Islands, and *Indech*, son of *Dé-Domnand*; and these two leaders collected all the men and ships lying from Scandinavia westwards, for the intended invasion, so that they are said to have formed an unbroken bridge of ships and boats from the Hebrides to the north-west coast of Erin. Having landed there, they marched to a plain in the present barony of Tirerrill, in the county of Sligo,—a spot surrounded by high hills, rocks, and narrow defiles;—and, having thus pitched their camp in the enemy's country, they awaited the determination of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, to surrender or give them battle. The latter were not slow in preparing to resist the invaders, and the recorded account of their preparations is in full accordance with their traditional character as skilful artizans and profound necromancers.

Besides the king, *Nuada* "of the Silver Hand", the chief men of the *Tuatha Dé Danann* at this time were: the great *Daghda*; *Lug*, the son of *Cian*, son of *Diancecht*, their great Esculapius; *Ogma Grian-Aineach* ("of the sun-like face"), and others; but the *Daghda* and *Lug* were the prime counsellors and arrangers of the battle. The tract proceeds to state how these two called to their presence:—their smiths; their *cerds*, or silver and brass workers; their carpenters; their surgeons; their sorcerers; their cup-bearers; their druids; their poets; their witches; and their chief leaders. And there is not, perhaps, in the whole range of our ancient literature a more curious chapter than that which describes the questions which *Lug* put to these several classes as to the nature of the service which each was prepared to render in the battle, and the characteristic professional answer which he received from each of them.

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The battle (which took place on the last day of October) is eloquently described,—with all the brave achievements, and all the deeds of art and necromancy by which it was distinguished. The Fomorian were defeated, and their chief men killed. King Nuada of the Silver Hand was indeed killed by Balor of the Evil Eye, but Balor himself fell, soon after, by a stone flung at him by *Lug* (his grandson by his daughter *Eithlenn*), which struck him (we are told) in the "evil eye", and with so much force, that it carried it out through the back of his head.

The magical skill, as it was called,—in reality of course, the scientific superiority—of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, stood them well in this battle; for *Diancecht*, their chief physician, with his daughter *Ochtriuil*, and his two sons, *Airmedh* and *Mioch*, are stated to have previously prepared a healing bath or fountain with the essences of the principal healing herbs and plants of Erin, gathered chiefly in *Lus-Mhagh*, or the Plain of Herbs (a district comprised in the present King's County); and on this bath they continued to pronounce incantations during the battle. Such of their men as happened to be wounded in the fight were immediately brought to the bath and plunged in, and they are said to have been instantly refreshed and made whole, so that they were able to return and fight against the enemy again and again.

The situation of the plain on which this battle was fought, is minutely laid down in the story, and has been ever since called *Meagh Tuireadh na bh-Fomorach*, or "The Plain of the Towers (or pillars) of the Fomorian", to distinguish it from the southern Moytura, from which it is distant about fifty miles.

The story does not enter into any account of the setting up of any tombs, towers, or pillars, though many ancient Cyclopien graves and monuments remain to this day on the plain; but as it appears to be imperfect at the end, it is possible that the tract in its complete form contained some details of this nature.

Cormac Mac Cullinan in his celebrated Glossary quotes this tract in illustration of the word *Nes*; so that so early as the ninth century it was looked upon by him as a very ancient historic composition of authority.

I have only to add, that the only ancient copy of this tract that I am acquainted with, or that, perhaps, now exists, is one in the British Museum, finely written on vellum by *Gilla-Riab-hach* O'Clery, about the year 1460. Of this I had a perfect transcript made by my son Eugene, under my own inspection and correction, in London, in the summer of last year [1855]; so that the safety of the tract does not any longer depend on the existence of a single copy.

LECTURE XII.

[Delivered March 6, 1856.]

THE HISTORIC TALES (continued). 2. Of the *Longasa*, or Voyages. The History of the "Voyage of *Labhraidh Loingseach*, or *Maen*". The "Voyage of *Breacan*". 3. Of the *Tóghla*, or Destructions. The "Destruction of the *Bruighean* (or Court of) *Dá Derga*". The "*Bruighean Dá Choga*". 4. Of the *Airgné*, or Slaughters. The "Slaughters (battles) of *Conghal Cláiringneach*". Of the Revolt of the *Aitheach Tuatha*, called the Attacotti, or Attacots. The "Slaughter of the Noble Clanns of Erin, by *Cairbré Cinn-cait*" (Carbry-Cat-head). 5. Of the *Forbasa*, or Sieges. The "Siege of *Edar*", (the Fortress of Howth Hill). The "Siege of *Drom Damhghaire*" (Knock-long).

IN the last lecture I opened the account I proposed to give you of the Historic Tales, with the remarkable tracts which describe the first and second battles of *Magh Tuireadh*.

These tracts afforded us examples of the most important class of those *Prim-scéla*, or Prime Stories, mentioned in the Book of Leinster: I mean the *Catha*, or Battles. The remainder of the tales of which I intend to speak, as examples of the other classes, may be most conveniently introduced in the chronological order of the events narrated in them; but it is proper to remind you, that no such system of selection is adopted in the list in the Book of Leinster, or elsewhere, and that each class of the ancient Historic Tales embraces histories of events occurring at every period of our history, from the most remote to the tenth century. The division of the tales into classes was purely arbitrary, and apparently for the mere convenience of reference. All these tales are but the recitals in detail of isolated events of history, either in explanation of important historical occurrences, or illustrating the wisdom or gallantry of the heroes of the Gaedhlic race, or recording some interesting circumstance in their well-known career. And of each of the classes into which this department of our historical literature was divided we possess still several examples.

The next of these tales which I have selected to describe to you is that in which the curious history of *Labhraidh Loingseach* is recorded, a Leinster prince, who became monarch of Erin about the year 541 before Christ. This tale might, perhaps, be classed among the *Tochmarca*, or Courtships, in so far as it contains a relation of the romantic story of the marriage of *Labhraidh* with the lady *Moriadh*, the daughter of the king of

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2^o Of the LONGASA, or "Voyages". (The "Voyage of Labhraidh Loingseach").

West Munster; or it might take its place among the *Airgnē*, or Slaughters, in so much as it details the Destruction of the fort of *Dinn Righ* (near Carlow), which was taken by *Labhraidh* from his treacherous grand-uncle, *Cobhthach Cael*, the usurping king of Erin, who was killed in it. It may, however, as probably be the tale recorded in the Book of Leinster among the LONGASA, or Voyages, as the *Longeas Labhrada*, and as the prince's second name of *Loingseach* ["the Voyager"] was due to this *Longeas*, we may perhaps take this tract as an appropriate specimen of that class of pieces.

The *Longeas* was in one sense simply a voyage; from *Long*, a ship. But it is observable that this designation is usually confined in ancient stories to a voyage involuntarily undertaken, as for instance in the case of a banishment, or a flight. A voluntary expedition by sea is described under a different name, that of *Imram*, and we shall find an example of that class also amongst the tales which I have yet to introduce to your notice.

In a former lecture I believe I told you something of the great king *Ugainé Mór*, from whom almost all the chief Gaedhlic families in the provinces of Leinster, Ulster, and Connacht trace their descent. *Ugainé Mór* was king of all Erin about the year 633 before Christ, according to the Annals of the Four Masters. He reigned forty years; and he was at last succeeded, in 593 B.C., by his eldest son, *Laeghairé Lorc*, who was however treacherously killed two years afterwards by his brother, *Cobhthach Cael Breagh*; and this *Cobhthach* then assumed the kingship of Erin, which he enjoyed for full half a century, till he also was slain at the taking of *Dinn Righ*, just alluded to. It is with the accession of *Cobhthach Cael* to the supreme throne that the story of *Labhraidh* commences. This story is particularly interesting as recording one of the earliest instances of the very early cultivation of music among the ancient Irish,—in the power exercised over the feelings of his audience by *Craftiné*, the first harper of whom we find any special mention in our books.

Laeghairé Lorc, the story tells us, had one son, *Ailill Ainé*, who succeeded him as king of Leinster; however, his uncle *Cobhthach* soon procured his death by means of a poisoned drink. *Ailill Ainé* left an infant son named *Maen Ollamh*; but because he was dumb, and therefore, according to law, for ever ineligible to be made a king, the usurping monarch spared his life. The orphan prince was therefore allowed to reside in his father's palace of *Dinn Righ*, and placed under the tuition and guardianship of two officers of the court of Tara, namely, *Ferceirtné*, the poet and philosopher, and *Craftiné*, the harper.

This instance of the endeavour to communicate mental in-

struction to a dumb person at so remote a period, is particularly interesting. The boy was not, however, as we shall see, dumb from his birth, and the choice of a harper as one of his instructors would suggest that he was never deficient in hearing.

Maen, under the care and tuition of his two able guardians, in the course of years, sprung up into manhood, singularly distinguished by beauty of feature, symmetry of person, and cultivation of mind. One day, however, it happened that while enjoying his usual sports in the play-ground of his father's mansion he received some offence from one of his companions. The insult was promptly resented by a blow; and, in an attempt to suit words to the action, the spell of his dumbness was broken, and the young man spoke. The quarrel was lost in an exclamation of joy raised by his companions, when they all cried out *Labhraidh Maen! Labhraidh Maen!* ["*Maen speaks! Maen speaks!*"]; and his tutor *Craftiné* coming up at the same time, and hearing what had happened, said that henceforth the prince should bear the name of *Labhraidh Maen*, in commemoration of the wonderful event.

News of this important occurrence having reached the monarch *Cobhthach*, at Tara, he commanded *Labhraidh Maen* to appear at his court, with his tutors and retainers, to assist at the Great Feast of Tara, which was then being held.

While seated at the feast, and in the presence of all the company, the monarch (so the tale relates) happened to ask aloud, who was, in the opinion of the company, the most munificent man in Erin? *Craftiné* and *Ferceirtiné* both answered that *Labhraidh Maen* was the most munificent man in Erin. He is better than me, then, said the monarch, and you both may go with him. The loss will be greater to you than to us, said the harper. Depart out of Erin, said the monarch. If we can find no refuge in Erin, we will, said they.

Labhraidh Maen, accordingly, took counsel at once with his tutors and a few other friends, as to what he should do; when, after a careful consideration of all the circumstances of their case, they decided on leaving Leinster, and seeking refuge and friendship from *Scoriath*, king of *Fermorea* (or the Great Men) of West Munster. Thither they repaired, and, after having received the customary hospitality of several days, without questions asked, at *Scoriath's* palace, the king at last inquired the cause and nature of their visit. We have been expelled by the monarch of Erin, said they. You are welcome to my care and protection, then, said *Scoriath*.

The tale proceeds to tell us that king *Scoriath* had a daughter, whose name was *Moriath*, and whose beauty had so bewildered

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age of *Labh-
raidh Loing-
seach*").

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LONGASA, or
"Voyages".
(The "Voy-
age of *Labh-
raidh Loing-
seach*").

the young princes and chiefs of Munster, that several schemes had been devised by some of them to obtain unlawful possession of her person, after their proposals of marriage had been rejected. On the discovery of those designs by the lady's parents, they determined on being her sole guardians themselves, and, in order that there should be no relaxation of their vigilance, it was arranged between them that the father should have constant charge of her by day, and the mother by night, so that she should never be out of the safe keeping of either the one or the other.

This vigilance on the part of the royal parents did not escape the notice of their noble guest, who was, indeed, permitted to enjoy free conversation with the beautiful *Moriath*, but subject to one trifling drawback, that, namely, of the presence of her father or mother on all such occasions. But, notwithstanding the restraint which parental vigilance had placed upon any expression of tender sentiment, the youthful pair soon discovered that the society of each was highly prized and desired by the other; but beyond this they had no power to proceed,—their love story had come prematurely to a full stop. The cautious parents of the young princess were, indeed, as often happens, the only persons in their court ignorant of the true state of the case; but their watchfulness was not the less successful in baffling the designs of the lover. Distracted and dejected, the young *Labhraidh Maen* had recourse to the counsels of his faithful friend and mentor, *Craftiné*, and that illustrious harper appears to have been no stranger to the delicate management of small court difficulties of the kind. On this occasion, he advised his ward to wait for some favourable opportunity to carry out his intentions, and he assured him that when such an opportunity should offer, he, *Craftiné*, would contrive to obtain for him an interval of uninterrupted conversation with *Moriath*.

King *Scoriath*, after some little time, happened to invite all the chiefs and nobles of his territory to a sumptuous feast. The delight of the guests was much heightened by *Craftiné's* performance on his harp; and, when the king, queen, and all the festive company were plunged in enjoyment, exhilarated by wine, and charmed by the unequalled melody of the most distinguished performer of his time, *Labhraidh Maen* and *Moriath* snatched the opportunity to slip away unobserved from the company. No sooner did the gifted harper believe them to have gone beyond the hearing of his music, than he struck the almost magical tones of the *Suantraighé*, which was of so richly soft and enchanting a character as to throw the whole company, including the king and queen, into the most delicious and profound slumber; and in the trance of this slumber they were all

kept by the magic of *Craftiné's* harp, until the young lovers had time to return again and take their proper seats in the assembly, after having, for the first time, plighted to each other mutual vows of constancy and affection.

The *Ollamhs* of music, or those raised to the highest order of musicians in ancient Erin, I may here tell you, were obliged, by the rules of the order, to be perfectly accomplished in the performance of three peculiar classes or pieces of music, namely, the *Suantraighé*, which no one could hear without falling into a delightful slumber; the *Goltraighé*, which no one could hear without bursting into tears and lamentation; and the *Geantraighé*, which no one could hear without bursting out into loud and irrepressible laughter.

The Music
and Musi-
cians of an-
cient Erin.

Craftiné availed himself, as we have seen, of the possession of these, the highest gifts of his profession, to assist the designs of his young ward, and played into a profound sleep all those who would have stood in the way of his happiness.

Now, however, that the pardonable objects of the young couple were attained, he changed his hand, and struck the *Geantraighé*, which roused the whole company, and quickly turned their quiet sleep into a tumult of uproarious laughter. And then, the musician having displayed these wonderful specimens of his art, returned again to the performance of the less exciting, but always beautiful melodies, so many of which still remain to remind us of the ancient glories of our country, and continued to delight his hearers until the time of their retirement had arrived.

In the meantime, the ever-suspicious queen imagined she detected some equivocal radiations in the glowing countenance of her daughter, and, approaching her nearer, she thought she caught the faintest imaginable whisper of a sigh. With an instinctive perception of deception and treason, she immediately called the king to her side: Your daughter, said she, has ceased to be herself; her sighs denote that she has given part of her heart to another. The king was outrageous, ordered the strictest investigation, and vowed that if the conspirators were discovered, their heads should be struck off. *Craftiné* remonstrated against the violence of such a proceeding, but the king, not being without some suspicions, and disregarding the inviolable character of a poet and musician, threatened even him with punishment, should he interfere farther.

After the first burst of anger and indignation had subsided, however, and confidence had been once more restored between the mother and daughter, the latter gradually permitted the former to discover the truth of her secret. It is but a poor compliment

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to the march of intellect and the progress of civilization, that, in those remote ages, they solved the intricate complications of precipitate love very much in the same way that we do in the present enlightened times. But so it was, and King *Scoriath* and his prudent queen, by the silent sighs of their daughter and the soothing notes of *Craftiné's* harp, were soon induced to accept *Labhraidh Maen* as their son-in-law; and so terminated this comedy, precisely as such comedies are brought to a conclusion even in the nineteenth century.

The alliance with the king of West Munster was an event of deep political, as well as social, importance to *Labhraidh Maen*; for, immediately after the event took place, his father-in-law placed at his command a large force of the bravest men in his territory, to assist him in recovering his hereditary kingdom of Leinster from his grand-uncle. With these troops he marched quietly into Leinster, where, being joined by a large number of adherents to his house's fortune, he at once laid siege to the royal palace of *Dinn Righ*, and succeeded in taking it from the garrison placed in it by the monarch. His triumph, however, was but of short duration; for King *Cobhthach*, who had recovered his first surprise, raised a large army, and marched from Tara at once into Leinster.

Labhraidh Maen found himself totally unable to meet such a force, and felt compelled to withdraw, for the time at least, from the unequal contest. He accordingly changed his plans on the instant, disbanded his followers, sent his wife, *Moriath*, under the immediate guardianship of *Craftiné*, and attended by her countrymen, into Munster to her father; and, selecting from among his adherents a small band of brave men, he bid adieu to his native land, and took sail for the opposite coast of Britain. He made no delay in Britain, but, passing over alone to France, he entered the military service of the king of that country, in which he so distinguished himself that he soon became one of the chief commanders of the army there.

After he had in course of time established himself in the full confidence and estimation of the king of France, *Labhraidh Maen*, who still kept up a correspondence with his friends in Erin, determined, if he could, to make one more effort to regain his rightful inheritance.

With this view, he made himself known, and disclosed his whole history to the king of France, and concluded by asking of him such a body of troops as he should select, to accompany him to Erin, and assist him, in conjunction with his friends there, to reëstablish himself in his kingdom. The French king consented without difficulty, and the expedition arrived

safely in the mouth of the river Slaney, now the harbour of Wexford. LECT. XII.

After resting awhile here to recover from the fatigues of their voyage, and being joined by great numbers from Leinster and Munster, the expedition marched by night to *Dinn Rìgh*, where the monarch *Cobhthach*, entirely ignorant of their approach, happened to be at the time holding an assembly, accompanied by thirty of the native princes and a body guard of seven hundred men. The palace was surprised and set on fire, and the monarch, the princes, the guards, and the entire household, were burned to death. This was the *Argain Dinn Rìgh*, or Slaughter of *Dinn Rìgh*. 2^d Of the LONGASH, or "Voyages". (The "Voyage of Breacan").

Labhraidh then assumed the monarchy, and reigned over Erin eighteen years.

Another of these *Loingeas*, but which seems to have been a voluntary one, is of much later date,—that, namely, of *Breacan*, of which we have but the following short account:—

Breacan was the son of *Mainé*, son of *Niall* of the Nine Hostages, monarch of Erin, whose reign closed A.D. 405. This *Breacan* was a great merchant, and the owner of fifty *Curachs*, trading between Ireland and Scotland. On one of his voyages he was, we are told, with his fifty *Curachs*, swallowed up in the great whirlpool formed by the confluence of the north-western and north-eastern seas with the channel between Ireland and Scotland. His fate, however, was not exactly known until *Lughaidh*, the blind poet, in many years after, paid a visit to *Bennchuir* [Bangor,—on the coast of the county of Down]. The poet's people having strayed from the town down to the beach, found the bleached skull of a small dog on the shore. This they took up, carried to the poet, and asked him what skull it was. "Lay the end of the poet's wand on the skull", said *Lughaidh*; and then, pronouncing some mystical sentences in the ancient *Teinim Laegh* style, he told them that the skull was that of *Breacan's* little dog, and that *Breacan* himself, with all his curachs and people, had been drowned in the *Coiré Breacain* (or *Breacan's Cauldron*),—an appropriate name, from the constant boiling up and surging of the whirlpool, and the name by which it continued ever after to be known in ancient Gaedhlic writings.

This story is preserved in *Cormac's Glossary*, compiled in the ninth century, and in the *Dinnsenchas*, a much older compilation generally.

The next class of tales, of which an example offers itself to our notice, is that of the *Toghla*, or Destructions. A *Tighail*, or Destruction of a Fort, is the title given to those histories

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tions". (The
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Da Derga*').

which detail the taking of a fort or fortified palace or habitation, by force, when the place is not merely taken, but also burnt or destroyed on the taking of it. A *Tóghail* may be a taking by surprise, or it may be a taking after a siege, but the term always implies the destruction of the buildings taken.

Of the *Tóghla* but a few are named in the list I have referred to in the Book of Leinster, though many others, of course, there were. Of those in the list, the most remarkable, perhaps, is that of the *Bruighean Da Derga*, or court of Da Derga; because it was in the storming and surprise of that residence that the great *Conairé Mór* was killed, one of the most celebrated kings of ancient Erin. This tract possesses, too, a peculiar interest for those who reside in or near Dublin, because the scene of the surprise lies near the city, at a place which still preserves a portion of the ancient name in its present designation. And it is partly on this account that I have selected the account of the *Tóghail Bruighné Da Derga* to describe to you.

In the year of the world 5091, *Conairé Mór*, the son of *Eidersgel*, a former monarch of Erin, ascended the throne, and ruled with justice and vigour, until the year of the world 5160, that is, till thirty-three years before the Incarnation of our Lord, according to the chronology of the Four Masters.

The impartiality and strictness of *Conairé's* rule banished from the country large numbers of idle and insubordinate persons, and among the rest his own foster-brothers, the four sons of *Donndesa*, a great Leinster chief. These young men, adventurous and highly gifted, impatiently put out, with a large party of followers, upon the sea between Erin and Britain, for the purpose of leading a piratical life, until the death of the monarch or some other circumstance should occur that might permit their return to their country.

While thus beating about, and committing depredations at both sides of the channel whenever they could, they met, engaged in similar enterprises, the young prince Ingel, a son of the king of Britain, who with his six brothers and a numerous band of desperate men like themselves had been for their misdeeds banished from his territory by their father. Both parties entered into a compact of mutual risk and assistance; and having, according to agreement, first made a night descent on the coast of Britain, where they committed great ravages and carried off much booty, they turned towards Erin, for the purpose of adding to their stock of plunder, and carrying on the war of depredation evenly between both countries. They landed in the bay of *Túirbhé* [Turvey] (near Malahide, on the coast of the present county of Dublin), and immediately commenced

their devastation of the country, by fire and sword, in the direction of Tara. LECT. XII.

At this time, the monarch *Conairé*, attended by a slender retinue, was on his return from north Munster, where he had been to effect a reconciliation between two hostile chiefs of that country. On his entering Meath, and approaching his palace of Tara, he saw the whole country, to his great surprise, wrapt in fire, and thinking that a general rebellion against the law had taken place in his absence, he ordered his charioteer to turn to the right from Tara, and drive towards Dublin. The charioteer obeyed, and drove by the hill of *Cearna*, Lusk, and the Great Road of *Cualann* to Dublin; which, however, the monarch did not enter, but crossing the Liffey above the town, he continued his route to the court, or mansion, of the great *Brughaidh* (or Hospitaller), *Da Derga*. 3^d Of the
Togtha, or
"Destruc-
tions". (The
"Destruc-
tion of the
Bruighan
Da Derga").

This court was built on the river Dodder, at a place which to this day bears the name of *Bothar-na-Bruighné* (or the Road of the Court), near Tallaght, in the county of Dublin. This was one of the six great houses of universal hospitality which existed in Erin at the time, and the owner, *Da Derga*, having previously partaken largely of the monarch's bounty, he was now but too glad to receive him with the hospitality and distinction which became his rank and munificence.

In the mean time, continues the tale, the outlaws having missed the monarch, ravaged all Bregia [the eastern part of Meath], before they returned to their vessels, and then steered to the headland of *Beann Edair* (now called the Hill of Howth), where they held a council of war. There it was decided that two of the sons of *Donndesa* (two of the monarch's foster-brothers), should come on shore, and find out the monarch's retreat, they having already discovered the course he had taken from Tara. This was done, and the scouts having returned to the fleet with the information sought, the piratical force landed somewhere south of the mouth of the Liffey, and marching over the rugged Dublin mountains, they surrounded *Da Derga's* court, which, in spite of a stout resistance, they destroyed and plundered, murdering the monarch himself and the chief part of his slender train of attendants.

The composition of this tract must be referred to a period of very remote antiquity, the style of the construction and language being more ancient even than the *Táin Bó Chuailgné*, and, like that difficult piece, of a character totally beyond the power of ordinary Irish scholars to reduce to anything like a correct translation.

This tract is one of considerable length, and not a little im-

LECT. XII.

3^o Of the
TOGHLA, or
"Destruc-
tions". (The
"Destruc-
tion of the
Bruighean
Da Derga").

bued with the marvellous; but, apart from its value as in essentials a truthful link in our national history, it contains, perhaps without exception, the best and most copious illustrations in any tract now extant (I mean, of course, illustrations by description) of the various ranks and classes of the officers that composed the king's household in ancient times, and of the arrangements of a regal feast—both social subjects of great historical interest.

There is a fine copy of this tract (with a slight imperfection at the beginning) preserved in the ancient *Leabhar na h-Uidhré*, in the Royal Irish Academy; and another copy less copious, but perfect at the beginning and the end, in the *Leabhar Buidhé Lecan*, in the Library of T.C.D.; so that from both these sources a perfect copy could be procured.

The "Des-
truction of
the *Bru-
ighean Da*
Choga".

Another of these *Toghla*, and one of great interest, is the *Tóghail Bruighné Dá Choga*, of which a good copy is to be found in MS. H. 3. 18. Trinity College, Dublin.

The *Bruighean Dá Choga* was in the present county of Westmeath; and it was on the occasion of a sudden surprise of this Court that *Cormac Conloingeas* was killed, about A.D. 33. He was the son of the celebrated Conor Mac Nessa, king of Ulster, from whose court he had several years before gone into voluntary banishment into Connacht, in consequence of his father's having put to death the three sons of *Uisneach*, for whose safety Cormac had pledged his word, when they consented to return to Conor's court at the king's invitation. On the death of Conor, his son prepared to return, to assume the throne of his province, and it was on his way back that he lost his life, in the surprise of *Dá Coga's* court, where he had stopped to rest on his road. *Cormac Conloingeas* was one of the most celebrated champions of his time, and figures in many of the detailed histories of events recorded at this period of our annals.

4^o Of the
AIRGNE, or
"Slaughters".

The chronological order of the specimens of tales that I have selected leads us next to the class called AIRGNE, or Slaughters. The *Argain*, though separated by the writer in the Book of Leinster from the *Tóghail*, is not, in fact, well to be distinguished from it. The word signifies the Slaughter of a garrison of a fort, where the place is taken and destroyed. So the taking of *Dinn Righ* by *Labhraidh Loingseach*, described in the tract I spoke of just now, is called, in the Book of Leinster, *Argain Dinn Righ*, and that tract may perhaps actually be the tale there so named.

There are a great number of the *Airgné* named in the ancient list so often referred to, and of these several have reached us in one shape or another. One of them, the *Argain*

Cathrach Bóirché is included in the long tract the *Cathreim Chonghail Chláiringneach*, or Battles of *Conghal Claringneach*. LECT. XII.

The Destruction of *Cathair Bóirché* forms but a single incident in the career of the warrior Congal, and I may in a few words introduce to you the causes that led to so fatal a catastrophe.

Lughaidh Luaighné, of the Ebercan line, assumed the monarchy of Erin in the year of the world 4024; and, in disposing of the petty kingships of the provinces, he imposed two kings on the province of Ulster, to one of whom, *Conghal Claringneach*, the son of a former monarch, he gave the southern, and to Fergus *Mac Leidé*, the northern half of the province.

4^o Of the ARGENT, or "Slaughters" (The "Slaughters of Congal Claringneach").

The Ulstermen soon began to feel the weight of two royal establishments, and a secret meeting of their chiefs took place at Emania, at which it was resolved to invite both their kings to a great feast, for the purpose of having them assassinated, and then to elect one king from among themselves, whom they would support by force of arms against the Monarch, should he feel dissatisfied with their deed.

The feast was soon prepared, the two kings seated at it, and the assassins, who were selected from the menials of the chiefs, took up a convenient position outside the banqueting house.

By this time, however, the knowledge of the conspiracy had reached the ears of *Fachtna Finn*, the chief poet of Ulster; whereupon he, with the other chief poets of the province, who attended the feast, arose from their particular places, and seated themselves between the two kings. The assassins entered the house shortly after, but seeing the position of the poets, they held back, unwilling to desecrate their sacred presence, or violate their too obvious protection.

When the prince Congal saw the assassins, he suspected their design, and asked the poet if his suspicions were not well-founded. *Fachtna* answered in the affirmative, and stated the cause of the conspiracy; whereupon Congal stood up, and addressing the assembled chiefs, offered, on the part of himself and his colleague, to surrender their power and dignity into the hands of the monarch again, with a request that he would set up in their place the person most agreeable to the Ultonians.

The chiefs agreed, and the poets taking the two kings under their inviolable protection, they all repaired to Tara, where they soon arrived, and announced the object of their visit.

On their arrival at Tara, the monarch's daughter fell in love with Fergus *Mac Leidé*, and at her request, backed by the recommendation of the provincial kings who then happened to be at court, the monarch appointed him sole king of Ulster, though such a decision was against an ancient law, which ordained that,

LECT. XII.

4^o Of the
ARGENE, or
"Slaughters"
(The
"Slaught-
ers of Congal
Claring-
nach").

a junior should not be preferred to a senior,—and Congal was older than Fergus.

Congal, on hearing this decision, departed immediately from Tara, collected all the disaffected of the country about him, together with some Scottish exiles, and having met the monarch's son, cut off his head and bid defiance to the father. He was, however, soon forced to leave Erin with his adherents; and his adventures in the island of *Rachlainn*, and in Denmark and other northern countries, form a considerable and most interesting part of his career. After some years, however, he returned to his native country, and landed in the present bay of Dundrum (county Down). Immediately upon his coming ashore, he discovered that his rival, Fergus *Mac Leide*, was at that time enjoying the hospitalities of *Cathair Bóirché* (that is, *Bóirché's* Stone Castle or Fortress), the princely residence of *Eochaidh Salbhuidhé*, chief of the southern part of the present county of Down, at a short distance from Congal's landing place.

On receiving this welcome piece of information, Congal marched directly to *Cathair Bóirché*, and surprised and destroyed it with all that were in it. From thence he went straight to Tara, and challenged the king with all his forces to a pitched battle. The battle was fought in the immediate neighbourhood of Tara; the monarch was defeated and beheaded by Congal, who was proclaimed in his place, and reigned fifteen years.

The only copy of this fine historic tale that I am acquainted with, is preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. [No. 205, Hodges and Smith Collection.]

The *Aitheach*
Tuatha, or
"Attacots".

But the tale which I should prefer to take for you as a specimen of the *Airgné*, is one which recites the origin of one of the most momentous troubles which interrupt the course of our history; I mean the Revolt of the *Aitheach Tuatha* (or "Attacots"), in the early part of the first century, an incident of which I have already shortly spoken. This tract is that which is entered in the list in the Book of Leinster as the *Argain Chairpri Cinn-Cait for Saerclannaibh h-Erenn*; that is, the Murder by Carbry Cat-head of the Noble clans of Erin.

The revolution and reign of the *Aitheach Tuatha* ("Attacotti", or "Attacots", as they have been called in English writings), mark an era in Irish history, more interesting, perhaps, than important in relation to the consequences of their rule; and the name given to these people has supplied food for much learned discussion and speculation, to writers of more modern times.

Father John Lynch (better known as Gratianus Lucius), General Vallancey, the Rev. Charles O'Connor, and many others of their times, have been more or less puzzled by the name "At-

tacots", and have sought everywhere for an explanation of it but where only it could be found, namely, in the language of the country in which it originated, and in which those people grew, lived, and died.

The name which those modern writers have made into "Attacots", from the Latinized form "Attacotti", is written in all Irish manuscripts, ancient and modern, *Aitheach Tuatha*, and this means nothing more than simply the Rent-payers, or Rent-paying Tribes or People.

It is also stated, by even our very latest historic writers, that the *Aitheach Tuatha* were the descendants of the earlier colonists, depressed and enslaved by their conquerors, the Milesians. But this is a mistake, for, according to the Books of Ballymote and Lecain, the revolutionists were not composed, even for the major part, of the former colonists, but of the Milesians themselves. For, as may be expected, in the lapse of ages countless numbers of noble and free Milesian families fell away from their caste, lost their civil independence, and became mixed up and reduced to the same level with the remnants of the conquered races, who still continued, in a state nearly allied to slavery, tillers of the soil.

At the time of this revolution, which took place about the middle of the first century of the Christian era, the magnates of the land seem to have combined to lay even heavier burdens than ever before on the occupiers and tillers of the soil; and the debased Milesians were the first to evince a disposition to resistance. Combinations were afterwards formed between them and the other malcontents, but so profoundly secret, that during the three years which they took to consider and mature their plans, not one of their intended victims had received the faintest hint of the plot that ripened for their destruction.

The result of their councils was, to prepare a great feast, to which, as a pretended mark of respect and gratitude, they were to invite the monarch, the provincial kings, and the great chiefs of the nation, really for the purpose of destroying them during the convivial excitement and unsuspecting confidence of a regal banquet of the old times.

The feast was prepared at a place since called *Magh Cru* (or the Bloody Plain), in Connacht. Thither came the monarch, kings, and chiefs, in the full flow of unreserved security,—a security, as it befell, of the falsest kind; for, when the nobles were deep in their cups, and plunged in the enjoyment of the delicious strains of the harp, treacherous hosts surrounded the banquet hall with men in armour, and slew without pity or remorse the monarch, *Fiacha Finnolaidh*, the provincial kings, and all the assembled chiefs, as well as all their train.

LECT. XII.

4^o Of the
AIBGNE, or
"Slaughters"
(The Revolt
of the *Aithe-
ach Tuatha*,
or "Atta-
cots").

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4^c Of the
AÍRGNE, or
"Slaughters"
(The Revolt
of the *Aitheach Tuatha*,
or "Attacots").

The revolutionary party having thus, at one blow, got rid of all their old taskmasters, but still wishing to live under a more lenient monarchical government, proceeded to select a king. Their choice fell on *Cairbré Cinn-Cait*, an exiled son of the king of *Lochlainn* (or Scandinavia), who had taken a leading part in the plan and completion of the revolution.

Cairbré, however, died in the fifth year of an unprosperous reign, and *Fiacha Finnolaidh*, of the royal Eremonian race, succeeded to the sovereignty. Against *Fiacha*, however, another revolt of the provinces took place, and he was surprised and murdered at *Magh Bolg* in Ulster, in the year of our Lord 56; and *Elim Mac Conrach*, king of Ulster (of the Rudrician race of Ulster), was elected by the revolutionists in his place. The reign of Elim also proved unfortunate, for, not only did discord and discontent prevail throughout the land, but the gifts of Heaven itself were denied it, and the soil seemed to have been struck with sterility, and the air of Heaven charged with pestilence and death during those years.

The old loyalists and friends of the former dynasties took advantage at once of the confusion and general consternation which seized on the minds of the people, and proposed to them to recal or rather to invite home *Tuathal*, the son of the murdered monarch, whose mother had fled from the slaughter to the house of her father, the king of Scotland, while *Tuathal* as some writers say was yet unborn.

This proposal was very generally listened to, and a great number of the *Aitheach Tuatha* agreed in council to bring over the young prince, who was now in his twenty-fifth year.

Tuathal answered the call, and soon after landed in Bregia [Meath], where he unfurled his standard, and was immediately joined by several native chiefs, with all their followers. From this he marched upon Tara, but was met by the reigning monarch, Elim, at *Acaill* (now the hill of Screen), near Tara, in the county of Meath, where a fierce battle was fought, in which at length the reigning monarch, Elim, was slain, and a great slaughter made of his adherents.

And thus the ancient dynasty was once more established, and continued, substantially unbroken, down to the final overthrow of our monarchy, in the twelfth century.

There is a detailed, but not very copious account of the massacre of *Magh Cru*, preserved in a MS. (H. 3. 18.) in Trinity College, Dublin.

The next class of the Historic Tales consists of the **FORBASA**, or Sieges. The *Forbais* may be called a Siege, because it im-

plies a regular investment of a position, or of a city, or fortified place of residence. The name is generally, though not always, applied to those sieges which were followed by the capture, or, at least, the plunder of the place invested. That capture, as I have already explained to you, would be called *Tóghail*, if the place were destroyed. If only besieged, the event would be a *Forbais*; but a *Tóghail*, or storming, might, of course, take place, without being preceded by a *Forbais*. These distinctions the student will do well to observe, in applying himself to the branch of historical literature now under our notice.

LECT. XII.

5% Of the
FORBASA, OR
"Sieges".
(The "Siege
of Edair, or
Howth").

Of the *Forbasa*, or Sieges, the example I shall take shall be the *Forbais Edair*, or Siege of Howth,—again selecting a story the scene of which lies near this city.

In the more ancient times in which the events recorded in the tracts I notice to-day took place, and, indeed, down to a comparatively late period, it was customary,—I may premise by telling you,—for distinguished poets and bards (who were also the philosophers, lawyers, and most educated men of their day) to pass from one province into another, at pleasure, on a circuit, as it may be called, of visits among the kings, chiefs, and nobles of the country; and, on these occasions, they used to receive rich gifts, in return for the learning they communicated, and the poems in which they sounded the praises of their patrons or the condemnation of their enemies. Sometimes the poet's visit bore also a political character; and he was often, with diplomatic astuteness, sent, by direction of his own provincial king, into another province, with which some cause of quarrel was sought at the moment. On such occasions he was instructed not to be satisfied with any gifts or presents that might be offered to him, and even to couch his refusals in language so insolent and sarcastic as to provoke expulsion if not personal chastisement. And, whenever matters proceeded so far, then he returned to his master, and to him transferred the indignities and injuries received by himself, and publicly called on him, as a matter of personal honour, to resent them. And thus, on occasions where no real cause of dispute or complaint had previously existed, an ambitious or contentious king or chief found means, in those days just as in our own, to pick what public opinion regarded as an honourable quarrel with his neighbour.

A curious instance of the antiquity of this practice in Erin, will be found in the very ancient but little known tract of which I shall now proceed to offer you a short sketch. It contains besides, I should however tell you, a great deal of other valuable matter illustrative of the manners and customs of a

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50 Of the
FORBASA, or
"Sieges".
(The "Siege
of Edair, or
Howth").

very early period: and it may be taken as a fair specimen of the important class of those Historic Tales which I have referred to under the title of *Forbasa*.

There lived in Ulster in the time of King Conor Mac Nessa, that is, about A.D. 33, a learned poet, but withal a virulent satirist, named *Aithirné*, better known in our ancient writings as *Aithirné Ailghesach*, or "*Aithirné the Importunate*"; and he received this surname from the fact that, he never asked for a gift or preferred a request, but such as it was especially difficult to give, or dishonourable to grant.

At this time the Ultonians were in great strength, and the valour of the champions of the Royal Branch had filled Erin with their fame, and themselves and their province with arrogance and insolence. They had already enriched themselves with the preys and spoils of Connacht, and they had beaten the men of Leinster in the battle of *Ros na Righ*, and extended the boundary of the northern province from the river Boyne southwards to the *Righ* (or river Rye, the boundary between the present counties of Meath and Dublin). They had also made a sudden and successful incursion into Munster, destroyed the ancient palace of *Teamhair Luachra*, from which they returned home with great spoils. So that, having in this manner shown their power and superiority over the other provinces, they were restless to undertake some yet more ambitious enterprise; and, losing all self-restraint, they seem to have proposed to themselves no object but the one, to find an enemy to fight with, no matter where, and for any cause, no matter what it might be.

In this embarrassment of the Ultonians, *Aithirné*, the poet, determined to relieve their languor by raising a still more serious quarrel, if possible, than ever, between them and some one of the other provinces. Accordingly, though not without the consent and approval of king Conor Mac Nessa, the poet set out upon a round of visits to the other provincial kings, resolved that his conduct and demands should be so insulting and extravagant that they should be forced to visit him with some gross indignity or personal punishment, such as might give him cause for pouring out upon them the most satirical strains of his venomous tongue, as well as make it incumbent on his province to demand and take satisfaction for the insult offered them in his person.

He went first into Connacht, but the kings and chiefs of that province granted freely even his most unreasonable demands, sooner than be drawn into a war with Ulster by a refusal.

From Connacht *Aithirné* passed to the kingdom of Mid-

Erinn (comprehending the south of Connacht and the north of Munster or Thomond, and extending, it is said, within narrow limits, from the bay of Galway to Dublin). The king of this territory at the time was *Eochaidh Mac Luchta*, whose residence lay on the brink of the present Loch Derg, in the Upper Shannon (somewhere, I believe, between Scariff, in the county of Clare, and the present Mountshannon Daly, on the south-eastern border of the county of Galway). This king, whose hospitality and munificence were proverbial, had the misfortune to be blind of an eye, and the malignant satirist knowing that no demand on his riches, however exorbitant it might be, would be refused, determined to demand from him that which he was most certain could not be granted. He, therefore, demanded the king's only eye. To his great surprise and disappointment, *Eochaidh Mac Luchta* (so goes the story) suddenly thrust his finger into the socket of his eye, tore it out by the roots, and handed it to the poet! The king then commanded his servant to lead him down to the lake to wash his face and staunch the blood; but fearing that perhaps he had not been able to extract the eye, he asked his servant if he had really given it to the poet. Alas! said the servant, the lake is red with the blood of your red eye. That shall be its name for ever, said the king, *Loch Derg-dheire*, or the Lake of the Red Eye,—(the present Loch Derg, above Killaloe, on the Shannon).

LECT. XII.

50 Of the
FEBBASA, or
"Sieges".
(The "Siege
of Edair or
Howth").

[Let me here observe, in a parenthesis, that I should not, perhaps, have gone into this minor, though curious detail, but that more modern writers of family Irish history have endeavoured to make *Eochaidh*, the ancestor of the O'Sullivan family, to be the person who granted his only eye to the demand of a malicious Scotch poet, and that it is from that circumstance that the name *O'Suilabhain*—that is, the one-eyed,—is derived. But there are two objections to the truthfulness of this version of the story; the first is, that the tale I have just noticed is certainly older than the time of this latter *Eochaidh*; the second objection is, that if this were the derivation of the name, it should be written with the letter *m*, instead of the *b*, which is always found in it: that is, the word should be *Suilamhain* (or "one eye"), and not *Suilabhain*, as it is generally (but not always) written in the ancient MSS. The fact, however, is, that both these spellings are incorrect, and that the family name, in the best authorities, is written *O'Suilldhubhain*, or the Black-eyed.]

But to return to the tract under notice.

Our poet next crossed the Shannon into south Munster, to the palace of *Tighernach Tetbannach*, the king of that province [from whom *Carn Tighernaigh* (on a mountain near Rathcor-

LECT. XII.

50 Of the
FORBASA, or
"Sieges".
(The "Siege
of Edair, or
Howth").

mac, in the county of Cork) in which he lies buried, has its name.] The kings of all these territories submitted to the deepest insults sooner than incur the poet's virulent abuse and the enmity of his province.

Aithirné, therefore, proceeded on his circuit from Munster into Leinster, and came to a place called *Ard Brestiné*, in the present county of Carlow. Here the people of South Leinster, with their king, *Fergus Fairrgé*, met him in assembly with large and valuable presents, in order to induce him not to enter their territory. The poet refused to accept any of the rich gifts that were offered him, until he should be given the richest present or article in the assembly. This was a sore puzzle to them, because they could not well discover which was the best of their valuables. Now while they were in this dilemma, there happened to be a young man, mounted on a fleet steed, careering for his amusement, in presence of the assembly;—and so close sometimes to where the king sat, that, on one occasion, while wheeling round at full speed, a large clod of earth flew from one of the hind-legs of his steed, and fell in the king's lap. The king immediately perceived a large and beautiful gold brooch imbedded in the clod; and, turning joyfully to the poet, who sat next him, he said: "What have I got in my lap?" "You have got a brooch", said *Aithirné*, "and that brooch is the present that will satisfy me, because it was it that fastened the cloak of *Mainé Mac Dúrrthacht*, my mother's brother, who buried it in the ground here at the time that he and the Ultonians were defeated by you in the battle of *Ard Brestiné*". The brooch was then given to *Aithirné*, after which he took his departure from South Leinster, and came to Naas, where *Mesgedhra*, the supreme king of all the province of Leinster, then resided.

The poet was hospitably received by this king, at whose court he remained twelve months, and he was loaded with rich gifts by the king himself, and the chiefs of North Leinster. The more he got, however, the more insolent and importunate he became, until at last he insisted on getting seven hundred white cows with red ears, a countless number of sheep, and one hundred and fifty of the wives and daughters of the Leinster nobles, to be carried in bondage into Ulster.

To all these tyrannical demands the Leinster men submitted in appearance, but with a grace and condescension that foreboded anything but good to the penetrating eyes of the poet. Satisfied that the men of Leinster, who felt themselves restrained by the public law of hospitality within their own territory, would, when he had passed out of it, follow and deprive him of all his

ill-gotten property, perhaps even of his life, he therefore sent a messenger into Ulster, demanding of king Conor to send a strong body of men to the confines of Leinster, to receive and escort him and his property, as soon as he should pass across the border of that province.

LECT. XII.

5th Of the
FORBASA, OR
"SIEGES".
(The "Siege
of Edair, or
Howth").

When the poet's time for departure came at last, he set out from Naas with all his rich presents, his cattle, and his captives, attended by a multitude of the men of Leinster, apparently but to see him safely out of their country. When they came to Dublin, however, they found that the poet's sheep could not cross the river *Lífe* [or Liffey] at the ordinary ford; upon which, a number of the people went into the neighbouring woods, and set to work to cut down the trees and branches; so that, in a very short time, they were able to throw a bridge, or causeway, of trees and hurdles across the river, by means of which the poet, his cattle, and train, passed over into the province of Meath, the Liffey being at this time the boundary line of Leinster and Meath at this point.

(The point of the river over which this bridge of hurdles was thrown was, at this time, called *Dubhlinn*, literally the "Black Pool" (but in fact so called from a lady named *Dubh*, who had been formerly drowned there); but from this time down it took the name of *Dubhlinn Atha Cliath*, or the Black Pool of the Ford of Hurdles; and this ford, I have no doubt, extended from a point at the Dublin side of the river, where the *Dothor* [or Dodder] falls into the Liffey at Rings-End, to the opposite side, where the *Poll-beg* Lighthouse now stands. The Danish and English name Dublin is a mere modification of *Dubhlinn*, or Black's Pool, but the native Irish have always called, and still do call, the city of Dublin *Ath Cliath*, or *Bailé Atha Cliath*—that is, the Ford of Hurdles, or the Town of the Ford of Hurdles.)

No sooner had *Aithirné* crossed the Ford of Hurdles than the Leinster men rapidly rescued their women; but before they had time to turn their cattle, the Ultonian escort, which had previously arrived and encamped at the mouth of the river *Tubhlainn* [or Tolca], a short distance from the ford, rushed down upon them. A battle ensued, in which the Ultonians were routed, and forced to retreat to *Beann Edair* (now called the Hill of Howth), to which place, however, they succeeded in carrying with them the seven hundred cows. Here they threw up, on a sudden, a strong earthen fortification, which was ever afterwards called *Dun Aithirné*, or *Aithirné's* fort, and within which they took shelter with their prey; and they sent forthwith for further reinforcements to the north, and continued, in the meanwhile, to act on the defensive until their arrival

LECT. XII.

5° Of the
FORBASA, or
"Sieges".
(The "Siege
of *Eclair*, or
Howth").

The Leinstermen encamped in front of them, cut off their communication with the country, and brought them to great distress. After some time, however, the flower of the champions of the Royal Branch arrived suddenly at Howth, attacked the Leinstermen, and routed them with considerable slaughter; so that, with their king *Mesgedhra*, they fled towards their own country. Then *Conall Cearnach*, the most distinguished of the heroes of the Royal Branch, followed the Leinstermen with his chariot and charioteer, alone; in order to take vengeance on certain of them for the death of his two brothers, *Mesdeada* and *Laeghairé*, who had been slain at this siege of Howth. He passed over the ford of hurdles, through *Drummainech* (now Drimnagh), and on to Naas; but the army had already dispersed, and the king had not yet reached his court.

Conall pressed on from Naas to Claen, where he found *Mesgedhra*, at last, at the ford of the Liffey. A combat immediately ensued between them, in which *Mesgedhra* was slain and beheaded. Conall placed the king's head in his own chariot, and ordering the charioteer to mount the royal chariot, they set out northwards. They had not gone far, however, when they met *Mesgedhra's* queen, attended by fifty ladies of honour, returning from a visit in Meath. "Who art thou, O woman?" said Conall. "I am *Mesgedhra's* wife", said she. "Thou art commanded to come with me", said Conall. "Who has commanded me?" said the queen. "*Mesgedhra* has", said Conall. "Hast thou brought me any token?" said the queen. "I have brought his chariot and his horses", said Conall. "He makes many presents", said the queen. "His head is here, too", said Conall. "Then I am disengaged", said she. "Come into my chariot", said Conall. "Grant me liberty to lament for my husband", said the queen. And then she shrieked aloud her grief and sorrow with such intensity, that her heart burst, and she fell dead from her chariot.

The fierce Conall and his servant made there a grave and mound on the spot; in which they buried her, together with her husband's head, from which, however, according to a singular custom hardly less barbarous than singular of which I shall say more presently, he had first extracted the brain.

This queen's name was *Buan*, or the Good [woman]; and, after some time, according to a very poetical tradition, a beautiful hazel tree sprung up from her grave, which was for ages after called *Coll Buana*, or Buan's Hazel. The grave was situated a short distance to the north of the Ford of Claen, on the ancient road which led from Naas to Tara, and may, perhaps, be known even at this day.

Copies of this tract are preserved in the Book of Leinster, LECT. XII. and in a vellum MS. in the British Museum, Harl. 5280.

5°. Of the
FORBASA, or
"Sieges".
(The "Siege
of Drom
Damhghairé").

Of the *Forbasa* listed in the Book of Leinster there is one more so remarkable, that I would make room for some account of it, if it were possible—namely, the *Forbais Droma Damhghairé*, by king *Cormac Mac Airt*, against *Fiacha Muilleathan*, king of Munster, about the year of our Lord 220. *Drom Damhghairé* was the name of a ridge or hill in the county of Limerick, since Cormac's time (and still) called *Cnoc Luingé*, or Knocklong, from the tents set up there by Cormac, who encamped upon the spot. The following is shortly the history of this *Forbais*:—

Cormac's munificence was so boundless that, at one time, his steward complained to him, that, although there were many claimants and objects of the royal beneficence, there was nothing for them, as all the revenues appropriated to such purposes were exhausted. Cormac, in this extremity, asked the steward's advice as to the best means of replenishing his stores. The steward, without hesitation, said that the only chance of so doing was in demanding from Munster the cattle revenue of a second province; that it contained two distinct provinces, but that it had always escaped paying tribute but for one, and that he ought to call on them for the tribute of the other.

Cormac appeared to be well pleased with this suggestion, and immediately despatched couriers to *Fiacha Muilleathain*, the king of Munster, demanding tribute for the second division of that province. The king of Munster received the monarch's message in a fair spirit, and sent the courier back with an offer of ample relief of Cormac's present difficulties, but denying his right of demand, and refusing to send a single beef in acknowledgment of it. Cormac having received this stubborn message, mustered a large army and all his most learned Druids, marched into the heart of Munster, and encamped on the hill then called *Drom Damhghairé*, or the "Hill of the Oxen".

Having established his encampment, he consulted his Druids on the best and most expeditious means of bringing the men of Munster to terms. The Druids, after debate among themselves, assured the monarch that the surest and most expeditious mode of reducing his enemies would be to deprive them and their cattle of water, and that this they were prepared to do on receiving his permission. Cormac immediately assented, and forthwith the Druids by their spells and incantations dried up, or concealed, all the rivers, lakes, and springs of the district, so that both men and cattle were dying of thirst all round them.

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5° Of the
FORBASA, or
"Sieges".
(The "Siege
of *Drom
Danh-
ghuire*").

The king of Munster in this extremity took counsel with his people, and the decision they came to was, not to submit to Cormac, but to send to the island of *Dairbré* [now called *Oiléan Darairé*, or Valencia], on the western coast of Kerry, to *Mogh Ruith*, the most famous Druid of the time (who is said to have studied Druidism in the East, in the great school of Simon Magus), to request that he would come and relieve them from the terrible distress, which they well knew had been brought on them by Druidic agency.

The ancient Druid consented to come and relieve them, on condition that he should receive a territory of his own selection in that part of the province, with security for its descent in his family for ever. His demands were granted, and he selected the present barony of Fermoy in the county of Cork (where some of his descendants survive to this day, under the names of O'Duggan, O'Cronin, etc.). The Druid then shot an arrow into the air, telling the men of Munster that water in abundance would spring up wherever the arrow should fall. This promise was verified; a rushing torrent of water burst up where the arrow fell; and the men of Munster and their flocks were relieved.

The Munster men then fell upon Cormac and his hosts, routed them from *Cnoc Luingé*, and followed them into Leinster, scattering and killing them as they went.

The place in which the arrow fell is still pointed out in the parish of *Imleach Grianan*, in the county of Limerick; and the well remains still under the ancient name of *Tobar* (or *Tipra*) *Ceann móir*, that is, Well of Great Head, or Spring; and a river that issues from it is called *Sruth Cheanna mhóir*, or the Stream of Great Head.

This is a wild but most important story, full of information on topography, manners, customs, and Druidism. It is spoken of in several of our ancient books, but the only copy of it that I know to exist was preserved in the Book of Lismore, until that great book was mutilated in Cork many years ago; and now there is a portion of the original staves at Lismore and a portion at Cork; but I have a full copy of both parts in my own possession.

Short as I have made the outlines I have given you of these few specimens of the HISTORIC TALES, I have been unable to compress within the present Lecture any intelligible account of those classes of them which it is my business to bring under your notice. At our next meeting I shall, however, endeavour to complete this branch of the inquiry I have opened.

LECTURE XIII.

[Delivered June 19, 1856.]

THE HISTORIC TALES (continued). 6. Of the *Oitté*, "Tragedies", or Deaths. The Story of the "Death of Conor Mac Nessa". The "Death of *Maelfu-thartaigh*, the son of Ronan". 7. Of the *Tána*, or Cow Spoils. The "*Táin bó Chuailgné*". 8. Of the *Tochmarca*, or Courtships. The "Courtship of *Eimer*", by the Champion *Cuchullain*. 9. Of the *Uatha*, or Caves. 10. Of the *Echtraí*, or Adventures. 11. Of the *Sluaigheadha*, or military expeditions. The "Expedition of King *Dathi* to the foot of *Sliabh n-Ealpa* (the Alps)". 12. Of the *Imramha*, or Expeditions by Sea. The "Voyage of the Sons of *Ua Corra*". Of the remaining classes of the Historic Tales.

I ALMOST begin to fear you will set me down as a story-teller myself, and not a lecturer upon the grave subject of the Materials of our Ancient History, before I shall have completed my intended notices of the pieces called Historic Tales. You must, however, always bear in mind that, so far as I have thought it right to enter into the details of these stories, I have done so only for the purpose of making the Gaedhlic student as accurately acquainted with their plan and style as the nature of this general course may admit. I have, however, in no instance detailed to you even any considerable part of any of these compositions; though they will, in fact, upon examination, be found to contain far more of valuable historical matter than I could make you familiar with, if I were even to devote the whole of these lectures to this subject alone. All that I have attempted to do is, to give you a sort of general idea by way of synopsis of the contents of a few of these tales; and I have selected, as specimens of them, those which appear to me most proper to serve as examples of the classes to which they respectively belong.

The next class of the Historic Tales to which I have to ask your attention, is that of the *OITTE* or *AIDEADHA*,—"Tragedies", or Deaths. These stories are the narratives of violent Deaths, or of any melancholy or tragical occurrences in which the Death of some remarkable individual forms a principal feature in the tale. From one of these *Oitté*, or *Aideadha*, the "*Aideadh Conruí*", Keating has introduced into his history the story of the death of *Curoi Mac Dairé*, who was killed by the celebrated champion

LECT. XIII. *Cuchulainn*, about the first year of the Christian era. But the example I prefer to select is a more important one, because the personage whose death is recorded in the tale was one of the most remarkable men in all our history,—that *Conor Mac Nessa*, of whom I have already more than once spoken. This tale is also particularly interesting to Christians, as you will find, in respect of the immediate cause of the death of the pagan king; for, though there are several ancient versions of the story, the connexion of the disaster with the crucifixion of our Lord is uniformly recorded. This tale is mentioned in the list, in the Book of Leinster, as the *Aideadh Chonchobhair*, and to some version of this story also Keating had recourse in the compilation of his history. The copy of the tale, the principal contents of which I am about shortly to narrate to you, is preserved in the Book of Leinster.

6°. Of the
OITTE, or
"Tragedies".
(The Death
of *Conor Mac
Nessa*).

Conor Mac Nessa was king of Ulster at the period of the Incarnation of our Lord. He was the son of *Fachtna*, king of the same province, but who was slain while *Conor* was yet an infant.

Conor's accession to the provincial throne was more a matter of chance than of hereditary claim, because *Fergus Mac Rossa* was actually king at the time. *Conor's* mother, *Nessa*, (from whom he derived the distinctive appellation of *Mac Nessa*,) was still a woman of youth and beauty, at the time that her son came to be fifteen years of age, and *Fergus*, then the king of the province, proposed marriage to her. *Nessa* refused to accept his offer, excepting on one condition—namely, that he should hand over the sovereignty of Ulster, for one year, to her son *Conor*, in order that his children after him might be called the children of a king. To this singular condition *Fergus* was but too glad to accede, and *Conor* accordingly took upon him the sovereignty of Ulster, which, young as he was, he administered with such wisdom, justice, and munificence, that, when the year was expired, and the time for resigning the kingly office to its original holder had arrived, the Ulstermen raised a formidable opposition to the act; and, after much contention and diplomacy, the difficulty was disposed of by each one retaining what he had,—*Fergus* his wife, and *Conor* the kingdom; and so, as we are informed by history, *Conor* continued long to rule the people of Ulster with wisdom and justice, to defend their rights with vigilance, and to avenge their wrongs with bravery, wherever and whenever the encroachments of the neighbouring provincial powers required it.

It was under the fosterage and example of this prince that the renowned order of knighthood, so well known in song and story as the *Knights of the Royal Branch*, sprang up in Ulster;

and among the most distinguished of the order I may name to you the celebrated *Conall Cearnach*, *Cuchulainn*, the sons of *Uisneach* (*Naoisi*, *Ainlé*, and *Ardan*), *Eoghan Mac Durthacht*, *Dubhthach Dael Uladh*, and *Laeghairé Buadhach*, as well as *Cor-mac Conloingeas* (Conor's own son).

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62. Of the
OITTE, or
"Tragedies".
(The Death
of Conor Mac
Nessa).

One of those barbarous military customs which, in one form or another, prevailed in former times perhaps all over the world, and which have been preserved in some countries nearly down to our own days, existed in Erin at this period. Whenever one champion slew another in single combat, it is stated that he cut off his head, if possible; clove it open; took out the brain; and, mixing this with lime, rolled it up into a ball, which he then dried, and placed in the armoury of his territory or province, among the trophies of his nation.

As an instance of this strange custom, we have already seen, in the sketch of *Aithirné*, the poet (in speaking of the Siege of *Beann Edair*, or Howth), that, on that occasion, when the great Ulster champion, *Conall Cearnach*, pursued *Mesgedhra*, the king of Leinster, from Howth to *Claena* (in the present county of Kildare), where he overtook and fought him in single combat, he cut off the king's head after he had killed him, and extracted the brain. And, according to that story, it appears that after having put it through the usual process for hardening and preservation, he placed the ball formed of the royal brain among the precious trophies of Ulster, in the great house of the Royal Branch at Emania, where it continued to be esteemed as an object of great provincial interest and pride.

Now, *Conor Mac Nessa*, in accordance with the custom of the times, had two favourite fools at his court; and these silly, though often cunning, persons, having observed the great respect in which *Mesgedhra's* brain was held by their betters, and wishing to enjoy its temporary possession, stole it out of the armoury and took it out to the lawn of the court, where they began to play with it as a common ball.

While thus one day thoughtlessly engaged, *Cet Mac Magach*, a famous Connacht champion, whose nation was at war with *Conor Mac Nessa*, happened to come up to them in disguise; and perceiving, and soon recognizing, the precious ball which they were carelessly throwing from hand to hand, he had little difficulty in obtaining it from them. Having thus unexpectedly secured a prize of honour so valuable, *Cet* returned immediately into Connacht; and as there was a prophecy that *Mesgedhra* would avenge himself upon the Ulstermen, he never went forth upon any border excursion or adventure without carrying the king's brain with him in his girdle, hoping by it to fulfil the

LECT. XIII. prophecy by the destruction of some important chief or champion among the Ulster warriors.

6°. Of the
OITTE, or
"Tragedies".
(The Death
of Conor Mac
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Shortly after this time, *Cet*, at the head of a strong party of the men of Connacht, carried off a large prey and plunder from Southern Ulster; but they were pursued and overtaken (at *Bailé-ath-an-Urchair*, now Ardnurchar, in the present county of Westmeath) by the Ulstermen, under the command of the king himself. [See APPENDIX, No. XC.]. Both sides halted on the banks of a stream, which they selected as an appropriate battle-field, and prepared for combat. *Cet* soon discovered that the pursuit was led by king Conor; at once bethought him of the prophecy; and immediately laid his plan for its fulfilment. Accordingly, perceiving that a large number of the ladies of Connacht, who had come out to greet the return of their husbands, had placed themselves on a hill near the scene of the intended battle, he concealed himself among them.

Now, at this time, when two warriors or two armies were about to engage in battle, it was the custom for the women, if any were present, of either party to call upon any distinguished chief or champion from the opposite side to approach them and exhibit himself to their view, that they might see if his beauty, dignity, and martial bearing were equal to what fame had reported them to be.

To carry out his plan, then, *Cet* instructed the Connacht women to invite Conor himself to come forward, that they might view him. To this request Conor willingly assented in the spirit of the chivalry of the time; but when he had come within a short distance of the presence of the ladies, on the corresponding eminence at his own side of the stream, *Cet* raised himself in their midst, and fixed *Mesgedhra's* brain in his *Cranntabhaill*, or sling. Conor perceived the movement, and recognizing at once a mortal enemy, retreated as fast as he could to his own people; however, just as he was entering the little grove of *Doiré da Bhaeth*, *Cet*, who followed him closely, cast from the sling the ball made from the fatal brain, and succeeded in striking Conor with it on the head, lodging the ball in his skull.

Conor's chief physicians were immediately in attendance, and after a long examination and consultation, they reported that it was not expedient to remove the ball; and the royal patient was carried home, where he was so well attended by them, that after some time he recovered his usual health and activity. He was, however, charged to be careful to avoid, among other things, all violent exercise, riding on horseback, and all excitement or anger.

He continued thus for years to enjoy good health, until the

very day of the Crucifixion, when, observing the eclipse of the sun, and the atmospheric terrors of that terrible day, he asked *Bacrach*, his druid, what the cause of it was.

The druid consulted his oracles, and answered by informing the king that Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, was at that moment suffering at the hands of the Jews. "What crime has he committed?" said Conor. "None", said the druid. "Then are they slaying him innocently?" said Conor. "They are", said the druid. Then Conor burst into sudden fury at the words, drew his sword, and rushed out to the wood of *Lamhraidhé*, which was opposite his palace door, where he began to hew down the young trees there, exclaiming in a rage: "Oh! if I were present, it is thus I would cut down the enemies of the innocent man!" His rage continued to increase, until at last the fatal ball, which was lodged in his skull, started from its place, followed by the king's brain, and Conor Mac Nessa fell dead on the spot. This occurrence happened in the fortieth year of his reign; and he has been counted ever since as the first man who died for the sake of Christ in Ireland.

This curious tale seems to have always been believed by the Irish historians, and from a very early date. In one version of it, however (that in the Book of Leinster), it is stated that probably it was not from his druid that Conor received the information concerning the crucifixion of our Lord, but from Altus, a Roman consul.

Of these *Oitté*, *Aideadh*, or Tragedies, I may just mention one other very curious one (also recorded in the Book of Leinster). I mean the *Aideadh Maeilfathartaigh Mic Rónain*, or death of the Prince Maelfotharty, the son of Ronan, king of Leinster, about the year A.D. 610.

This king had, as it is stated, married in his old age a very young northern lady, whom he brought home to his Leinster palace, there to see, for the first time, his son, with whom she unhappily fell in love. The prince refused and shunned her: and the lady in revenge, after several endeavours to procure his death, spoke to the king in such a manner as to excite his jealousy against his son, and enraged him so much that *Maelfathartaigh* was soon afterwards killed with spears, himself and his grayhounds, in his father's house and by his father's orders.

The characters in this tale are all historical, and the tragedy is narrated, as well as the whole story of the causes that led to it, at full length.

The next division of historical tales that I would have had to notice, would have been the *TANA*, or Cow Spoils; but as you

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"Tragedies"
(The Death
of Conor Mac
Nessa).

The Tragedy
(or Death) of
*Maelfathar-
taigh Mac
Rónain*.

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TANA, OR
"Cow-
spoils"

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7°. Of the
TANA, or
"Cow-
Spoils".

8°. Of the
TOCHMARCA,
or "Court-
ships". (The
Courtship of
Eimer, by
Cuchulainn).

have already had a specimen in one of which I gave you a rather copious description in a former lecture (I mean the *Táin bó Chuailgné*, which is indeed the chief of them), I shall pass them over for the present, and proceed to take up an example of another class of these tracts; that, namely, which consists of stories of the more celebrated TOCHMARCA, or Courtships and Espousals, in ancient Irish history. Of this class of tales, one of the most remarkable, and the best preserved, is the *Tochmarc Eimhiré*,—the tale of the Courtship of the great Ulster champion *Cuchulainn* and the lady *Eimer*, the beautiful daughter of *Forgall Monach*, a nobleman who in his day held a court of general hospitality (similar to that of *Da Derga* before mentioned) at the place now called Lusk, in the county of Dublin.

Of the champion *Cuchulainn*, the hero of this tale, we have spoken at some length in a former lecture, when treating of the *Táin bó Chuailgné*. I need only add here that, according to all the accounts, the beauty and symmetry of his person are described to have been in full accordance with his noble carriage and bearing, and worthy of his precocious valour and renown.

The men of Ulster, it appears, paid *Cuchulainn* a very peculiar compliment; for, presided over by their famous king *Conor Mac Nessa*, they held a special assembly to devise the best means of providing for their young champion a partner for life, worthy of his rank in life, his manly perfections, and his personal and military accomplishments. The decision to which they came was, to send envoys all over Erin to visit the courts of the princes and nobles, in order to discover the most beautiful and accomplished lady among their daughters, so that *Cuchulainn*, in accordance with the custom of those times, should go and court her.

In accordance with this decision, persons properly qualified for so delicate a mission were sent forth from *Emania* (the palace of Ulster); but after an extensive and close search among the higher classes of the day, they returned home without being fortunate enough to succeed in the object of their embassy,—in fact, *Feramorz* himself was not one of them.

Cuchulainn, however, nothing dispirited by the failure of the solicitude of his friends in his behalf, resolved to go and try his own success in a matter that concerned him so much, and which, after all, should depend for its final accomplishment on his own personal examination and approval; and having heard, it would appear, of the beauty and accomplishments of the lady *Eimer*, he ordered his chariot, and, accompanied only by his faithful charioteer, *Laegh*, he set out from *Emania*, and, passing by the many princely and noble mansions that lay in his journey,

stopped not until he drew up on the lawn of the court of her father, *Forgall*, at Lusk. LECT. XIII.

Here he had the good fortune to meet the beautiful object of his visit, in the pleasure-ground of the mansion, enjoying her customary sports, surrounded by the fair daughters of the neighbouring chiefs and men of Meath, whom she was accustomed to instruct in the lady accomplishments of the times (for the lady *Eimer* is stated to have been preëminently endowed with "six natural and acquired gifts, namely, the gift of beauty of person, the gift of voice, the gift of music, the gift of embroidery and all needlework, the gift of wisdom, and the gift of virtuous chastity"). *Cuchulainn* immediately (but in an obscure style of speech) revealed his name and the reason of his unceremonious visit to *Eimer*; but the young lady declined to accept his addresses, alleging as her only reason that she was a younger daughter; and then, launching forth in a strain of charming eloquence on the beauty, accomplishments, and virtues of her elder sister, she recommended her suitor to seek her father's consent for liberty to pay his court to that lady. *Cuchulainn*, however, declined this recommendation, and not wishing to be seen by *Eimer's* father or brothers in private conversation with her, he soon after took a hurried leave, and departed for his home.

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Forgall soon came to hear of the visit of this remarkable and unknown stranger to his daughter, and discovered at once from his description who he was. Not desiring, however, to form an alliance with a professional champion, and knowing well that his designs on *Eimer* would be renewed, he immediately determined on obstructing them.

For this purpose, he clad himself and two chosen attendants in the attire of Scandinavian messengers, and supplying himself with various articles of value, they went northwards to Emania, and presented themselves at the court of King Conor, as messengers sent to him with presents and gifts from the king of Scandinavia. The strangers were well received and highly feasted and honoured for three days, after which they were introduced to the chief heroes of the Royal Branch, such as *Conall Cearnach*, *Cuchulainn* himself, and others, who showed them various specimens of their military education. *Forgall* bestowed great praise on the accomplishments of these celebrated warriors, but remarked that there were some feats of arms in which they appeared to be deficient, and recommended the king to send them into Scotland to finish their education at the great military academy of *Domhnall*, the champion, and the Amazonian lady *Scathach*.

So warmly, and apparently so disinterestedly, did he press

LECT. XIII. this recommendation, that *Cuchulainn* made a vow (in a form of promise, from which, according to the laws of chivalry of the time, he could not recede), that he would forthwith set out for Scotland, and not return as long as he could find any feat of arms to learn, in which he happened to be then deficient.

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Forgall then took his leave of king Conor and his court, and returned home highly pleased with the success of his plan, as he had calculated that, should *Cuchulainn* fulfil his vow, he should never return, because he could never escape all the dangers that were sure to beset him in his travels. However, *Cuchulainn* paid a hasty but secret visit to his lady love, who, by this time, had become deeply enamoured of him, and, having told her of the vow he had made, and of his determination to fulfil it, they plighted mutual troth and constancy, and he went forth on his travels.

As Forgall anticipated, *Cuchulainn's* journey was beset with dangers and difficulties of all kinds; but those described in the tale are chiefly of the romantic and supernatural character. Although, nevertheless, the story at this point is especially enriched with poetic embellishment, still the natural incidents with which it abounds, and the curious sketches of, or perhaps I should say, allusions to, the manners and customs of the date of society at a period so very remote (but with which the writer appears to have been familiar), both in Erin and in Scotland, will make ample amends in information of the most solid character, for the exuberant display of the author's fancy, whosoever he may have been.

But to continue: *Cuchulainn*, having finished his military education at the school of the lady *Scathach*, in Scotland, and having gained great renown by his superiority over his fellow-students, returned home by way of *Ceann Tíré*, or the Land's Head [now Cantire, in Scotland], paying a visit to the island of *Rechrainn* [now Rathlin], on the north-east coast of Erin. Here he met with an incident, which, though not quite new in character to classical scholars, has, from the circumstances that produced it, a peculiar interest for the Irish historian.

On putting into a small bay in the island of *Rechrainn*, he, and the few Irish fellow-students who accompanied him, left their vessels, and, reaching the beach, were surprised to find a beautiful girl sitting there alone. *Cuchulainn* immediately questioned her as to the cause and reason of her strange position, and the young lady told him that she was the daughter of the king of *Rechrainn*; that her father was every year compelled to pay a large and rich tribute to the Fomorians, or pirates, who infested the Scottish islands; that, failing this year to procure

the stipulated amount, he was ordered to place her, his only daughter, in the position in which he now saw her, and that, before the night, she should be carried off by the Fomorians; and whilst this conversation was actually going on, three fierce warriors of the Fomorians in fact landed in the bay from their boat, and made straight for the spot in which they knew the maiden awaited them. Before, however, they had time to lay rude hands upon her, *Cuchulainn* sprang forward to encounter them, and succeeded in slaying them all, receiving but a slight scar on the arm in the combat, which the maiden tied up with a part of her costly robe. The maiden, so unexpectedly released from her terrible condition, now ran joyously to her father, and related to him all that had happened; but she could give no particular account of her deliverer. The father immediately communicated the happy tidings to his people, who, with the strangers and visitors at his court, thronged around him with their congratulations, and *Cuchulainn* among the rest. The king led the way to the customary ablutions before their feast, in which he was followed by his household and visitors, several of whom were boasting of having been the actual rescuers of the princess; but when it came to *Cuchulainn's* turn to bare his arms, she immediately identified him as her deliverer, from his having the strip of her dress wrapped round his arm. An explanation followed, and the king, with the young lady's full consent, made an offer of her and her fortune to her deliverer. This *Cuchulainn*, however, declined to accept at the time; and, bidding farewell soon afterwards to his friends on the Island of *Rechrainn*, he returned to Emania, where he was joyfully received by king Conor and the knights of the Royal Branch.

Cuchulainn took but little rest after his arrival in Ulster, before he set out for the residence of his faithful lady love at Lusk; but *Eimer's* father and brothers having heard of his return, and expecting a visit from him, fortified themselves and Eimer so strongly and closely, that for a whole year *Cuchulainn* failed to obtain even a sight of her, much less an entrance to her dwelling. Being driven to desperation at last, he scaled the three circumvallations of the court, entered it, slew *Eimer's* three brothers, killed or disabled their adherents, and took away the lady herself by force, together with her waitingmaid, and as much gold, silver, and other treasures as he could carry. *Cuchulainn* forthwith transferred his treasures to his chariot, and turned his face northwards once more; but an alarm being raised in the country all round, he was followed by numbers of armed men, so that he was compelled repeatedly to wheel round and give them combat. These combats took place generally at the fords of the rivers;

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Cuchulainn).

and it is remarkable that every ford from the *Glonn-Ath* (or the Ford of Great Deeds), on the river *Ailbhiné* (now the Delvin), to *Ath-an-Imoit* (or the Ford of the Sods), on the River Boyne, took its name from that of some person slain in the course of these combats, or from some characteristic incident connected with them. But besides these names (many, or all of which may be easily identified) there is scarcely a hill, valley, river, rock, mound, or cave, in the line of country from Emania (in the present county of Armagh) to Lusk (in the county of Dublin), of which the ancient and often varying names and history are not to be found in this singularly curious tract. So that, if we look upon it even but as a highly coloured historic romance, it will be found one of the most valuable of our large collection of ancient compositions, on account of the light which it throws not merely on ancient social manners and on the military feats and terms of those days, but on the meaning of so vast a number of topographical names. And it records too, I may add, very many curious customs and superstitions, many of which, to this day, characterise the native Irish people.

The only old copies of this tract with which I am acquainted are three. One of them, an imperfect one, is in the ancient *Leabhar na h-Uidhré*, in the library of the Royal Irish Academy; another written partly on parchment and partly on paper, in the same library, belongs to the time of about the middle of the sixteenth century; the third, a fine and perfect one on vellum, in the British Museum, is in the handwriting of *Gillariabhach O'Clery*, the son of *Tuathal O'Clery*, who died in the year 1512. Of this copy I have made a careful transcript for my own use, free from the contractions with which the original abounds, and more accessible for all useful purposes than either of the old, or I may perhaps say, than any other copies now extant.

Of several
other cele-
brated *Toch-*
marca, or
"Court-
ships".

Amongst the other remarkable *Tochmarca*, or Courtships, still preserved among our MSS., I may mention the very ancient *Tochmarc Moméra*, printed last year [1855] by the Celtic Society, with the battle of *Magh Lena*. It contains a singularly interesting account of the voyage of the celebrated *Eoghan Mór* to Spain in the second century, and his marriage there with *Moméra*, the daughter of the king of that country. The name of this story does not occur in the list of specimens of *Scéla* in the Book of Leinster.

The *Tochmarc Mheidhbhé*, which does appear in that list, is the story of the marriage of the celebrated *Meadhbh*, [or *Méav*], queen of Connacht, with *Ailill*, prince of Leinster, at Naas; told in the *Tain bó Chuailgné*.

The *Tochmarc Ailbhé*, also in that list, is the courtship of *Finn Mac Cumhaill*, of the princess *Ailbhé*, the daughter of *Cormac Mac Airt*. This lady *Ailbhé* is said to have been the wisest woman of her time; and Finn's courtship is described in the relation of conversations, in which there is a sort of contest of ability and knowledge between them.

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Of several other celebrated *Tochmarca*, or "Courtships".

Of the many *Tochmarca* still preserved to us, I shall only mention one more—the *Tochmarc Begfolad*, or "Courtship of the Woman of little dowry", who was sought in marriage by *Diarmaid Mac Cearbhaill*, monarch of Erin, in the sixth century. This piece is very ancient, though this also does not occur in the incomplete list in the Book of Leinster; and it is of remarkable value for the minute descriptions which it contains of the lady's dress, and of the various gold ornaments worn at the period.

Another class of tales is known by the name of *UATHA*, or Caves. These are tales respecting various occurrences in caves: sometimes the taking of a cave, when the place has been used as a place of refuge or habitation,—and such a taking would be, in fact, a sort of *Toghail*; sometimes the narrative of some adventure in a cave; sometimes of a plunder of a cave; and so on. Thus the *Uath Beinné Edair* (mentioned in the Book of Leinster), is the tale of the hiding of *Diarmaid* and *Gráinne*,—the latter the intended wife of *Finn Mac Cumhaill*, with whom *Diarmaid* eloped,—in a cave on *Beinn Etair* or *Edair* (i.e., the hill of Howth). Again the *Uath Chruachan*, or "Cave of *Cruachain*", is a very curious story of the plunder of the cave of *Cruachain*, part of the Story of the *Táin Be, or Bo, Aingen*, (Cow-Spoil of *Aingen*), in Connacht, in the time of Queen *Meadhbh* and King *Ailill*, about the time of the Incarnation. So the *Uath Belaigh Conglais* is the story of *Cuglas*, a prince of Leinster in the first century. This prince was a distinguished huntsman, but one day in hunting, he disappeared in the cave called since after him, *Belach Conglais* (now Baltinglass), and was never heard of afterwards.

90. Of the *UATHA*, or "Caves".

Another class consists of the *ECHTRAÍ*, or Adventures. An *Echtra* was generally a foreign expedition: it was always a personal adventure of some kind. That called in the Book of Leinster the *Echtra Macha inghiné Aedha Ruaidh* (or the Adventure of Macha, the daughter of *Aedh* [Hugh] the red), is the story of Queen Macha's expedition into Connacht, and her bringing back as prisoners the three sons of *Dithorba*, the events of which I have already related to you in reference to the founding of the palace of Emania by this Macha (near the present city of Armagh).

102. Of the *ECHTRAÍ*, or "Adventures".

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10°. Of the
Echtraí, or
"Adven-
tures".

The tales of these two classes are, however, so like in their plan and subjects to others, of which I give you examples, that it is unnecessary to detain you here by any detailed specimen of them. I shall pass on then to another and more important division

11°. Of the
Sluaighe-
adha, or
"Military
Expedi-
tions". (The
Expedition
of *Dathi* to
the Alps).

The example of the SLUAIGHEADHA, or Military Expeditions, which I wish to introduce to you, is that in which the last of the pagan kings of Erin lost his life, about the year of our Lord 428. This expedition was also (like many of the Irish wars of the period), a continental one, and the king's army appears to have passed quite across the south of France. The story is called, in the Book of Leinster, the *Sluaghid Dathi co Sliabh n-Ealpa*, or the Expedition of *Dathi* to the Alpine Mountains.

Niall of the Nine Hostages was succeeded in the monarchy (A.D. 405) by *Dathi*, the son of his brother *Fiachra*, king of Connacht; and was, like his uncle, a valiant and ambitious man. It happened that, in the seventeenth year of his reign, king *Dathi* was induced to go from Tara to *Eas Ruaidh*, the great cataract of the River Erne (at the present Ballyshannon), to adjust some territorial dispute which had sprung up among his relatives. The time at which this journey was undertaken was the close of the summer, so that the king arrived at his destination close upon November Eve, a season of great solemnity of old among the pagan Gaedhils.

Dathi, having concluded an amicable adjustment among his friends, and finding himself on the eve of the great festival of *Samhain*, was desirous that his Druids should ascertain for him, by their art, the incidents that were to happen him from that time till the festival of *Samhain* of the next year. With this view he commanded the presence of his Druids; and *Doghra*, the chief of them, immediately stood before him. "I wish", said the king, "to know my destiny, and that of my country, from this night till this night twelvemonths". "Then", said *Doghra*, "if you will send nine of your noblest chiefs with me from this to *Rath Archaille*, on the bank of the river *Muaidh* [the Moy], I will reveal something to them". "It shall be so", said the king, "and I shall be one of the number myself".

They departed secretly from the camp, and arrived in due time at the plain of *Rath Archaille*, where the Druid's altars and idols were. *Dathi's* queen, *Ruadh*, had a palace at *Mul-lach Ruaidhé*, in this neighbourhood, [a place still known under that name, in the parish of Screene, in the barony of Tireragh, and county of Sligo]. Here the king took up his quarters for the night, whilst the Druid repaired to *Dumha na n-Druadh* (or

the Druid's Mound), near *Rath Archail*, on the south, to consult his art according to the request of the king. LECT. XIII.

At the rising of the sun in the morning, the Druid repaired to the king's bed-room, and said: "Art thou asleep, O king of Erin and of Albain?" "I am not asleep", answered the monarch, "but why have you made an addition to my titles? for, although I have taken the sovereignty of Erin, I have not yet obtained that of Albain [Scotland]". "Thou shalt not be long so", said the Druid, "for I have consulted the clouds of the men of Erin, and found that thou wilt soon return to Tara, where thou wilt invite all the provincial kings, and the chiefs of Erin, to the great feast of Tara, and there thou shalt decide with them upon making an expedition into Albain, Britain, and France, following the conquering footsteps of thy great uncle, Niall, and thy granduncle, *Crimhthann Mór*". The king, delighted with this favourable prediction, returned to his camp, where he related what had happened, and disclosed his desire for foreign conquests to such of the great men of the nation as happened to be of his train at the time. His designs were approved of, and the nobles were dismissed to their respective homes, after having cordially promised to attend on the king at Tara, with all their forces, whenever he should summon them, to discuss farther the great project which now wholly seized on his attention.

11°. Of the SLUAIGH-LADHA, or "Military Expeditions". (The expedition of *Dathi* to the Alps).

Dathi returned home, stopping for a short period at the ancient palace of *Cruachain*, in Roscommon. From this place he proceeded across the Shannon, and then delayed for some time at the ancient palace of *Freamhainn*, [a name still preserved in that of the hill of Frewin, in the present parish of Port-Loman, in the county of Westmeath].

The tale goes on to tell, at this place, an anecdote, having reference to the raith or building where the party then were, which is so interesting in itself, and as an example of the kind of information with which these tracts abound, that I may so far digress as to state it to you.

In the course of the evening, when the fatigues of the journey were forgotten in the enjoyment of the cup and the cheerfulness of conversation, the king asked his Druid, *Finchaemh*, who it was that built the noble and royal court in which they were then enjoying themselves. The Druid answered, that it had been built by *Eochaidh Aireamh* [Monarch of Erin, about a century before the Christian era]. He then narrated to *Dathi* how that monarch called on the men of Erin to build him a suitable residence, which should descend to his own family independently of the palace of Tara, which always

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tions". (The
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descended by law to the reigning monarch. The men of Erin cheerfully consented, and, dividing themselves into seven divisions, they soon built the great rath and the palace within it. The ground upon which the palace was built was the property of the *Feara Cul* of *Teabhtha* (or *Teffia*); and although they formed one of the seven parties who contributed to its erection, the monarch had not asked their consent for the site. This intrusion was so keenly felt by the *Feara Cul*, and their king, *Mormael*, that, at the following feast of *Samhain*, or November Eve, when invited by the monarch to the solemnity of the great festival, *Maelmor* attended with forty men in chariots, who, in the confusion of the night, murdered king *Eochaidh*, unperceived by his people, and escaped themselves. The king's death was not discovered till the following morning, and the *Feara Cul* were the first to charge the murder on the secret agency of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, by the hand of *Siogmall*, of *Sidh Neannta* (in the present county of Roscommon).

So far the Druid's history of the building of *Freamhainn*, and the death of the Monarch *Eochaidh Airimh*. The *Feara Cul*, however, did not escape detection; their crime was quickly discovered, and, in fact, in order to escape the punishment which awaited them, they fled over the Shannon into Connacht, and settled on the borders of Galway and Roscommon. Here the tribe remained for nearly three hundred years, until the return of Cormac Mac Art from his exile in Connacht, in the year of our Lord 225, to assume the monarchy, when he invited the *Feara Cul* to accompany him as his body-guard. This service they accordingly performed, and on Cormac's ascending his father's throne he gave them a territory north of Tara, nearly coëxtensive with the present barony of Kells. And I may observe that since this settlement of the clann by Cormac, they have been always known in Irish history as the *Feara Cul Breagh*, or the *Feara Cul* of 'Bregia', a territory comprised in the modern county of East Meath. (This designation seems to have been intended to distinguish their territory from the original one, called that of the *Feara Cul* of *Teabhtha* or *Teffia*, which is in West Meath—a distinction not hitherto accounted for by modern writers.—H. 2. 16. Col. 888. T.C.D.)

Let us, however, return to the story of king *Dathi* himself. On leaving *Freamhainn*, *Dathi* came to *Ros-na-Righ*, the residence of his mother, which was situated north-east of Tara, on the bank of the Boyne. Here he remained for some time, and at last returned to Tara, at which place he had, meanwhile, invited the states of the nation to meet him at the approaching feast of *Beltainé* (one of the great pagan festivals of ancient Erin) on May Day.

The feast of Tara this year was solemnized on a scale of splendour never before equalled. The fires of *Taillten* [now called Telltown, to the north of Tara] were lighted, and the sports, games, and ceremonies, for which that ancient place is celebrated, were conducted with unusual magnificence and solemnity.

These games and ceremonies are said to have been instituted more than a thousand years previously, by *Lug*, the king of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, in honour of *Taillté*, the daughter of the king of Spain, and wife of *Eochaidh Mac Eirc*, the last king of the Firbolg colony, who was slain in the first great battle of *Magh Tuireadh*. It was at her court that *Lug* had been fostered, and on her death he had her buried at this place, where he raised an immense mound over her grave, and instituted those annual games in her honour. These games were solemnized about the first day in August, and they continued to be observed so long as down to the ninth century.

After the religious solemnities were concluded, *Dathi*, having now discharged his duties to his gods and to his subjects, turned his thoughts to his contemplated expedition; and at a conference with all the great chiefs and leaders of the nation, found them all ready to support him. Accordingly, without further delay, he concluded his preparations, and leaving Tara in the charge of one of his cousins, he marched to *Dundealgan* (the present Dundalk), where his fleet was ready for sea, at the head of the most powerful army that had ever, up to that time, been known to leave Erin. He did not, however, embark at Dundalk, but ordering his fleet to meet him at *Cuan Snamha Aighnech* (now Carlingford), he marched to *Iubhar Chinntrachta* (now Newry), and from that to *Oirear Caoin*. On his way to the latter place it appears he passed by *Magh Bilé* (now Moville), and only at a short distance, (so that *Oirear-Caoin* may probably have been the ancient name of the place now called Donaghadee.) Here his fleet awaited him, and having embarked all his troops, he set sail for Scotland, which he reached safely at Port Patrick.

Immediately upon his landing, *Dathi* sent his Druid to *Feredach Finn*, king of Scotland, who was then at his palace of *Tuirrin brighé na Rígh*, calling on him for submission and tribute, or an immediate reason to the contrary on the field of battle. The Scottish king refused either submission or tribute, and accepted the challenge of battle, but required a few days to prepare for so unexpected an event.

The time for battle at last arrived; both armies marched to *Magh an Chairthi* (the plain of the Pillar Stone), in *Glenn Feadha* (the woody glen); *Dathi* at the head of his Gaedhils, and *Feredach* leading a large force composed of

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11°. Of the SLUAIGH-EADHA, or "Military Expeditions". (The Expedition of *Dathi* to the Alps).

A fierce and destructive fight ensued between the two parties, in which the Scottish forces were at length overthrown and routed with great slaughter. When the Scottish king saw the death of his son and the discomfiture of his army, he threw himself headlong on the ranks of his enemies, dealing death and destruction all round him: but in the height of his fury he was laid hold of by *Conall Gulban* [the great ancestor of Saint Colum Cille and of the O'Donnells of Donnegall], who, taking him up in his arms, hurled him against the pillar stone and dashed out his brains. The scene of this battle has continued ever since to be called *Gort an Chairthé*, the Pillarstone Field; and the glenn, *Glenn an Chatha*, or Battle Glen.

Dathi having now realized the object of his ambition, set up a surviving son of the late king on the throne of Scotland, and receiving hostages and formal public submission from him, he passed onwards into Britain and France, in both of which countries he still received hostages and submission, wherever he proceeded on his march. He continued his progress, but with what object does not appear, even to the foot of the Alps, where he was at last killed, in the midst of his glory, by a flash of lightning.

The body of this great king was afterwards carried home by his people, and he was buried with his fathers in the ancient pagan cemetery at *Raith Cruachain*, in Connacht, as related in a very old poem by *Torna Eigeas*. At this place his grave was still distinguished by the *Coirthe Dearg*, the Red Pillar Stone, down to the year 1650, when *Dubhaltach Mac Fírbisigh* wrote his first great Book of Genealogies.

There are two copies of the present tract in Dublin, one in the Royal Irish Academy, and the other in my own collection, both on paper, and neither of them older than the year 1760; and although the tract has so far suffered at the hands of ignorant transcribers, as to be much corrupted in style and language, still I have found in it many genuine illustrations of ancient manners, customs, and ceremonies, to which other very ancient and better preserved pieces contain but allusions more or less obscure.

12°. Of the IMRAMHA, or "Expeditions by Sea". (The Expedition of the Sons of *Ua Corra*).

The next and last class of the Historic Tales, of which I shall give you an example at any length, is that of the IMRAMHA, or Expeditions by Sea, which, as I have already explained to you, are to be distinguished from the *Longeas*, in so far as the *Imramh* was a navigation undertaken voluntarily, and generally

in search of something, while the *Longeas* was a voyage entered upon involuntarily, as in the case of banishment or escape from pursuit. You have had a specimen of the *Longeas* in the story of *Labhraidh Loingseach*. The example of an *Imramh* which I have selected is a story of a much later period, in the Christian times—namely, about the sixth century; so that it is the last in the chronological order of my examples. It is the *Imramh Ua Corra*, or the Navigation (or Expedition) of the sons of *Ua Corra* into the Atlantic Ocean.

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tions by
Sea". (The
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of the sons
of *Ua Corra*).

Of this class of our ancient tales, the number that have come down to us is but small, but they are very ancient; and though indefinite in their results, and burdened with much matter of a poetic or other romantic character, still there can be no rational doubt that they are founded on facts, the recital of which, in the original form, would have been probably found singularly valuable, though, in the lapse of ages, and after passing through the hands of story-tellers, whose minds were full of imagination, these tales lost, in a great measure, their original simplicity and truthful character, and became more and more fanciful and extravagant.

That such tales as these were numerous in the ancient history of Erin may be very clearly seen from the Litany of Aengus *Céile Dé*, where several of them are mentioned. At present, I know of but four such pieces remaining in our ancient manuscripts, of all of which, however, we have copies of considerable antiquity and detail. These are the Navigation of Saint Brendan; the Navigation of the sons of *Ua Corra*; the Navigation of *Snedgus* and *Mac Riaghla*; and the Navigation of *Maelduin*. (One of these pieces, the Navigation of Saint Brendan, has been introduced to the world in full detail, and in beautiful verse, by my distinguished friend, our Professor of Poetry, Denis Florence MacCarthy, in the Dublin University Magazine for January, 1848).

Saint Brendan's voyages, for he made two, were performed about the year 560; the voyage of the sons of *Ua Corra*, about the year 540; the voyage of *Snedgus* and *Mac Riaghla* (two priests of the island of Iona), about the middle of the seventh; and that of *Maelduin*, in the eighth century. As the early history of the sons of *Ua Corra*, and the cause of their wanderings at sea, are more circumstantial and curious (though their story, too, is tinged with a little of the fabulous) than any of the rest, excepting Saint Brendan's, I have selected this tale as an example of which to give you a short sketch.

Conall Dearg Ua Corra was an opulent landholder and farmer of the province of Connacht. He had to wife the

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daughter of the *Airchinnech*, or lay impropriator of the church lands, of *Clothar*; with whom he lived happily for some years, keeping a house of hospitable entertainment for all visitors and strangers. Not being blessed with children, however, though praying ardently to the Lord for them, they became, but particularly the husband, impatient and discontented; and, so far did his despair carry him, that at last he renounced God, and persuaded his wife to join him in prayer and a three days' fast to the Devil, to favour them with an heir to their large inheritance.

It would seem that the evil spirit heard their petition, for, in due time after, the wife brought forth three sons at one birth. These sons grew up to be brave and able men, and, having heard that they had been consecrated to the Devil at their birth, they resolved to dedicate their lives to his service. As if for that special end, they appear to have collected a few desperate villains about them, and to have commenced an indiscriminate war of plunder and destruction against the Christian churches of Connacht and their priests, beginning with the church of *Tuaim dá Ghualann* [Tuam], and not ceasing till they had pillaged or destroyed more than half the churches of the province.

At last they determined to visit also the church of *Clothar*, to destroy it, and to kill their grandfather, the *Airchinnech* of the place. When they came to the church, they found the old man on the green in front of it, distributing with a bountiful hand meat and drink to his tenants and to the benefactors of the church. Seeing this, his persecutors altered their plans, and put off the execution of their murderous purpose till the more favourable time of night.

The grandfather, though suspecting their evil design, received them with kindness, and assigned them a comfortable resting-place; and, after having fared heartily, they retired to bed, in order to lull suspicion, at the usual time. *Lochan*, the eldest of the three brothers, had, however, during his sleep, a strange vision, which ended by seriously affecting their design. He was shown in a dream, in vivid colours, the glories and joys of Heaven, and the torments and horrors of Hell; and he awoke deeply affected by what was thus disclosed to him.

When the three brothers, then, arose at the hour of the night appointed to execute their purpose, *Lochan* addressed himself to the other two, related to them his vision, told them of his newly-born fears, and, in fine, persuaded them that they had been hitherto serving an evil power, and making war on a good master. The brothers were powerfully struck with what they heard; and so complete was the transformation of mind

suddenly wrought in them by it, that at last they all agreed to repair in the morning, in a spirit of sorrow and penitence, to their grandfather, to seek his prayers and pardon, and to ask his advice as to what they should do to amend their lives, and make reparation for the past.

When the morning came, accordingly, they presented themselves before the *Airchinnech*, acknowledged their wicked intentions, and took counsel with him as to their future conduct. The course he advised them to take, and on which they determined, was, that they should repair at once to Saint Finnen of Clonard, who was then the great teacher, and, as it were, the head of all the schools of divinity in Erin, and submit themselves to his spiritual direction.

For this purpose they took leave of their friends, put off their habiliments of warfare and offence, turned their spears into pilgrims' staffs, and repaired to Clonard.

When the people of Clonard perceived them coming, being well acquainted with their wickedness, they fled for their lives in all directions, with the exception of Saint Finnen himself, who went out calmly to meet them. Seeing this, they hastened to meet the holy priest, and throwing themselves on their knees before him, they besought his pardon and spiritual friendship.

"What do you want?" said the priest. "We want", said they, "to take upon us the habit of religion and penitence, and henceforth to serve God". "Your determination is a good one", said the priest; "let us come into the town where my people are".

They entered the town with him, and the saint having taken counsel of the people respecting the penitents, what they decided on was, to place them for a year under the sole care and instruction of a certain divinity student, with whom exclusively they were to hold any conversation during that period.

Having finished their year in this manner, in the solitary practice of religious exercises, and the study of the Christian doctrines, to the satisfaction and edification of their instructor and the entire congregation, the three brothers again presented themselves before Saint Finnen, and besought his benediction and his penitential sentence for their former crimes.

The saint gave them his benediction, and then said: "You cannot restore to life those innocent ecclesiastics whom you have slain, but you can go and repair and restore, as far as it is in your power, the many churches and other buildings which you have desecrated and ruined".

The sons of *Ua Corra* at once rose up and took an affectionate leave of Saint Finnen and his pious and learned flock; and as the church of *Tuam da Ghualann* [Tuam] was the first that

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tions by
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IMRAMHA, or
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tions by
Sea". (The
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of *Ua Corra*).

Thither accordingly they went, and they repaired the ruined church, and restored it to its original perfection. And thus they proceeded on, from place to place, until at last they had repaired and restored all the ruined churches but one, after which they returned to Saint Finnen.

The saint asked them if they had finished their work. They answered that they had repaired all the churches but one. "Which is that?" said Finnen. "The church of *Ceann Mara*", [Kinvara, at the head of the bay of Galway], said they. "Alas!" said the saint, "that was the first church which you ought to have repaired,—the church of the holy old man, Coman of Kinvara; and return now", said he, "and repair every damage that you have done in that place".

The brothers obeyed, they went back and repaired the church, and after this, taking counsel with Saint Coman, they built themselves a great *curach* or canoe, covered with hides, three deep, and capable of carrying nine persons, in which they determined to go out upon a pilgrimage upon the great Atlantic Ocean.

When their vessel was ready to be launched, several persons besought permission to accompany them; and among others, a bishop, a priest, and a deacon, as well as the man who built the canoe, and also (the story tells us) a certain musician. These five they received of the party.

With this company then the three sons of *Ua Corra* went out upon the waters in the Bay of Galway; and after having cleared the islands and headlands of the bay, deeming it useless to attempt to steer their course in any particular direction, they drew their oars on board, and committed themselves passively to the mercy of the waves and the direction of God.

The adventurers were driven by the wind from the land into the solitudes of the great Atlantic Ocean; and the story goes on to describe how, after forty days and forty nights, they came to an island which was full of people, all of whom were moaning and lamenting. One of the wanderers went on shore for the purpose of learning the name of the island and the character of its inhabitants, but no sooner had he joined these strange people, than he too began to moan and lament like the rest; and this induced his companions to depart without him.

After this the tale becomes altogether wild and fabulous, always, however, tending to a certain moral conclusion. The wanderers pass occasionally into the region of spirits, and are

brought into contact with the living and the dead; and the incidents of their voyage are made to tell, negatively, on some of the immoralities and irregularities of Christian life. On one island, for instance, they found a solitary ecclesiastic, who told them that he had been expelled from the community to which he belonged for neglecting his matins; that he set out on the sea in a boat, and so was cast ashore on this island alone. On another island they found a man digging with a spade, the handle of which was on fire: and on asking him the cause of so strange a circumstance, he told them that when on earth he was accustomed to dig on Sundays; and this was the punishment awarded to him. On another island they found a burly miller feeding his mill with all the perishable things of which people are so choice and niggardly in this world. On another they found a man riding a horse of fire, who told them that he had taken his brother's horse, and ridden it on a Sunday. Another island they found peopled with smiths, and artificers in the precious metals, and men of every trade, all shrieking and moaning under the incessant attacks of huge black birds, which tore the flesh from their bones with their bills and talons; and they learned that these people were thus made to suffer for all the falsehoods and frauds which they had been guilty of in this world.

At length the voyagers approached a land which they learned from some fishermen on its coast was Spain. Here they landed, and the bishop built a church, which, however, he soon afterwards resigned to the priest, and went on himself to Rome, accompanied by a certain youth, who was one of the wandering party. This bishop subsequently returned to Erinn from Rome, accompanied by the same youth, who is said to have related the whole adventure, under the bishop's correction, to Bishop *Saerbhreathach* [a name Latinized Justinus, and now called Justin]; Bishop Justin related it to Saint Colman, of Arann Island; and upon this relation Saint *Mocholmóg* wrote the poem [see original in APPENDIX, No. XCI.], which begins:—

The *Ua Corras* of Connacht,
Undismayed by mountain waves,
Over the profound howling ocean,
Sought the lands of the marvellous.

From the conclusion of this tale we may fairly infer that its composition belonged originally to the great island of Arann, on the coast of the county of Clare, and in the bay of Galway; and, although the narrative, in the latter part of it, is wild and fabulous, there is little doubt that this and many similar voy-

LECT. XIII.

12°. Of the
IMRAMHA, or
"Expeditions by
Sea". (The
Expedition
of the Sons
of *Ua Corra*).

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12°. Of the
IMRAMHA, or
"Expedi-
tions by
Sea". (The
Expedition
of the Sons
of *Ua Corra*).

ages were actually undertaken by several parties of Christian pilgrims, in the early ages of the Church in Ireland. And this fact, as I have already stated, is fully borne out by the Litany of Aengus *Ceilé Dé*, written about the year 780 (of which more on a future occasion), in which he invokes the intercession of the sons of *Ua Corra* and of their company, as well as of several other companies of pilgrim navigators.

At the time of the delivery of this lecture I was acquainted but with two copies of this curious tract, both on paper, one in the Royal Irish Academy, and the other in my own possession. Since then, however, a copy of it, somewhat damaged indeed, but full and valuable, has come under my observation; one, namely, which is preserved in the old vellum "*Book of Fermoy*", before referred to as having been purchased by the Rev. Dr. Todd, at the sale of the books of the late William Monk Mason, in London, in 1858. The copy in my possession appears to have been transcribed from the same original.

Of the re-
main-
ing
classes of the
HISTORIC
TALES.

The other divisions of the Tales mentioned by the early writers, I need not stay to enlarge on.

Of the *Fessa* (Feasts or Banquets), we have a great number, some of which I shall have presently to allude to in connexion with the Fenian and purely imaginative tales.

The *Aithidhé* were Elopements. Of these an excellent example is within the reach of all of you, in the celebrated story of *Deirdré* and the Sons of *Uisneach*, an edition of which (with a translation) was published here in 1808, by the Gaelic Society of Dublin, of which copies may still be easily procured. This was the tract named in the Book of Leinster as the *Aithid Dheirdri re Macaibh Uisnigh* (the Elopement of *Deirdré* with the sons of *Uisneach*).

The *Serca*, or Loves, were love-stories, such as that eventful story of Queen *Gormlaith*, the principal part of which I had occasion to describe to you in a former lecture.

The *Tomhadhma* were the stories of the bursting out of Lakes, and the irruptions of the Sea, and the consequences of the inundations caused by them. Thus the *Tomhaidhm Lochan-Echach*, or Bursting out of Loch Neagh, is the account of the irruption which first formed that great loch, about the second century; in which irruption *Eochaidh Mac Mairéda*, the son of the king of Fermoy, in Munster, was drowned with his people. It is from him that Loch Neagh takes its name: *Loch n-Echach*, the Lake of *Eochaidh*.

The *Tochomladh* was an Immigration or arrival of a Colony; and under this name the coming of the several colonies of *Par-*

tholon, of *Nemedh*, of the Firbolgs, the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, the Milesians, etc., into Erin, are all described in separate tales. It is probably from the original records of these ancient stories that the early part of the various Books of Invasions has been compiled.

LECT. XIII.
Of the remaining
classes of the
HISTORIC
TALES.

Lastly, the *Fis*, or Visions, were stories of prophecies declared in the form of visions seen by various personages. Of the more remarkable prophecies, as they are called, I shall soon have occasion to speak to you at greater length.

I believe I have now laid before you a somewhat intelligible though very short sketch of what the student of history may expect to find in the various classes of the HISTORIC TALES of the *Ollamhs* and Poets of Erin. Their value and bearing upon our history I have already attempted to indicate, and I hope even the slight descriptions my space allowed me to give of these compositions, have been sufficient to prove to you their importance.

LECTURE XIV

[Delivered July 7, 1856.]

Of the ancient IMAGINATIVE TALES AND POEMS; and of the use to be made of them in serious historical investigation. Of the FENIAN POEMS AND TALES. Of the compositions of *Oisín* (Ossian). Of Fergus. Of *Caeilté*. The "Dialogue of the Ancient Men". Description of the dwelling of *Crédé*, the beautiful daughter of *Cairbré*, King of Kerry. The Story of the "Pursuit of *Diarmaid* and *Grainnè*". The Story of the "Battle of Ventry Harbour".

THE present course of Lectures has been confined, as you are aware, to the subject of the materials of positive history to be found among existing ancient Irish MSS. Other remains of our ancient literature have also come down to us, and in very considerable quantity—literature, namely, of a purely imaginative character; and with the compositions of this class we have at present but little to do, though at a future period I hope to have an opportunity of making you acquainted with their contents. Even in ancient writings of pure fiction, however, little as at first sight you may suspect their importance to the student of mere history, much will be found of very great value in any inquiries into the life and institutions of our ancestors in those remote ages. And as the true history of ancient Erin can never be written or understood, without an accurate acquaintance with that life, as well as with those institutions, it has appeared to me, that the sketch I have been endeavouring to lay before you of the materials of our history would be incomplete, were I to omit to call your attention to the uses which may be made even of the most fanciful tales of pure imagination which are to be found in the ancient Gaedhlic books. It is of this subject, then, that I propose to treat, though very shortly indeed, in the present Lecture.

In the composition even of the wildest tales, you will almost always find that the imagery and incidents made use of by the author are drawn from the life and scenes actually passing around him, or else from those which he has learned from minute and vivid descriptions, handed down to him from earlier times in his own language. This is indeed almost a necessary condition of every novelist's success; equally so whether he be the story-teller of the Arabian desert, the *Seanchaidhé* of ancient

Erinn, or a modern Gaedhel, writing in the nineteenth century in the English language, such as Gerald Griffin or Sir Walter Scott. But the farther back the author we examine has flourished, the more likely will it be that his short and simple poem or tale should have been framed out of materials actually present to his eye, or existing within his knowledge in the society in which he lived. Whatever be the names, the deeds, the sufferings, of his heroes and heroines,—and even though the romantic visions of fairyland may be called in to add wonders to the adventures narrated,—still the mere details of life, the customs and action of society (without which no story can be made to move along), must be drawn by the author from the manners and institutions existing around him, or, at farthest, from those with which he has been familiarized by his fathers immediately preceding him, and which still live in the popular memories of his time. If this were not so, the poet's hearers would not understand him, the story-teller's tale would create no interest among his audience. And so it is that, even in these purely imaginative fictions, we may expect to find (and examination proves that we do find) abundance of minute and copious information upon those little details of ordinary life,—upon the buildings, upon the interiors of the homes, upon the dresses, the food, the etiquette and courteous forms, and the mode of speech, of our remote ancestors,—which no historical records can give, but without which no historical records can be made to supply us with the true life and meaning of history. So far, therefore, as these necessary details are concerned, we must count great part of even the purely imaginative literature of ancient Erinn as containing much that claims a place among the materials of history.

Of the serious use which may in this manner be made of genuine national compositions, though of the class of mere fiction, a remarkable example occurs to me, which may explain the view that I take of this subject, better, perhaps, than any lengthened argument. You are all probably familiar with the celebrated Eastern tales, commonly called those of the "Arabian Nights". It is scarcely possible to conceive any stories more entirely based on and even made up of fiction, and that fiction so purely imaginative, so almost exclusively conversant with the impossible, as to present very little indeed soberly capable of belief at all. And yet these stories, necessarily embracing as they do a vast amount of description and allusions connected with Arab life and manners,—these stories have been made the occasion and foundation of, perhaps, the most solid and valuable work on Eastern life in the English language.

LECT. XIV.

Of the historical use to be made of the IMAGINATIVE TALES AND POEMS.

LECT. XIV.

Of the historical use to be made of the IMAGINATIVE TALES AND POEMS.

I allude of course to the large (noted) edition of the "Arabian Nights" published by Mr. Lane, the well-known Eastern traveller. Now it is precisely in the same way that similar tales of ancient Erin would be found most valuable as illustrating ancient Gaedhlic life, if we were fortunate enough to possess so great a body of the earlier works of this class in proper preservation, or even of reliable copies of such works.

Of those which we *do* possess, many contain somewhat more of truth than the Arabian Nights, because the personages introduced are often historical. Many, however, being meagre in extent, and little conversant with details of life, will be found to suggest little of importance to the student of mere history; and these I shall therefore entirely pass over here. The remainder, however, appear to me to be of so much importance, in the manner and for the reasons I have shortly attempted to explain, that I feel bound to assert that, without a careful examination of their contents, no one, in the present state of knowledge, can attain an adequate acquaintance with early Irish life, much less presume to address himself to the task of contributing to what may become a satisfactory history of Erin.

But, besides so much valuable information upon life and manners, as almost all the class of writings contain of which I am now speaking, there are some other points also upon which the imaginative tales in the ancient Gaedhlic embrace matter of solid importance and authority. They frequently embody or allude to historic traditions, believed or partly believed in the time of the authors, and sometimes in the very statement of them supplying links wanting in the chain of history, in the allusions and references made in them to more serious works now lost. Every such tradition must, of course, have had some foundation; and every such tradition, when found in any writing of great age, deserves, and ought to command, diligent attention at least, and careful inquiry. Very many of the Imaginative Tales, again, contain the most valuable records as to places; often describing to us minutely the situation of cities, forts, graves, etc., well known in history, but whose topography could not otherwise be made out. And many a blank has been filled up, and many a mistake has been corrected, by the information respecting localities and the derivation of their names, found in this class of our literature.

Without enlarging further, then, upon this subject, I think I have now said enough to explain to you why it is that in treating of the manuscript materials of ancient Irish history, I could not altogether pass over the IMAGINATIVE TALES found among our ancient Gaedhlic MSS., at least that class of them in which are

to be found those descriptions of information to which I have referred. LECT XIV

The purely imaginative literature of the ancient Gaedhils, still existing in the MSS. which have been handed down to us in safety, may be divided into distinct classes, some of which are compositions yet more ancient than the others. The earliest of all—if we regard merely the authors to whom they are attributed—are the poems or metrical tales called the Fenian Poems, many of which are attributed to *Oisín* and *Fergus*, the sons of the celebrated *Finn Mac Cumhaill*, some of them to *Finn* himself, and some to his cousin *Caeilté*. After these may be placed the prose recitals, probably founded on similar poems now lost, but probably also themselves compositions of as early a date: I mean those stories commonly called Fenian Tales. Finally, after the Fenian Poems and Tales, in point of date, we find a great number of romantic legends and tales, both in prose and verse, many of which were certainly composed at a very remote period, but of which the various dates of composition extend down almost to our own times. And it is within my own memory that in *Clare*, and throughout *Munster*, the invention and recital of such romantic tales continue to afford a favourite delight to the still Gaedhlic-speaking people.

Of the earliest
ancient Im-
aginative
Tales. The
FENIAN
POEMS.

It is obvious that, so far as concerns the historical value of such illustrative details as I have stated to exist in this class of literature, we may pass by at once almost all the tales which are known or may be believed to have been composed after the intimate contact of the pure Gaedhil with the Norman and English settlers, in whatever parts of the island such intimate contact took place. For as soon as any portion of the people became for a while intimate with foreign races and foreign modes of life on their own soil, their literature, it may be supposed, would probably become tinged with foreign ideas, and would therefore become of little value in illustration of the life and history of the Gaedhils. In selecting for study, then, those of our Imaginative Tales which appear to contain valuable matter for the historian, I would pass over altogether all those of the last three centuries in every part of the country, and all those of date before that period, composed in any part of the island in immediate contact with foreign society and manners. Of course, in the particular case of any separate piece, care must also be taken to investigate those circumstances upon which ought to depend its authenticity for the purposes of our inquiry.

With these preliminary remarks, then, I proceed to offer some observations to-day upon those portions of the imaginative lite-

LECT. XIV.

Of the
Poems, etc.,
ascribed to
Oisín.

rature of ancient Erin which we yet possess, and from which solid and reliable information is to be obtained. And, in the examples which I shall bring under your notice, I shall select from the earliest and most characteristic of these interesting compositions.

Several writers on Irish history have been rather puzzled about the antiquity of the poems and legends ascribed to *Oisín*; and the Rev. Charles O'Connor, in the *Bibliotheca Stowensis* (vol. i. p. 165), says that,

"All the most ancient poems on the subject of *Táin Bo Chualgné*, and the wars of *Cuchulainn*, and on the wars of Conn of the Hundred Battles, and of Fingal, and of Oscar, and of *Oisín*, or Ossian, are in this style of poetry. [He refers to a specimen.] They are romances of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; the few historical facts in them are gleaned from Tighernach and from the *Saltair of Cashel*".

Now part of this opinion belongs to the reverend doctor himself, and part to his [in these matters] more learned grandfather, Charles O'Connor of Belanagar, who, in his observations on Mr. Mac Pherson's dissertations and notes on the poems of "Fingal" and "Temora", speaks as follows:

"That the poems of Fingal and Temora have no foundation in the history of the ancient Scots, is an idea that we are very far from establishing. They are evidently founded on the romances and vulgar stories of the *Fiana Eireann*. The poet, whoever he was, picked up many of the names of men and places to be found in those tales, and invention made up the rest. In digesting these poems into their present forms, chronology was overlooked, and the actions of different ages are all made coeval. Ossian, an ancient bard of the third century, is pitched upon as a proper author to gain admiration for such compositions, and the more (it should seem) as he was an illiterate bard".

Mr. O'Connor does not fix upon any probable date for these Fenian poems, for two reasons: first, because he could not find satisfactory data for doing so; and, secondly, because, as he could not find such data, he *would* not do so. His learned and reverend grandson, however, was not so fastidious; for it appears to have been a rule with him to dispose of everything for which he could not find a positive date, by placing it arbitrarily within the period—"from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century".

It is now too late to discuss whether *Oisín* was an illiterate bard or not; but the Rev. Dr. Keting, in his *History of Erin*, at the reign of Cormac Mac Art, quotes an ancient

authority, which I have not yet had the good fortune to meet, LECT. XIV.
 for the qualifications which it was indispensable for a man to possess before he could be received into the select militia, of which *Finn Mac Cumhaill* was the last commander; and one of those qualifications was, that the candidate should be a poet (that is, educated to compose regular verses), and should have learned the twelve *Books* of Poetry. Of the Poems, etc., ascribed to Oisín.

It is impossible to fix any precise, or even probable, date for these Fenian poems now; and all that can be done, in answer to the arbitrary statements of Dr. O'Connor and others, relative to the date of their compositions, is to trace them back as far as known manuscripts of ascertained dates will carry us. Of these ancient authorities, the Book of Leinster, so often referred to in the course of these lectures, is the oldest and most authentic. It was compiled, as you will remember, in the early part of the twelfth century, and, certainly, from more ancient books. Its authority, so far, must be received as unexceptionable; and to it I shall, in the first instance, refer, for the refutation of Dr. O'Connor's arbitrary opinions on these poems. I may, however, I think, safely assert that the style, language, and matter of these poems will, in the opinion of any competent Irish scholar, carry their composition several centuries farther back.

If the people of Scotland could show such poems as those to be found in the Book of Leinster and the other books which I shall follow, relating to *Finn Mac Cumhaill* and *Oisín*, and connecting them as much with Scotland as they do with this country, then, indeed, might they stand up boldly for Mac Pherson's forgeries and baseless assertions; and there is little doubt but that they would have long since presented them to the world in print.

The ancient literary remains which have for a long time passed under the names of FENIAN POEMS AND TALES are of four classes. Of the FENIAN POEMS AND TALES.

The first class consists of poems ascribed directly, in ancient transcripts, to *Finn Mac Cumhaill*; to his sons, *Oisín* and *Fergus Finnbheoil* (the Eloquent); and to his kinsman *Caeilté*.

The second class consists of tracts made up of articles in prose and verse, ascribed to some one of the same personages, but related by a second person.

The third class consists of miscellaneous poems, descriptive of passages in the life of Finn and his warriors, but without any ascription of authorship.

The fourth class consists of certain prose tales told in a romantic style relating to the exploits of the same renowned captain, and those of his more distinguished companions.

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The Poems
ascribed to
*Finn Mac
Cumhaill*.

The poems ascribed, upon anything like respectable authority, to *Finn Mac Cumhaill* are few indeed, amounting only to five, as far as I have been able to discover; but these few are found in manuscripts of considerable antiquity—namely, the Book of Leinster, which, as I have already observed, was compiled, chiefly from older books, in the early part of the twelfth century; and the Book of *Lecain*, compiled in the same way in the year 1416.

The first of these five poems is devoted to an account of the exploits and death of Goll Mac Morna, the great chief of the Connacht Fenians.

This Goll had slain Finn's father, Cumhall, in the battle of Cnucha, near Dublin, and was in Finn's early life his mortal enemy; but he subsequently made peace with him and submitted to his superior command. In the poem Finn gives a vivid and rapid account of all the men of note who fell by the hands of Goll and the Connacht warriors in all parts of Erin, with the names of the slain and of the places in which they fell. The poem consists of 86 quatrains, and begins thus [see original in APPENDIX, No. XCII.]:—

“The grave of Goll in *Magh Raighné*”.

(This *Magh Raighné* was an ancient plain in Ossory in Leinster; *Cill Finché*, or Saint Finché's church was situated in it, according to the Festology of *Aengus Céilé Dé*, or Aengus the “Cul-dee”. The poem contains a great number of topographical references, for which it is particularly valuable.

The second is a short poem, of only five quatrains, on the origin of the name of *Magh-da-Gheisi*, or the Plain of the Two Swans, also in Leinster, beginning [see original in same APPENDIX]:—

“The stone which I was wont to throw”.

The third is a shorter poem of only three quatrains, on the origin of the name of *Roirend*, a place in *Ui Failghé*, or Offaly, beginning [see original in same APPENDIX]:—

“Beloved is he who came from a brave land”.

These three (which belong to the ancient lost tract called the *Dinnsenchus*) are found in the Book of Leinster only: the following are likewise to be found there, but are also preserved in the Book of *Lecain*.

A poem of seventeen quatrains, descriptive of *Ros-Broc* [Badger-Wood], the place which is now *Teach Moling* [Saint Mullen's], on the brink of the River *Bearbha* [or Barrow], in

the present county of Carlow. It begins [see original in same LECT. XIV. APPENDIX]:—

“*Ross-Broc* this day is the resort of warriors”.

The Poems
ascribed to
Finn Mac
Cumhaill.

In this poem (the authenticity of which as Finn's, there is abundant reason to question), Finn is made to prophesy the coming of Saint Patrick into Ireland to propagate the truths of Christianity, and the future sanctity of *Ros-Broc* when it should become the peaceful abode of Saint Moling and his monks.

Another poem is on the tragical death of *Fithir* and *Dariné*, the two daughters of the monarch *Tuathal Techtmar*, whose untimely end was produced by the treachery of *Eochaidh Anchean*, King of Leinster. This poem begins [see original in same APPENDIX]:—

“Fearful the deed which has been done here”.

So far the Book of Leinster: but the Book of *Lecain* contains, in addition, two other poems ascribed to Finn. One of these is taken from the tract in the *Dinnsenchus*, on the origin of the name of a place called *Druim Dean*, in Leinster. This was a hill upon which Finn had a mansion. Finn went on an expedition into Connacht, during which he defeated the chieftain *Uinché* in battle at *Ceam Mara* [now called Kinvara], on the Bay of Galway. *Uinché*, with twenty-one of his party, escaped from the battle, and came directly to Finn's mansion at *Druim Drean*, which he succeeded in totally destroying. Finn soon returned home, but finding his residence destroyed and several of his people killed, he went with his son *Oisín* and his cousin *Caeilté* in pursuit of the enemy, whom he overtook and slew at a ford called ever since *Ath Uinché*, or *Uinché's Ford*. On Finn's return from this last achievement, he addressed this poem to the hill on which stood his desolate home [see original in same APPENDIX]:—

“Desolate is your mansion, O *Druim Dean*”.

Of some poems, prophecies, and sayings ascribed in other manuscripts to *Finn Mac Cumhaill*, the space I have allotted me will not allow me to speak in detail; but I may, however, take occasion to assure you that it is quite a mistake to suppose *Finn Mac Cumhaill* to have been a merely imaginary or mythical character. Much that has been narrated of his exploits is, no doubt, apocryphal enough; but Finn himself is an undoubtedly historical personage; and that he existed about the time at which his appearance is recorded in the annals, is as certain as that Julius Cæsar lived and ruled at the time stated

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Finn Mac
Cumhaill.

on the authority of the Roman historians. I may add here, that the pedigree of Finn is fully recorded on the unquestionable authority of the Book of Leinster, in which he is set down as the son of *Cumhall*, who was the son of *Trenmór*, son of *Snaelt*, son of *Eltan*, son of *Baiseni*, son of *Nuada Necht*, who was of the Heremonian race, and monarch of Erin about A.M. 5090, according to the chronology of the Four Masters, that is, 110 years before Christ. Finn himself was slain, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, in Anno Domini 283, in the reign of *Cairbré Lifeachair*.

Of *Oisín*, or
"Ossian".

Oisín (a word which signifies literally the "little fawn"), the son of *Finn Mac Cumhaill*, has within the last hundred years attracted much attention among the most learned men of Europe. Mr. James Mac Pherson, a Scottish gentleman, gave to the world, as you are all doubtless aware, about the year 1760, a highly poetic translation of what he pretended to be some ancient genuine compositions of *Oisín*. It is no part of the purpose of this Lecture to review the long and learned controversy which followed the publication of these very clever imitations of what was then, and for a long time afterwards, believed to be the genuine style of *Oisín's* poetry; but I cannot omit to observe, that of all Mac Pherson's translations, in no single instance has a genuine *Scottish* original been found, and that none *will* ever be found I am very certain.

The Poems
ascribed to
Oisín.

The only poems of *Oisín* with which I am acquainted, that can be positively traced back so far as the twelfth century, are two, which are found in the Book of Leinster. One of these (consisting, indeed, but of seven quatrains) is valuable as a record of the great battle of *Gabhra*, which was fought in A.D. 284, and in which Oscar, the brave son of *Oisín*, and *Cairbré Lifeachair*, the monarch of Erin, fell by each other's hands. There are two specially important facts preserved in this poem, which, whether it be the composition of *Oisín* or not, is, at all events, one of very ancient date; namely, the fact, that the monarch *Cairbré* fought on horseback, and that the poet, whoever he may be, refers to an Ogham inscription on Oscar's tombstone.

A perfect and very accurate copy of this poem was published in the year 1854, by a society which, adopting the Scottish instead of the proper Irish form, calls itself the "Ossianic Society".

The second poem of *Oisín*, preserved in the Book of Leinster, is of much greater extent than the first, as it consists of fifty-four quatrains, and it is equally, if not more, valuable in its contents.

Oisín, at the time of writing this poem, appears to have

been blind, and to have been popularly known by the name of *LECT. XIV.*
Guairé Dall, that is, *Guairé* "the blind".

The occasion of the poem appears to have been the holding of the great fair and festival games of the *Lifé*, or Liffey, which probably were held on the *Cuirrech Lifé* (now known as the Curragh of Kildare). These games and fairs were of frequent occurrence in ancient Erin, down even to the tenth century; and among the sports on such occasions, horse racing appears always to have held a prominent place.

The Poems
 ascribed to
Oisín.

The poet begins by stating that the king has inaugurated the fair; speaks of the happiness of those who can attend it, and contrasts their condition with his own, as being incapable, from old age and blindness, to participate as he had been accustomed to do in these exciting sports. He then gives a vivid account of a visit which, in his more youthful days, he had made, along with his father, Finn, and a small band of the Fenian warriors, to the court of *Fiacha Muilleathan*, King of Munster, at *Badammar* (near the present town of Cahir in Tipperary); and of the races of *Oenach Clochair* [now Manister, near Croom, in the county of Limerick], which the king had celebrated on the occasion of Finn's visit. The winning horse at the course was a black steed, belonging to Dill, the son of *Dachrêca*, who was the king's tutor. The king purchased the steed from his old tutor on the spot, and made a present of it to Finn. Finn and his party then took their leave, and passed into the district comprised by the present county of Kerry, on to the sandy strand of *Beramain* [near Tralee]. Here Finn challenged his son, *Oisín*, and his cousin, *Caeilté*, to try the speed of their choice horses with his black steed on the sandy strand. The race is won by Finn; but, in place of taking rest after it, he strikes into the country southward, followed by his two companions, and they proceed without resting until night comes on, when they find themselves at the foot of the hill of *Bairnech* [near Killarney]. Here night overtook them, and although they were well acquainted with the locality, and had never known or seen a house there before, they saw one now, which they entered without ceremony. This, however, was, it seems, no other than an enchanted house, prepared by some of Finn's necromantic enemies, in order to frighten and punish him for the death of some friends of theirs by his hands. The wild horrors of the night in such a place need not here be related; nor shall I delay over details of more solid interest in the story, such as the various incidents of Finn's visit to Munster on this occasion, and the very curious topographical notices of his progress. For all these things I must refer you to the poem itself.

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The Poems
ascribed to
Oisín.

This, however, is not very difficult of study; and you will gain some assistance from a free metrical translation of it, made by our distinguished countryman, Dr. Anster, which was published in the Dublin University Magazine for March and April, 1852.

The Poems
ascribed to
Fergus
Finnbheoil.

The next of the Fenian poets is *Fergus Finnbheoil* (Fergus "the Eloquent"), son of *Finn Mac Cumhaill*.

Of this early bard's compositions, I have met but one genuinely ancient poem. It occurs in the lost Book of *Dinnsenchus*, copied into the Books of *Lecain* and Ballymote, and professes to account for the name of an ancient well or spring named *Tipra Seangarmna*, situated in the south-eastern part of the present county of Kerry, and in which, I believe, the river *Feilé* [Feale] has its source. It would appear from this poem that the spring of *Seangarmain* issued from a cleft in a rock, or rather from a mountain cavern. *Oisín*, the brother of Fergus, with a few followers, were, it would appear, while out hunting, inveigled into this cleft or cavern by some of its fairy inhabitants, and detained there for a whole year. During all this time *Oisín* was accustomed to cut a small chip from the handle of his spear, and cast it upon the issuing stream. Finn, his father, who had been in search of him all the time, happening at last to come to this stream, saw a chip floating down, took it up, and knew immediately that it was part of Oisín's spear, and intended for a sign. He therefore followed the stream to its source, entered the cavern, and rescued his son and his companions. And this is the legend which Fergus relates in the poem, (Book of Ballymote, fol. 202, a. a.) which consists of thirty-three quatrains, and begins [see original in APPENDIX, No. XCIII.]:

"The well of *Seangarmain*, with all its beauty".

The Poems
ascribed to
Caeilté Mac
Ronain.

The next and last of the ancient Fenian bards is *Caeilté Mac Ronain*, the cousin of Finn, and one of his officers, the most distinguished both as warrior and poet, but chiefly distinguished above all the rest in legendary record by his singular agility and swiftness of foot.

Of *Caeilté's* poems I find but one among our more ancient tracts, and this was in the *Dinnsenchus*, in which it is quoted as supplying an account of the origin of the name *Tonn Chliodhna* [or Wave of *Chliodhna*], which was the ancient name of a strand and the waves that broke over it, situated in or near the bay of *Cloch-na-Coillté* [Clonakilty], on the coast of the county of Cork.

This poem, like the last, is found in the Books of Ballymote and *Lecain*, and is said to have been sung by the author for Saint Patrick. It is not a legend of Finn or his people, but a

love story, the heroine in which (*Clíodhna*, a foreign lady) was unfortunately drowned on this shore, and from whose name was derived the appellation of the Wave of *Clíodhna*. The poem is very ancient, and begins [see original in same APPENDIX]:—

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The Poems ascribed to *Caeilté Mac Ronain*.

“*Clíodhna* the fair-haired, long to be remembered”.

Having so far described to you such of these very ancient poems as I have found ascribed directly to *Finn Mac Cumhaill*, his sons *Oisín* and *Fergus Finnbheoil*, and his cousin *Caeilté*, I shall now bring under your notice the second class of our ancient imaginative compositions—namely, those tracts which were made up of articles in prose and verse, ascribed to some one or more of the personages already mentioned, but related by a second person.

Of the Imaginative Tales consisting of pieces both in verse and prose.

The most important, perhaps the only genuine, tract of this class now existing, is that which is well known as the *Agallamh na Seanórach*, or Dialogue of the Ancient Men.

These “ancient men” were *Oisín*, the son of *Finn Mac Cumhaill*, and *Caeilté*, the son of *Cronchu*, son of *Ronan*, popularly called *Caeilté Mac Ronain*, a near relative of *Oisín*.

The “Dialogue of the Ancient Men”.

These two chiefs long survived their brethren in arms, and are even reported to have lived until the coming of Saint Patrick into Erin to preach Christianity, by whom it is said they were converted and baptized. So in the “Dialogue” just referred to, then, they are made to give an account to the Saint of the situation, the history, and origin of the names of various hills, mountains, rivers, caverns, rocks, wells, mounds, shores, etc., throughout Erin, but more particularly such places as derived their names or any celebrity from actions or events in which *Finn Mac Cumhaill*, or his warriors, had been personally engaged or in any way concerned. Of this class of compositions we have at present existing, as I have just observed, but this one tract; and even this, as far as can be yet ascertained, is imperfect. There is a large fragment of it preserved in the Book of Lismore, a vellum manuscript written about the year 1400; another large fragment, on paper, in the Royal Irish Academy [H. and S. Collection, No. 149]; a more perfect, but still damaged copy in the Bodleian Library at Oxford [Rawlinson, 487]; and, as far as I am able to judge without having seen the book, an older and more perfect copy than any of these, if not quite perfect, in the College of St. Isidore, in Rome.

This tract, which might almost be called a Topographical and Historical Catechism, commences by stating that after the disastrous battles of Comar, *Gabhra*, and *Ollarbha*, the *Finn*s

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The "Dialogue of the Ancient Men".

or Fenian forces were so shattered and diminished in numbers, that the surviving few of them dispersed themselves over the country, so that their number was at last reduced to eleven—namely the two good old chiefs, *Oisín* and *Caeilté*, and nine common soldiers. After having wandered a long time among the new and strange generation that had sprung up around them in their native country, the two chiefs agreed to separate for a time; and *Oisín* went to his mother to the (enchanted) mansion of *Cleitech*, near Slane, while *Caeilté* passed over *Magh Breagh* (or Bregia) to the south, and to Saint Patrick, who was then sojourning at *Raith-Droma-deirg*, to whom *Caeilté* related his unfortunate story. Saint Patrick was very glad to add so remarkable a personage to his congregation, and readily gave *Caeilté* and his few companions a comfortable maintenance in his establishment.

Oisín soon after joined his old friends, and the two chiefs thenceforth were Patrick's constant companions in his missionary journeys through the country, always giving him the history of every place that they visited, and of numberless other places, the names of which incidentally occur in the course of the narrative, as well as the origin of their names, all of which was written into a book, for the benefit of future generations, by Brogan, Saint Patrick's scribe.

The space allotted to these lectures will not allow me to dwell further on this tract than to lay before you one or two examples of the nature and style of the countless articles of which it is composed.

Saint Patrick, with his travelling missionary retinue, including *Caeilté*, we are told, was one day sitting on the hill which is now well known as Ard-Patrick, in the county of Limerick. The hill before this time was called *Finn Tulach*, the Fair (or White) Hill, and Patrick asked *Caeilté* why or when it had received that name. *Caeilté* answered that its first name was *Tulach-na-Feiné*; but that Finn had afterwards given it the name of *Finntulach*. "And (continued *Caeilté*) it was from this hill that we marched to the great battle of *Finntraigh* (now 'Ventry' Harbour)". [See original in APPENDIX, No. XCIV.]

"One day that we were on this hill, Finn observed a favourite warrior of his company, named *Cael O'Neamhain*, coming towards him, and when he had come to Finn's presence, he asked him where he had come from. *Cael* answered that he had come from *Brugh* in the north (that is the fairy mansion of *Brugh*, on the Boyne). What was your business there? said Finn. To speak to my nurse, *Muirn*, the daughter of Derg, said *Cael*. About what? said Finn. Concerning *Credé*, the daughter of

Cairbré, King of Kerry [*Ciarraighe Luachra*], said *Cael*. Do you know, said Finn, that she is the greatest deceiver [flirt, coquette] among all the women of Erin; that there is scarcely a precious gem in all Erin that she has not obtained as a token of love; and that she has not yet accepted the hand of any of her admirers? I know it, said *Cael*; but do you know the conditions on which she would accept a husband? I do, said Finn: whoever is so gifted in the art of poetry as to write a poem descriptive of her mansion and its rich furniture, will receive her hand. Good, said *Cael*; I have with the aid of my nurse composed such a poem; and if you will accompany me, I will now repair to her court and present it to her.

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The "Dialogue of the Ancient Men".

"Finn agreed to this proposal, and having set out on their journey they soon arrived at the lady's court, which was situated at the foot of the well known mountains called the Paps of Anann, in Kerry. When arrived, the lady asked their business. Finn answered that *Cael* came to seek her hand in marriage. Has he a poem for me? said she. I have, said *Cael*;—and he then recited the very curious poem, of which the following is a literal translation:

"A journey I make on Friday:
And should I go I shall be a true guest,
To *Credé's* mansion,—not small the fatigue,—
At the breast of the mountain on the north-east.

"It is destined for me to go there,
To *Credé*, at the Paps of Anann,
That I be there, awaiting sentence,
Four days and half a week.

"Happy the house in which she is,
Between men and children and women,
Between Druids and musical performers,
Between cup-bearers and door-keepers.

"Between equerries without fear,
And distributors who divide [the fare];
And over all these the command belongs
To fair *Credé* of the yellow hair.

"It would be happy for me to be in her *dún*,
Among her soft and downy couches.
Should *Credé* deign to hear [my suit],
Happy for me would be my journey.

"A bowl she has whence berry-juice flows,
By which she colours her eye-brows black;
[She has] clear vessels of fermenting ale;
Cups she has, and beautiful goblets.

LECT. XIV.

The "Dialogue of the Ancient Men".

"The colour [of her *dún*] is like the colour of lime;
Within it are couches and green rushes;
Within it are silks and blue mantles;
Within it are red gold and crystal cups.

"Of its *Grianán* [sunny chamber] the corner stones
Are all of silver and of yellow gold,—
Its thatch in stripes of faultless order,
Of wings of brown and crimson red.

"Two door-posts of green I see;
Nor is its door devoid of beauty;
Of carved silver, long has it been renowned,
Is the lintel that is over its door.

"*Credé's* chair is on your right hand;
The pleasantest of the pleasant it is;
All over a blaze of Alpine gold,
At the foot of her beautiful couch.

"A gorgeous couch, in full array,
Stands directly above the chair;
It was made by [at?] *Túilé*, in the east,
Of yellow gold and precious stones.

"There is another bed on your right hand,
Of gold and silver without defect,—
With curtains, with soft [pillows],
And with graceful rods of golden-bronze.

"The household which are in her house,
To the happiest of conditions have been destined;
Gray and glossy are their garments;
Twisted and fair is their flowing hair.

"Wounded men would sink in sleep,
Though ever so heavily teeming with blood,
With the warblings of the fairy birds
From the eaves of her sunny chamber [*Grianán*].

"If I am [*i.e.*, have cause to be] thankful to the woman,
To *Credé*, for whom the cuckoo sings,
In songs of praise she shall ever live,
If she but repay me for my gift.

"If it please the daughter of *Cairbré*,—
She will not put me off to another time,—
She will herself say to me here:
'To me your journey is greatly welcome'.

"An hundred feet spans *Credé's* house
From one angle to the other;
And twenty feet are fully measured
In the breadth of its noble door.

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The "Dialogue of the Ancient Men".

" Its portico is thatched
With wings of birds both blue and yellow;
Its lawn in front, and its well,
Of crystal and of carmogal.

" Four posts to every bed [there are],
Of gold and silver finely carved,—
A crystal gem between each post,—
They are not of unpleasant heads. [See APPENDIX.]

" There is in it a vat of royal bronze,
Whence flows the pleasant juice of malt;
An apple-tree stands overhead the vat
With the abundance of its weighty fruit.

" When *Credé's* goblet is filled
With the ale of the noble vat,
There drop down into the cup directly
Four apples at the same time,

" The four attendants [distributors] that have been named,
Arise and go to the distribution;
They present to four of the guests around,
A drink to each man, and an apple.

" She, who has all these things,—
Within the strand and the flood, [see APPENDIX]
Credé of the three-pointed-hill,—
Has taken [*i.e.*, won by] a spear's cast before the women of Erin.

" Here is a poem for her, no mean present.
It is not a hasty rash composition:
To *Credé* now it is here presented—
May my journey be brightness to her".

The young lady was, it seems, delighted with this poem, and readily consented to become the wife of the gifted *Cael*; and their marriage, we are told, took place soon after. Their happiness was, however, of short duration; for *Cael* was almost immediately called away to the great battle of Ventry Harbour, where he was killed in the midst of victory, fighting against the host of foreign invaders. *Credé* had followed him to the battle-field, and received his last sighs of affection for herself, and of exultation for having died in his country's cause. He was buried by his comrades on the south side of the harbour in a place which was (after him, it is said) called *Traigh Cael*, or the strand of *Cael*. *Créde* composed an elegy for him, which is valuable to us, among other things, as containing some curious allusions to ancient customs, as well as a description of the grave of her lover and the manner of his interment.

I think I need offer no apology for detaining you so long

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The "Dialogue of the Ancient Men".

with the details of this singularly interesting little poem. I shall only give you, in a few words, one other example of the varied sort of information which will be found in the tract at present under consideration, and then pass from the "Dialogue of the Ancient Men" for the present.

Saint Patrick, we are told in it, receives an invitation from the king of Connacht to visit his country. He sets out from Ard Patrick, passes through Limerick, Cratloe, *Sliabh Echtghé*, and many other places, into *Ui Mainé*, and to the court of the king of Connacht at *Loch Croiné* (in the present county of Roscommon), where he was joyfully and reverently received.

One day that they were seated on a green mound in the vicinity of the palace, a young Munster warrior, who was attached to the king's court, put the following questions to *Caeilté* with Patrick's consent. Where did *Oilioll Oluim*, [the celebrated king of Munster,] and his wife *Sadhbh*, die, and where were they buried? Where did their seven sons die in one day? Who were the parties that fought the battle of *Cnoc Samhna*, in Tipperary? Where and how did Cormac Cas [another son of *Oilioll Oluim*] die? etc. *Caeilté* answers all these questions, and tells how the battle of *Cnoc Samhna* was fought between *Eochaidh Abradruadh* [the Red Browed], King of Leinster, and *Cormac Cas*; how the latter received a fearful wound in the head; and how after lingering for thirteen years in great agony, he died at *Dun Tri-Liag*, that is, the Dun (or fort) of the three pillar stones [now Duntrileague, in the county of Limerick], which was specially built for his particular accommodation; together with many other similar details.

From the nature of these questions, and the copious answers which *Caeilté* is always made to give, it will be seen that this, as well as the other articles in this valuable tract, must be full of curious and really valuable historical information.

Of others
of the
FENIAN
POEMS.

Besides the pieces of which I have already spoken, a large collection of Fenian poems, chiefly ascribed to *Oisín*, but some of them also to his brother poets, is to be found in our paper MSS. of the last 200 years; most of these manuscripts being transcripts, as I have already observed, from books of much older date. These poems are generally given as dialogues between *Oisín* and Saint Patrick; but they seldom contain much matter illustrative either of topography or social manners.

The most popular, as well as the largest, of this class of poems is that which is known as *Cath Chnuic an Air*, the battle of the Hill of Slaughter; but as no details of topography are given in it—not even the situation of the Hill of Battle—and

as the foes were little more than three or four foreign champions, LECT. XIV.
the piece is of little historic value.

The next and last class are the Prose Tales, of which the following are the chief, if not all, that are at present known: OF THE FENIAN TALES in Prose.
the *Torruigheacht Dhiarmada is Ghráiné*, or Pursuit of *Diarmaid* and *Grainné*; the *Cath Finntrágha*, or Battle of Ventry Harbour (in Kerry); the *Bruighean Chaerthainn*, or Mountain-ash Court; the *Imtheacht an Ghilla Deacair*, or Flight of the Slothful Fellow; *Bruighean Cheisé an Chorainn*, or the Court of *Céis Corann*; the *Bruighean Eochaidh Big Deirg*, or Court of Little Red *Eochaidh*; the *Bruighean bheag na h-Almhainé*, or Little Court of *Almhain* (or Allen); and the *Feis Tighé Chonáin Chinn t-Sleibhé*, or Feast of Conan's House of *Ceann Sleibhé*.⁽¹⁵⁾

Of these, the only tale founded on fact, or, at least, on ancient authority (though romantically told), is one in which Finn himself was deeply interested. It is the pursuit of *Diarmaid* and *Grainné*. The facts on which it is founded are shortly these.

Finn, in his old age, solicited the monarch Cormac Mac Art for the hand of his celebrated daughter *Grainne* in marriage. Cormac agreed to the hero's proposal, and invited Finn to go to Tara, to obtain from the princess herself her consent (which was necessary in such matters in those days in Erin) to their union. Finn, on this invitation, proceeded to Tara, attended by a chosen body of his warriors, and among these were his son *Oisín*, his grandson Oscar, and *Diarmaid O'Duibhné*, one of his chief officers, a man of fine person and most fascinating manners. A magnificent feast was of course provided, at which the monarch presided, surrounded by all the great men of his court, among whom the Fenians were accorded a distinguished place. The Tale of the "Pursuit of Diarmaid and Grainné".

It appears to have been a custom at great feasts in ancient Erin for the mistress of the mansion, or some other distinguished lady, to fill her own rich and favourite drinking-cup or glass from a select vessel of choicest liquor, and to send it round by her own favourite maid in waiting to the chief gentlemen of the company, to be sent round again by them to a certain number (which was, I believe, four), in their immediate vicinity, so that every one of those invited should in turn enjoy the distinction of participating in this gracious favour. On the present occasion the lady *Grainné* did the

⁽¹⁵⁾ The first and last named of the above-mentioned tales have been published since this Lecture was delivered by the Ossianic Society.

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Of the
FENIAN
TALES in
Prose.
(The Tale of
the "Pur-
suit of *Diarmid*
and
Grainné".)

honours of her royal father's court, and sent round her favourite cup accordingly, until all had drank from it, *Oisín* and *Diarmid O'Duibhné* alone excepted. Scarcely had the company uttered their praises of the liquor and their profound acknowledgments to the princess, than they all, almost simultaneously, fell into a heavy sleep.

The liquor was of course drugged for this purpose, and no sooner had *Grainné* perceived the full success of her scheme, than she went and sat by the side of *Oisín* and *Diarmid*, and, addressing the former, complained to him of the folly of his father Finn, in expecting that a maiden of her youth, beauty, and celebrity, could ever consent to become the wife of so old and war-worn a man; that if *Oisín* himself were to seek her hand she should gladly accept him; but since that could not now be, that she had no chance of escaping the evil which her father's temerity had brought upon her but by flight; and as *Oisín* could not dishonour his father by being her partner in such a proceeding, she conjured *Diarmid* by his manliness, and by his vows of chivalry, to take her away, to make her his wife, and thus to save her from a fate to which she preferred even death itself.

After much persuasion (for the consequences of so grievous an offence to his leader must necessarily be serious) *Diarmid* consented to the elopement; the parties took a hasty leave of *Oisín*; and as the royal palace was not very strictly guarded on such an occasion, *Grainné* found little difficulty in escaping the vigilance of the attendants, and gaining the open country with her companion.

When the monarch and Finn awoke from their trance, their rage was boundless; both of them vowed vengeance against the unhappy delinquents; and Finn immediately set out from Tara in pursuit of them. He sent parties of his swiftest and best men to all parts of the country; but *Diarmid* was such a favourite with his brethren in arms, and the peculiar circumstances of the elopement invested it with so much sympathy on the part of those young heroes, that they never could discover the retreat of the offenders, excepting when Finn himself happened to be of the party that immediately pursued them, and then they were sure to make their escape by some wonderful stratagem or feat of agility on the part of *Diarmid*.

This, then, was the celebrated Pursuit of *Diarmid* and *Grainné*. It extended all over Erin; and in the description of the progress of it, a great amount of curious information on topography, the natural productions of various localities, social manners, and more ancient tales and superstitions, is introduced.

The flight of *Diarmaid* and *Grainné* is mentioned in several of our ancient manuscripts, and the popular traditions throughout the country point to those ancient monuments, vulgarly called *Cromlechs*, as their resting and hiding places, many of which are still commonly, though of course without any reason, called *Leabthacha Dhiarmada is Ghrainné*, or the Beds of *Diarmaid* and *Grainné*. [See APPENDIX, No. XCV.]

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Of the
FENIAN
TALES in
PROSE.
(The Tale of
the "Pur-
suit of *Diar-
maid* and
Grainné".)

The next Fenian tale that claims attention is that which is so popularly known as *Cath Finntrágha*, the Battle of the White Strand (a name now Anglicized Ventry Harbour,—in west of Kerry).

The Tale of
the "Battle
of *Finn-
trágha*, or
Ventry".

That this is an ancient tale may be inferred from the mention of it made in the story of the unfortunate lovers *Cael* and *Credé* just mentioned, as well as from a damaged copy of it on vellum, which is preserved in an old manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford [Rawlinson, 487]; but the paper copies of it, which are numerous in Ireland, are very much corrupted in language, and interpolated with trivial and incongruous incidents. The tale is a pure fiction, but related with considerable force and in a highly popular style.

The tale commences with the statement that *Dairé Dornmhar*, according to the author the emperor of the whole world except Erinn, calls together all the tributary kings of his empire to join him in an expedition to Erinn, to subjugate it and to enforce tribute. He arrives with a great fleet at *Glas Charraig* [now the "Skellig Rocks", on the coast of Kerry], piloted by *Glas Mac Dremain*, a soldier of Kerry, who had been previously banished by *Finn Mac Cumhaill*. This *Glas Mac Dremain*, who was well acquainted with his native coast, brought the fleet safely into the noble harbour of *Finntráigh* (or Ventry), from which place the emperor determined to subdue the country.

Finn had at all times some of his trusty warriors, vigilant and swift of foot, posted at all the harbours of the country, for the purpose of giving him timely information of the approach or landing of any foreign foe on the island; and not the least important, as well as interesting, part of this tale is the list of these harbours, with their ancient as well as their more modern names.

At the actual time of this invasion, Finn, with the main body of his warriors, was enjoying the pleasures of swimming and fishing in the waters of the river Shannon, where a messenger from his warden at Ventry reached him with the important news. In the meantime, the news also reached several chiefs and warriors of the *Tuatha Dé Danann* race, who were

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FENIAN
TALES in
Prose. (The
Tale of the
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of *Finn-
traigha*, or
Ventry.")

located in *Ui Chonaill Gabhra* [in the present county of Limerick], and several of these, simultaneously with Finn, set out for Ventry, where they all arrived in due time, and immediately entered upon a series of combats with the foreign enemy.

Tidings of the invasion were soon carried into Ulster also; and Gall, the son of *Fiacha Foltleathan*, king of that province, a youth of fifteen, obtained leave from his father to come to Finn's assistance, at the head of a fine band of young volunteers from Ulster. Young Gall's ardour, however, cost him rather dear; for having entered the battle with extreme eagerness, his excitement soon increased to absolute frenzy, and after having performed astounding deeds of valour, he fled in a state of derangement from the scene of slaughter, and never stopped until he plunged into the wild seclusion of a deep glen far up the country. This glen has ever since been called *Glenn-nan-Gealt*, or the Glen of the Lunatics, and it is even to this day believed in the south, that all the lunatics of Erin would resort to this spot if they were allowed to be at large.

The siege, as it may be called, of Ventry Harbour, held for twelve months and a day; but at length the foreign foe was beaten off with the loss of all his best men, and indeed of nearly the whole of his army; and thus Finn and his brave warriors, as was their long custom (would that we had had worthy successors to them in after times!), preserved the liberty and integrity of their native land.

This tale of the Battle of Ventry is of no absolute value as historic authority for the incidents related in it; but the many names of places, and the various manners and customs traditionally handed down and preserved in it, render it of considerable interest to the student in Irish history.

The Tale of
the "Flight
of the Sloth-
ful Fellow".

The next Fenian tale which requires notice is one which is well known under the name of the *Imtheacht an Ghiolla Deacair*, or "Flight of the Slothful Fellow".

On one occasion that *Finn Mac Cumhaill* gave a great feast to his officers and men, at his own court at *Almhain* [the Hill of Allen, in the present county of Kildare], it was determined to go into Munster on a hunting excursion. The feast being over, they set out with their dogs and hounds, and after having passed through several places of historical celebrity, which are named in the tract, they arrived at last at *Cnoc Ainé* [now called Knockany], in the present county of Limerick. Here Finn took his stand, and setting up his tent on the top of the hill, he despatched his warriors and their hounds in various groups to the long range of mountains which divide the present

counties of Limerick, Cork, and Kerry. The chase was commenced with ardour and prosecuted with increasing excitement through the mountains already mentioned, and then into the game-abounding wilds of Kerry.

When Finn had established his temporary residence on Knockany, he placed a scout on the brow of the hill to keep watch, while he himself, with his few attendants, sought amusement in a game of chess. While thus engaged, the scout returned with news that he saw a man of great and unwieldy bulk slowly approaching them from the east, leading a horse, which he seemed to be dragging after him by main force. Finn and his party immediately started to their feet; and although the stranger was but a short distance from them, so slow was his movement, that some considerable time elapsed before he reached their presence. Having arrived before them at last, Finn questioned him as to his name, race, country, profession, and the object of his visit. The stranger answered that his pedigree and country were undistinguished and uncertain; that his name was *Giolla Deacair*, or the "Slothful Fellow"; and that he was seeking service under some distinguished master; and that being slow and very lazy, he kept a horse for the purpose of riding whenever he was sent upon a message or errand. The latter part of the answer afforded Finn and his friends matter for merriment, as the horse, from his gaunt and dying appearance, seemed to be less desirous of carrying any burden than of being carried himself.

However, Finn took the "Slothful Fellow" into his service; upon which the latter requested and obtained permission to turn his old horse out among the horses of the Fenian party.

No sooner, however, had the old horse found himself among his better conditioned neighbours, than he began to kick, bite, and tear them at a fearful rate. Finn immediately ordered the new servant to go and bring his wicked beast away. This the servant set about doing, but so slow was his movement that all the horses in the field would have been torn to pieces before he could have reached them, though the distance was but short.

Conan Mac Morna, who may be described as the Fenian Thersites, seeing his own steed attacked by the malignant animal, went boldly up to him, caught hold of him, and endeavoured to lead him off from the field. But no sooner was the old beast laid hold of, than he seemed to have lost all power of life and limb, and stir he would not. His owner, however, having come up by this time, told Conan that the horse was not accustomed to move with strangers except when ridden; whereupon Conan mounted him, but neither would he move

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FENIAN
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the Slothful
Fellow".)

then any more than before. The new servant then said that Conan was too light for the horse, which was accustomed to move only with a weighty load, and pressed the other men of Finn's party to mount along with Conan, which they did to the number of twelve. The owner now dealt the old horse a smart blow of an iron rod which he always carried for that purpose. No sooner had the horse received this blow than he started off at a rapid speed with his burden in a western direction towards the sea, followed by Finn and the few of his party who had remained with him. Having reached the sea, the horse plunged in, and the waves immediately opened a dry passage far in front, but closed up after him, the "Slothful Fellow" holding fast by his tail.

It is sufficient to say that the riders were carried by enchantment to a foreign unknown country; that Finn and a select party followed them in a ship; and that after much of wild and extravagant adventure, they were discovered and brought home again.

These two last tales that I have been just describing, and another called the *Bruighean Chaerthainn*, still existing, are mentioned by Dr. Keting, in his History of Erinn, at the reign of Cormac Mac Art, as among the many romantic tales written of *Finn Mac Cumhaill* and his warriors, existing in his own time, say about the year 1630.

In describing to you these early Fenian Tales, I have, in fact, made you acquainted with the general scope of the numerous tales of a purely imaginative character which come after them in the chronological order of the pieces of ancient literature which have been presented to us. For my present purpose it is, therefore, unnecessary to give you any examples of the latter in detail. The value of all of them to the student of mere history, consists only, as I have already said, in the records of ancient topography, and in the glimpses of life, manners, and customs, which they contain; and important as they are in so many other ways to the student of the Gaedhlic language and literature, a more minute examination of them must be reserved till such time as, in another course of lectures, it may become my duty to treat of those special subjects.

Of these Imaginative Tales of ancient date, some older than those called Fenian, of which I have been speaking, some not so old, I shall, then, at present, only give you the titles of some of the more important; and I may particularly name:—The Adventures of Brian, the son of *Feabhall*; of Conla *Ruadh*; of Cormac Mac Art, in the land of promise; of *Tadhg* (or *Teige*)

Mac Cein; the exile of the sons of *Duil Dearmart*; the courtship of *Etain*; of *Beag Fola*; and the death of *Aithirné*. Copies of these are preserved in vellum; and of the following there are copies on paper. The Adventures of *Conall Gulban*; the great battle of *Muirtheimné* and death of *Cuchulainn*; the Red Route of *Conall Cearnach* (to avenge that death); and the tales called the Three Sorrowful Stories of Erin—namely, the Story of the tragical fate of the children of *Lear*; the Story of the children of *Visnech*; and the Story of the sons of *Tuireann*, etc.

LECT. X.

Of other
ANCIENT
IMAGINATIVE
TALES IN
PROSE AND
VERSE.

These various tales were composed at various dates, but all, I believe, anterior to the year 1000.

In conclusion, I have only to indicate to you the extent of our existing manuscript treasures in this department of literature, by stating roughly, as before, the quantity of letterpress which they would fill, if printed at length in the same form as the text of O'Donovan's Four Masters.

The Gaelic text of the Fenian poems and tales, then, may be calculated as extensive enough to occupy about 3000 pages of such volumes; and I believe the text of the mass of the other tales of which I have spoken, would extend to at least 5000 pages more.

You may thus form to yourselves some idea of the amount of that literature,—small a portion of it as has, in any form, come down to us,—which awaits your study whenever you qualify yourselves to open its pages by making yourselves acquainted with that ancient tongue, so long neglected by the present descendants of the Gaels of your country. And in estimating the literary value of the compositions of this class (of which so very great a number remain to us), remember you are not to be guided by the remarks I have made respecting their merely *historical* importance. Perhaps their chief claim, after all, to your attention would be found to lie in their literary merits, and in the richly imaginative language in which they are written. Let me, then, always remind you, that in these Lectures I still confine myself strictly to my subject,—the materials of the Ancient *History* of Erin; and that the subject of our *Literature* must be reserved for another course.

LECTURE XV.

[Delivered March 23, 1855.]*

Of the remains of the early Christian period. Of the *Domhnach Airgid*. Of the *Cathach*. Of the Legend of the *Cuileadh*. Of the Reliquaries, Shrines, Croziers, Bells, and other relics, still preserved, of the first centuries of Christianity in Erin.

WE have now brought to a close the too inadequate sketch which the necessary limits of a general course like the present permitted, of the nature and extent of the existing MS. materials for the elucidation of the general History of Erin; materials which, I hope, I have shown to be most abundant for the purpose, if only used with proper judgment, and after the minute investigation and careful comparison among themselves which the various classes of these interesting historical and literary remains of ancient times require at the hands of the historian. There is, however, a special branch of our history concerning which from this place it must be expected that I should say something more than I have yet done; and the rather that the authentic materials out of which it may be easily constructed in the fullest detail are singularly rich and varied, considering their great antiquity. I allude to the History of the early ages of the Church, from the introduction of Christianity into this island in the beginning of the Fifth Century. The investigation of our early Christian remains in connection with the History of the country, appears to me indeed to be a duty which of necessity devolves on me, when I consider the character of the Institution in which I have the honour to fill a chair; and not the less so, perhaps, in consideration of the distinguished part in the history of the Church itself taken by our ancestors, not only at home, but throughout a great part of Europe, in the early centuries of Christianity.

“Hibernia Sacra” and “Island of the Saints” are time-honoured names, of which our country may well be proud; but few of us, at present, know on what her claims to such distinctions

* Of the Twenty-one Lectures of the present course, Six only were delivered in 1855, Six in the spring of 1856, and the remaining Nine in the summer of the latter year. After the Fourth Lecture had been delivered, however (in March, 1855), it was thought advisable that, on the occasion of the opening of the Chair of Irish History and Archæology in the Catholic University, the subject of Christian Archæology in Ireland should be prominently introduced; and the Fifth and Sixth Lectures actually delivered were accordingly those which now appear in their proper place as Nos. XV. and XVI. of the whole series. The dates assigned to Lectures V. to XII. (ante) have unfortunately been incorrectly printed, in consequence of a mistake in the list furnished by the University Secretary to the printer (see List of Errata).

rest: though, as I hope to show, abundant evidences of them yet remain in our all but unexplored manuscript records, as well as in the numerous relics of ancient art which have been handed down to us, and in the ruins of the towers, the churches, and the sculptured crosses which cover the land, all forming an imperishable and irrefragable monument of the Christian faith of ancient Erin.

LECT. XV.

Nature of the existing remains of the early Christian period in Erin.

In remains illustrative of her early Christian times, it may, without the least exaggeration, be said that Ireland is singularly rich. The faith and devotion of her people, preserved with heroic constancy through ages of the most crushing oppression, have been the theme of many an eloquent pen. But, perhaps, in no way have these national virtues ever been more strikingly exhibited than in the transmission to our own days of the numerous sacred relics which we still possess, and of which some can be traced to a period coeval with the very introduction of Christianity into the island.

The chief objects of interest to the Christian archæologist in Ireland are of two classes. One of these comprises various very ancient copies of the Gospels, and of some other parts of the Sacred Scriptures. The other includes a great variety of examples of ancient ecclesiastical art, especially works in the metals, the most beautiful of which are to be found in our great national collection, the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy; such as Shrines, Bells, Croziers, Crosses, etc., etc.

Adequately to illustrate these various relics would require in itself an extensive course of lectures; it is not my intention, therefore, to do more than present you with some short notices of the most remarkable of them, in the hope that a taste may be thus awakened amongst the students of this University for the cultivation of this branch of Irish archæology. It is one which wins from foreign visitors to our museums the most enthusiastic expressions of admiration, but which is not yet as extensively appreciated amongst ourselves as it deserves to be.

Of the ancient Irish copies of the sacred writings, two are of such extraordinary antiquity, and present such a very remarkable history, that it will be necessary to give a somewhat detailed account of them. These are, 1°. that known as the *Domhnach Airgid*; a copy of the four Gospels, once, we have just reason to believe, the companion in his hours of devotion of our Patron Saint, the Apostle Saint Patrick; 2°. the MS. called the *Cathach*, or "Book of Battles"; a MS. containing a copy of the Psalms, which there is scarcely less ground for supposing to have been actually traced by the pen of St. Colum Cille.

LECT. XV.

Of the
DOMHNACH
AIRGID.

The DOMHNACH AIRGID has been well described by my dear and honoured friend, Dr. Petrie, the most accomplished antiquarian whom Ireland has yet produced, and to whom, in so eminent a manner, is due the revival of the cultivation of Irish literature and antiquities.

This relic, like many others of its kind which we possess, but which are of more modern date, presents two separate subjects for our consideration,—the ancient manuscript itself, and the shrine, casket, or box in which it is enclosed. These latter are in such cases usually the works of various hands, and of different centuries, bearing evidence of the veneration in which the precious relics contained in them continued to be held by successive generations, and often containing inscriptions in still legible characters, recording the pious care of the prince, the noble, or the ecclesiastic, who restored or repaired the ornamental cases in which their predecessors had enshrined the MSS.

The following description of the *Domhnach Airgid* is taken from Dr. Petrie's communication to the Royal Irish Academy (Transactions, Vol. xviii.) in which collection the Domhnach is now placed.

"In its present state", says Dr. Petrie, "this ancient remain appears to have been equally designed as a shrine for the preservation of relics and of a book; but the latter was probably its sole original use.

"Its form is that of an oblong box, nine inches by seven, and five inches in height.

"This box is composed of three distinct covers, of which the first, or inner one, is of wood,—apparently yew; the second, or middle one, of copper, plated with silver; and the third, or outer one, of silver, plated with gold.

"In the comparative ages of these several covers, there is obviously a great difference. The first may probably be coeval with the manuscript which it was intended to preserve; the second, in the style of its scroll, or interlaced ornament, indicates a period between the sixth and twelfth centuries; while the figures in relief, the ornaments, and the letters on the third, or outer cover, leave no doubt of its being the work of the fourteenth century.

"This last, or external cover, is of great interest, as a specimen of the skill and taste in art of its time in Ireland, and also for the highly finished representations of ancient costume which it preserves. The ornaments on the top consist chiefly of a large figure of the Saviour in *alto relievo* in the centre, and eleven figures of saints in *basso relievo*, on each side, in four oblong compartments.

"At the head of the Saviour there is a representation of the dove, or Holy Ghost, enamelled in gold; and over this a small square reliquary, covered with a crystal, and which probably contains a supposed piece of the true cross. Immediately over this again is a shield, on which the implements of the passion are emblazoned in blue and red paste; and above this there is another square reliquary, similarly covered with crystal, but of smaller size. The smaller figures in relief are, in the first compartment, the Irish saints Columb, Brigid, and Patrick; in the second, the apostles James, Peter, and Paul; in the third, the Archangel Michael, and the Virgin and Child; and in the fourth, a bishop presenting a *cumdach*, or cover, to an ecclesiastic—a device which has evidently a historical relation to the reliquary itself, and which shall be noticed hereafter. There is a third figure in this compartment which I am unable to explain".

"The rim", continues Dr. Petrie, "is ornamented on its two external faces with various grotesque devices, executed with very considerable skill, and the angles were enriched with pearls, probably native, or other precious jewels. A tablet on the rim, and at the upper side, presents the following inscription in the monkish character used in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries:

"JOHNS: O KARBRI: COMORBANUS: S: TIGNACII PMISIT"; or, thus, with the contractions lengthened:

"JOHANNES O KARBRI COMORBANUS [successor] SANCTI TIGHERNACII PERMISIT".

"Another inscription, in the same character, preserves the name of the artist by whom those embellishments on the outer case were executed, and is valuable as proving that this interesting specimen of ancient art was not of foreign manufacture. It will be found on a small moulding over one of the tablets:

"JOHANES: O BARRDAN: FABRICAVIT".

"The front side of the case presents three convex *pateræ*, ornamented in a very elegant style of art with figures of grotesque animals and traceries: they are enamelled with a blue paste; and have, in the centre of each cup, an uncut crystal, covering relics like those on the top. An interesting feature on this side is the figure of a chief or nobleman on horseback, with sword in hand. It exhibits with minute accuracy the costume of the nobility in Ireland during the fourteenth century.

"The ornaments contained within the rim, on the back, or opposite side, are lost, and their place has been supplied by the recent repairer with figures which originally belonged to the right and left sides".

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DOMHNACH
AIRGID.

“On the right hand side, the upper compartment presents a figure of St. Catherine with those of a monk in the attitude of prayer on the left, and a boy incensing on the right: these latter figures are not in relief, but are engraved on the field of the tablet. The second, or lower compartment of this side is lost.

“On the left hand side, the upper compartment presents the figure of an ecclesiastic seated on a chair or throne, his left hand holding a small cross, and his right hand raised in the act of giving the benediction; figures incensing are engraved on the field. This principal figure probably represents St. *Mac Carthainn*, or St. Tighernach. The under compartment exhibits a figure of St. John the Baptist holding in his left hand a round medallion or picture of the Lamb, and in his right hand a scroll, on which are inscribed the words, ‘*Ecce Agnus Dei*’. A figure of the daughter of Herodias, with the head of St. John on a salver, appears engraved on the field.

“The bottom, or back of the case is ornamented with a large cross, on which there is an inscription in the Gothic or black letter. This inscription is of a later age than those already noticed, but I am unable, from its injured state, to decipher it wholly. It concludes with the word ‘*Cloachar*’, the name of the see to which, as I shall presently show, the reliquary originally appertained.

“I now come to the most important portion of this remarkable monument of antiquity,—the treasure for whose honour and preservation so much cost and labour were expended. It is a Latin manuscript of the Gospels; but of what text or version I am unable, in its present state, to offer an opinion, as the membranes are so tenaciously incorporated by time that I dare not venture, through fear of injuring, to separate them. These Gospels are separate from each other, and three of them appear to be perfect; but the fourth, which is the Gospel of St. Matthew, is considerably injured in the beginning, and from this two leaves have been detached, which have enabled us to ascertain the subject of, as well as the form of letter used in, the manuscript,—namely, the Uncial or corrupt Roman character, popularly called Irish, and similar in appearance to the very ancient manuscripts of the Gospels preserved in the library of Trinity College. That it is of equal antiquity with those manuscripts,—which are of the sixth century,—I have little doubt; and from evidences which I shall presently adduce, I think it not unlikely to be of an even earlier age,—perhaps the oldest copy of the Sacred Word now existing.

“The inscriptions on the external case leave no doubt that

the *Domhnach* belonged to the monastery of Clones, or see of Clogher. The John O Karbri, the *Comharba*, or successor of St. Tighernach, recorded in one of those inscriptions as the person at whose cost, or by whose permission, the outer ornamental case was made, was, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, Abbot of Clones, and died in the year 1353. He is properly called in that inscription Comorbanus, or successor of Tighernach, who was the first Abbot and Bishop of the Church of Clones, to which place, after the death of St. *Mac Carthainn* in the year 506, he removed the see of Clogher, having erected a new church which he dedicated to the Apostles Peter and Paul. St. Tighernach, according to all our ancient authorities, died in the year 548.

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AIRGID.

“It appears from a fragment of an ancient life of St. *Mac Carthainn*, preserved by Colgan, that a remarkable reliquary was given by St. Patrick to that saint when he placed him over the see of Clogher”. Thus far Dr. Petrie.

I have myself referred to an authentic copy of the Tripartite Life of the Saint, in Gaedhlic, in my possession, and as every particular relating to this remarkable relic must be interesting, I extract the passage in which its presentation to St. *Mac Carthainn* is related, of which the following is a literal translation. [See original in APPENDIX, No. XCVI.]

“St. Patrick”, says this ancient author, “having gone into the territory of *Ui Cremhthainn*, founded many churches there. As he was on his way from the north, and coming to the place now called *Clochar*, [in the modern county of Tyrone,] he was carried over a stream by his strong man Bishop *Mac Carthainn*, who, while bearing the saint, groaned aloud, exclaiming Uch! Uch!

“‘Upon my good word’, said the saint, ‘it was not usual with you to speak that word’.

“‘I am now old and infirm’, said Bishop *Mac Carthainn*, ‘and all my early companions on the mission you have set down in their respective churches, while I am still on my travels’.

“‘Found you a church then’, said the saint, ‘that shall not be too near us, [that is, to his own church of Armagh,] for familiarity, nor too far from us for intercourse’.

“And the saint then left Bishop *Mac Carthainn* there, at *Clochar*, and bestowed on him the *Domhnach Airgid*, which had been given to him, [St. Patrick,] from Heaven, when he was on the sea coming to *Erinn*”.

And now to return to Dr. Petrie’s observations: “On these evidences”, he continues, “we may, I think, with tolerable certainty, rest the following conclusions:

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"1. That the *Domhnach* is the identical reliquary given by St. Patrick to St. *Mac Carthainn*.

"2. As the form of the *cumdach* indicates that it was intended to receive a book, and as the relics are all attached to the outer and least ancient cover, it is manifest that the use of the box as a reliquary was not its original intention. The natural inference therefore is, that it contained a manuscript which had belonged to St. Patrick; and as a manuscript copy of the Gospels, apparently of that early age, is found within it, there is every reason to believe it to be that identical one for which the box was originally made, and which the Irish apostle probably brought with him on his mission into this country. It is indeed not merely possible, but even probable, that the existence of this manuscript was unknown to the monkish biographers of St. Patrick and St. *Mac Carthainn*, who speak of the box as a *scrinium* or reliquary only. The outer cover was evidently not made to open; and some, at least, of the relics attached to it, were not introduced into Ireland before the twelfth century. It will be remembered also that no superstition was and is more common in connection with the ancient *cumdachs*, than the dread of their being opened.

"These conclusions will, I think, be strengthened considerably by the facts, that the word *Domhnach*, as applied either to a church, as usual, or to a reliquary, as in this instance, is only to be found in our histories in connection with Saint Patrick's time; and that in the latter sense,—its application to a reliquary,—it only once occurs in all our ancient authorities, namely, in the single reference to the gift to St. *Mac Carthainn*; no other reliquary in Ireland, as far as can be ascertained, having ever been known by that appellation. And it should also be observed, that all the ancient relics preserved in Ireland, whether bells, books, croziers, or other remains, have invariably, and without any single exception, been preserved and venerated only as appertaining to the original founders of the churches to which they belonged.

"I also avail myself of this opportunity to add, that, having been favoured recently by Mr. Westenra with a loan of the *Domhnach* for further examination, I requested my friend, the Rev. Mr. Todd, to examine the detached membranes of the manuscript, and to give me his opinion respecting the antiquity of the version, and the age of the writing, as far as the fragments would permit such opinion to be formed.

"I now add his transcript of what was legible, together with his remarks; and I am authorized by him to state, that although he at first thought the contractions used in the fragment,—and

especially the (;) in the contraction usq;—to argue a later date than the historical evidences indicated, he has since seen reason to change his opinion. While this sheet was passing through the press, he took the opportunity of reconsidering the subject by a careful examination of the valuable manuscripts of the Gospels preserved in the Library of Trinity College; and he now thinks that the contractions of the *Domhnach* manuscript might have been in use in the fourth or fifth centuries”.

In these views of Dr. Petrie I entirely concur, and I believe that no reasonable doubt can exist that the *Domhnach Airgid* was actually sanctified by the hand of our great Apostle.

This national relic is now in the rich collection of the Royal Irish Academy; and it deserves to be stated that its preservation in Ireland is due to the liberality of the present Lord Rossmore, who purchased it from Mr. George Smith at a cost of £300, Mr. Smith having procured it in the county Monaghan. At a subsequent period Lord Rossmore resigned his purchase to the Royal Irish Academy.

The next ancient relic I propose to notice is the **CATHACH**, the heir-loom of the great *Clann Conaill*, handed down from Saint *Colum Cille* through the line of the *O'Domhnaill*, or O'Donnells, for a period of 1300 years.

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AIRGID.Of the
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The *Cathach* consists of a highly ornamented shrine or box, enclosing a fragment of a copy of the Psalms on vellum, consisting of fifty-eight leaves, written on both sides. All the leaves before that which contains the 31st Psalm are gone; but the leaves from this to the 106th Psalm still remain. The writing is of a very ancient character.

Like that of the *Domhnach Airgid*, the shrine of the *Cathach* is evidently the work of several successive periods. A partial casing of solid silver was added so recently as the year 1723 by Colonel *Domhnall O'Domhnaill* (or Donnell O'Donnell).

The history of this relic is in all respects very remarkable. The name given to it has been a matter of perplexity to several; and Sir William Betham, who published an account of it in his *Irish Antiquarian Researches*, says:

“I have not been able to find out why it got the name of *Caah*, which is not an Irish word, nor have those learned Irish scholars I have consulted, discovered a word from which this name has been formed, unless it is a corruption of the word *Cas*, a box”.

How far this conjecture is from the truth we shall presently see.

In tracing the history of this interesting relic it will be ne-

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cessary to state, that Saint *Colum Cillé* was of the same race as the *Clann Domhnaill*, being great-grandson of Conall Gulban, son of *Niall Naoi-ghiallach* [Niall of the Nine Hostages], who was monarch of Erin in A.D. 428.

The manner of the transcription of this copy of the Psalms, and the origin and signification of the name by which the relic is still known, are so well given in the life of the saint by *Maghnus O'Domhnaill*, that I may best describe them by giving you here a pretty full abstract, in translation, of the passage. It is interesting in another point of view also, as illustrative of some portions of the life of the saint but little known to the readers of printed works.

On one occasion St. *Colum Cillé* paid a visit to St. Finnen of *Drom Finn* [in Ulster], and while on the visit he borrowed St. Finnen's copy of the Psalms. Feeling anxious to have a copy of the book, and fearing that if he asked liberty to take one he might be refused, he continued to remain in the church after all the people left it every day, and then sat down and made a hurried copy of the book, but not before he was observed by one of St. Finnen's people, who reported it to the saint, who took no notice of the matter until he found the copy had been finished, and he then sent to St. *Colum* for it, alleging, that as the original was his, and he had given no permission to copy it, the surreptitious copy also was his by right. St. *Colum Cillé* refused to comply with the demand, but offered to refer the cause of dispute to the monarch of Erin, *Diarmaid Mac Ferghusa Gerrbheoil*. St. Finnen agreed to this, and both parties repaired to Tara, obtained an audience of the king, and laid their case before him. The monarch *Diarmaid* then gave the remarkable judgment which to this day remains a proverb in Erin, when he said, *le gach boin a boinin*, that is, 'to every cow belongeth her little cow (or calf),—and in the same way, to every book belongeth its copy, and accordingly', said the king, 'the book that you wrote, O *Colum Cillé*, belongs by right to Finnen'. 'That is an unjust decision, O *Diarmaid*', said *Colum Cillé*, 'and I will avenge it on you'.

Now, at this very time a dispute occurred between a son of the king of Connacht, who had been a hostage to the monarch, and the son of the king's chief steward, on the green of the king's palace, while at a game of hurling, during which dispute the young prince struck his antagonist with his hurley, and killed him. Seeing what he had done, the young prince fled immediately for sanctuary to St. *Colum Cillé*, who was still in the king's presence. The king was quickly apprised of what had happened, and gave instant orders to have the youth arrested and forth-

with put to death, for having desecrated the precincts of the royal palace, against the ancient law and usage. The prince was at this time clasped in the arms of St. *Colum Cillé*, but he was torn from his grasp, carried beyond the prescribed boundary of the court, and put to death. The king knowing well that this unusual insult to *Colum Cillé* would greatly add to his anger, ordered a guard to be placed on him, and not to allow him to depart from Tara until his excitement had become moderated. Nevertheless *Colum Cillé* passed out of the court without the king's leave and unperceived by any one, "the justice of God having thrown a veil of unrecognition around him". He was soon missed, however, and a strong guard sent after him to bring him back.

Colum Cillé, we are then told, dispatched his attendants by the usual route to the north, but took himself a path over the mountains north of Tara; and whilst thus traversing the wild mountains alone, he composed and sung that remarkable poem of confidence in the protection of the Holy Trinity, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, of which a fine copy with an English translation has been published in the Miscellany of the Irish Archæological Society. This poem contains seventeen quatrains, and begins thus [see original in APPENDIX, XCVII.]:

Alone am I upon the mountain.

O King of Heaven, prosper my way,

And then nothing need I fear,

More than if guarded by six thousand men.

The authority from which I quote then proceeds to say, that God carried Saint *Colum Cillé* in safety over the mountains, and into his native country of Tirconnel [now Donnegall].

Here, we are informed, he complained to his powerful friends and relatives—for he was of the race of *Tir Chonaill* [Tirconnell] directly, and the men of *Tir Eoghain* [Tyrone] were his cousins. These warlike tribes immediately took up his cause, and marched with him into a place called *Cuil-Dreimné* [between Sligo and Dromeliff], where they were joined by *Eochaidh Tirmcharna*, the king of Connacht, whose son had been so unmercifully put to death by the monarch *Diarmaid*. The monarch having been duly apprised of the revolt of his northern and western provinces, mustered a large force, marched at their head into Connacht, and pitched his camp in the vicinity of that of his enemies. A battle ensued on the next day, in which the royal army was routed with a great loss, and the monarch returned discomfited to Tara.

The king, however, soon after made his peace with St. *Colum Cillé* and his friends: but the saint himself did not feel

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easy in his conscience for having been the cause of the bloodshed at the battle of *Cuil Dreimné*, and, to relieve his conscience, he went to confession to St. *Molaisi* of *Damh-Inis* [now 'Devenish', in Loch Erne]. St. *Molaisi* then passed upon him the penitential sentence to leave Erin forthwith, and never again to see its land. This penance St. *Colum* soon performed, by sailing to the coast of Scotland with a large company of ecclesiastics, ecclesiastical students, and others. They landed on the island of *I*, or *Hy*, where they established themselves; and that hitherto obscure island soon became the glory of the west of Europe, under the still venerable name of Iona.

Lastly, we are told (in the same Life already referred to) that this book was the *Cathach* (or Book of the Battle) on account of which the battle was fought, and that it was the chief relic of St. *Colum Cille* in *Tir Chonaill*; that it was covered with silver, and that it was not lawful to open it (the covering); that if carried three times to the right around the army of the *Cinel Conaill*, at going to battle, it was certain they would return victorious; and that it was upon the breast of an hereditary lay successor, or of a priest without mortal sin (as far as he could help), it was proper the *Cathach* should be carried around that army. [See same APPENDIX.]

This sacred relic appears at all times to have received the greatest veneration from the noble family of the O'Donnells of Donnegall, who for the last seven hundred years have been the most important branch of the line of the descendants of *Conall Gulban*, the remote ancestor of this and the other great families of Tirconnell. This Conall, who was the son of the monarch Niall the Great, was converted by St. Patrick. It has been stated, on the authority of a tradition in the O'Donnell family, that at the time of his conversion Conall had received the saint's benediction, together with a special mark of favour; for that the saint inscribed a cross with the spike or heel of his pastoral staff (the celebrated *Bachall Iosa*, or staff of Jesus) on his shield, and recommended him to adopt the motto of "In hoc signo vinces", which the O'Donnells accordingly retained down to the time of the dispersion of the clann in the seventeenth century. This was in fact the belief of the O'Donnells and old families of *Tir Chonaill*, from the close of the sixteenth century down, at least. The belief was first put forth in a poem by *Eoghan Ruadh Mac-an-Bhaird*, who took it from the 138th chapter of Jocelyn's Life of St. Patrick. Jocelyn, however, does not apply the passage to Conall Gulban. The Tripartite Life of the Saint applies it to Conall the son of *Amhalgaidh*, king of Connacht, who at the same time received from the

saint the name of *Conall Sciath Bhachall*, or Conall of the Crozier-Shield. This Conall's race is not now known. LECT. XV.

This book of St. *Colum Cille* must have been encased in an ornamented shrine at some early period; but we find that it was further cared for at the close of the eleventh century, by *Cathbharr* O'Donnell, chief of Tirconnell, and Donnell O'Rafferty, abbot of Kells (in Meath), who was one of the O'Raffertys of Tirconnell, and thus eligible to succeed his family patron-saint, *Colum Cille*, in any of the many churches founded by him throughout Erin, one of which was the important church of Kells. This O'Rafferty died in the year 1098; and *Cathbharr* O'Donnell died in the year 1106; so that the magnificent silver-gilt and stone-set case, which now surmounts the older cases of this most ancient and interesting relic, must have been made some time before the year 1098, in which this abbot of Kells died. The authority for these dates is found on the shrine itself, in the following words [see original in APPENDIX, No. XCVIII.]:

“A prayer for *Cathbharr* O'Donnell, by whom [that is, by whose desire and at whose expense] this shrine was made; and for Sitric, the son of *Mac Aedha* [Mac Hugh], who made it; and for *Domhnall Ua Robhartuigh* [Donnell O'Rafferty], the *Comharba* [or Successor] of *Cenannus* [Kells], by whom it was made [that is, at whose joint expense with that of O'Donnell it was made]”.

The last mark of devotion conferred on this relic was a solid silver rim or frame, into which the original shrine fits. This rim contains an inscription, from which it appears that it was made in the year 1723, by order of Daniel O'Donnell, who, there is reason to believe, fought at the battle of the Boyne, after which he retired to the continent. At his death, or some time previously, it appears, he deposited this important heirloom of his ancient family in a monastery in Belgium, with a written injunction that it should be kept until claimed by the true representative of the house of O'Donnell; and here it was discovered accidentally in or about the year 1816, by a Mrs. Molyneux, an Irish lady who had been travelling on the continent, and who, upon her return home, reported the circumstance to Sir Neal O'Donnell of Westport. This gentleman had asserted his claim to the chieftainship of his name and race, under the authority of the late Sir William Betham, Ulster King-at-arms; and thus prepared, he applied for the *Cathach*, through his brother, the late Conall O'Donnell, then in Belgium, who succeeded in obtaining it accordingly.

From Sir Neal O'Donnell, the *Cathach* descended to his son, the present Sir Richard O'Donnell of Newport, county Mayo;

Of the
CATHACH.

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Of the
CATHACH.

who with characteristic liberality has left it for exhibition among the many congenial objects of Christian, historical, and antiquarian reverence, preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

The fragment of the original "Book of Battles", contained in this shrine, is of small quarto form, consisting of fifty-eight leaves of fine vellum, written in a small, uniform, but rather hurried hand, with some slight attempts at illumination: and when we recollect that this fragment was written about thirteen hundred years ago, by one whose name, next to that of our great apostle, Saint Patrick, has held the highest place in the memory of the people of his own as well as of foreign countries, we have reason indeed to admire and reason to be proud of the intense and tenacious devotion which could, under most unfavourable circumstances, preserve even so much of so ancient and fragile a monument.

While speaking of relics so remarkable as those of the *Domhnach Airgid* and the *Cathach*, rendered sacred in our eyes by the touch of our national apostle and Saint *Colum Cille*, I cannot omit altogether to mention that I have met with two notices of certain objects, likewise said to have been in the churches of these saints, and bearing their names, though at periods subsequent to their own time.

The precise nature of these objects I am yet unable to determine. But it may not be without use to call attention to the matter, as it is possible that those more intimately acquainted with ancient ecclesiastical remains in other countries, may be able to form some opinion of the probable nature of those to which I refer. They are mentioned under the name of *Cuilebadh*, *Cuilebaidh*, or *Cuilefadh*.

The very beautiful (but wild and fanciful) legend in which the *Cuilefadh* of Saint *Colum Cille* is described is of great antiquity. Its language is very ancient and difficult, but the whole presents an excellent example of that combination of highly poetic imagery, and deep, though simple piety, so common in our early Gaedhlic compositions. Wild as this legend may seem, I cannot myself doubt that it is but the development of some record of one of the many voyages of our early missionaries.

It cannot be doubted that at a very early period the Christian faith was carried by missionaries from our shores far into the regions of the north. And it is admitted by several writers that books and other remains of the early Gaedhlic propagators of the Gospel were found in Iceland in the eleventh century. Taken by itself, the legend of the *Cuilefadh* would be interesting; but

Of the relic
called the
Cuilefadh.

as illustrative of these observations, and regarding it therefore as based on fact, it must be considered of real importance; and, for both reasons, I think it will be worth while to introduce an abstract of it here.

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Of the relic
called the
Cuileadh.

On the death of the monarch *Domhnall*, son of *Aedh*, son of *Ainmiré* (A.D. 639), his eldest son, *Donnchadh* (or *Donach*), became king of the *Cinel Conaill*; and his younger son, *Fiacha*, became king of the *Fer Rois*. *Fiacha* much oppressed his subjects; and his oppression was at length the cause of his death at their hands. It is stated that in the second year of his reign, he held a meeting of his people at the mouth of the river Boyne, and that during the holding of that meeting a wild deer, started by them, was followed by the king's guards; whereupon the men of Ross, enraged at such an assertion of "prerogative", killed the king himself with his own weapons. *Fiacha's* brother, *Donnchadh*, came upon them in revenge; but he stayed his vengeance until he should consult his *Anmchara* (literally, "soul's friend"), the *Comharba* (Successor) of Saint *Colum Cillé*, to whom he sent a message to Iona, to ask his advice on the case.

The *Comharba* of St. *Colum Cillé* sent over two of his confidential clerics, *Snedhgus* and *Mac Riaghla*, with his advice; which was, that *Donnchadh* should send sixty couples of the men and women of Ross, in boats, out upon the sea, and then leave them to the judgment of God. The exiles were accordingly put into small boats, launched upon the water, and watched, so that they should not land again.

The priests, *Snedhgus* and *Mac Riaghla*, having discharged their own duties, set out upon their return to Iona. As they were passing along over the sea, they determined to go of their own will on a wandering pilgrimage, and leave to Providence the direction of their course; praying, at the same time, to be carried to wherever the sixty banished couples had found a resting place. They then ceased to work or direct their boat; and the wind carried them north-westwards, into the ocean.

The legend then proceeds with a fanciful account of how they were driven to several wonderful islands, some inhabited, and some uninhabited. In some they were received with friendship, in others with hostility. After being carried to several of these islands, however, the wind at last blew them to one, in which there was an immense tree, on which were perched a flock of beautiful white birds, with a chief bird, having a golden head and silver wings. This great bird related to them the history of the world, from its beginning; the Birth of Christ, of Mary the Virgin: His Baptism, Passion, and Resurrection; as well as His coming to the judgment. And,

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Of the relic
called the
Cuilefadh.

when the great bird had concluded, all the rest lashed their sides with their wings, until the blood gushed from them, out of terror of the day of judgment. And the great bird gave one of the leaves of the foliage of this great tree to the priests; and this leaf was as large as the hide of a great ox; and he ordered them to carry it away, and lay it on Saint *Colum Cillé's* altar. "And it is St. *Colum Cillé's Cuilefadh* at this day in *Cennanas* [or Kells]".

"Sweet was the music of these birds", continues the story, "singing psalms and canticles in praise of the Lord, for they were the birds of the plains of Heaven; and the leaves or body of the tree upon which they were, never decay. And the clerics left the island, and were driven by the wind to another island; and, as they were approaching the land, they heard the sweet voices of women singing; and immediately they recognized this music, and said, 'That is the *Sianan* [or sweet plaintive song] of the Women of Erin': and, having come to land, they were joyfully received by the women, who spoke to them in their own language, and conducted them to the house of their chief, who told them he was the chief of the banished men of Erin. The clerics then returned safely home".

It is to be remarked that after every little prose article, in this curious piece on the adventures of the clerics, the incidents are summed up in verse; from which it may be inferred that the whole story was originally written in verse. The tale from which I have abstracted the account is preserved in the MS. H. 2. 16, Library of T.C.D.

It is further to be remarked that in the short metrical summary of this legend, there is no mention that the great leaf, or *Cuilefadh*, was placed on the altar of St. *Colum Cillé* at Kells; and from this circumstance we may fairly assume that the verse is older than the prose, and that what was originally a short narrative poem was at a subsequent period broken up and interpolated with a prose commentary. That this was done some time after the year 1090, before which the *Cuilefadh* was not at Kells, will appear quite clear from the following curious entry in the continuation of the Annals of Tighernach at that year. [See original in APPENDIX, No. XCIX.]

"1090. The sacred relics of St. *Colum Cillé*, namely, the *Clog na Righ* [or Bell of the Kings], and the *Cuilebaigh*, and the two gospels, were brought from Tirconnell, and seven score ounces of silver; and it was *Aengus O'Domhnallain* that brought them from the north".

It may be asked, to what place they were brought. This,

I think, is sufficiently shown to have been Kells by the following entry, which I take from the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1109:—

LECT. XV.

Of the relic called the *Cuilefadh*.

“*Oengus O'Domhnaillain*, chief spiritual director and chief elder of *St. Colum Cille's* people, died at Kells”.

His name, likewise, appears as a witness to a charter of land, in an entry in the great Book of Kells, in Trinity College.

The *Cuilefadh* of St. Patrick, or of Armagh, is alluded to in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1128, where mention is made of a young priest who had been carrying it being killed by an assault of the O'Rourkes of *Briefné*, on the *Comharba* or Primate of Armagh, when returning from Connacht with his offerings.

A third *Cuilefadh* is spoken of in connection with another Saint,—Saint *Eimhín*, from whom the modern town of Monaster-evan takes its name. It is referred to in a vellum MS. of the year 1463, in the Royal Irish Academy (43. 6; p. 17). [See APPENDIX, No. C.]

Such are the only notices of this unknown object that I am acquainted with.

The *Domhnach Airgid* and the *Cathach* may be assigned, respectively, to the fifth and the sixth centuries; and in every point of view they must be regarded as objects of extraordinary interest and great archaeological value. Several similar relics, but of a less considerable antiquity, still exist in various parts of the country and in the hands of different owners. There are also some in England and on the Continent.

Of various other shrines and MS. relics.

Several forms of shrine are to be met with; one of the most usual is in the shape of a square, usually flat, box; another resembles in figure the outlines of a church, as in the instance of the beautiful little shrine in the possession of Mr. W. Monsell, M.P., now deposited in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy; and it is to this latter more especially, I believe, that the name of *Domhnach* applies, though the present case of the *Domhnach Airgid*, as we have seen from Dr. Petrie's description, is a square box.

Of the other enshrined manuscript relics with which I am acquainted, I shall only mention a few of the most remarkable.

“*Dioma's Book*”, an illuminated manuscript of the gospels, made by a scribe of that name (and made it is said for St. Cronan of Roscrea, who died in the beginning of the seventh century), was preserved in that neighbourhood till the early part of the present century. This relic is now in the library of Trinity College, which also possesses another shrine and book,

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those namely of St. Moling of *Tigh Moling* [now St. Mullins], in the county Carlow.

Of various
other shrines
and M.S.
relics.

Besides these, we have the shrine of St. *Molaisé*, in the possession of Mr. Charles Haliday; another shrine in the possession of the Earl of Dunraven; and that known as the *Miosach*, now in the College of St. Columba, near Dublin.

The *Miosach* was one of the three insignia of battle which Saint *Cairnech* of *Tuilén* [now Dulane, near Kells, in Meath], appointed to the *Clanna Neill*, “i.e. to the clans of *Conall* and of *Eoghan*” [the O'Donnells and O'Neills]; the other two being the *Cathach* of which I have already spoken, and the *Cloc Phatraic* or Bell of St. Patrick. [See APPENDIX, No. CI., for the whole passage from H. 2. 16. T.C.D.] The word *Miosach* means literally “Monthly”, or, “of Months”; and the relic was probably a Calendar.

Dr. O'Connor, in the Stowe Catalogue, describes, and gives a plate of, a shrine, then in the possession of the Duke of Buckingham, but now amongst the inaccessible treasures of Lord Ashburnham.

A shrine and manuscript are said, by the same authority, to have been discovered in Germany by Mr. Grace. Dr. O'Connor supposes this shrine to have been carried to the Irish monastery of Ratisbon by some of those Irish ecclesiastics who carried donations thither in 1130 from Torloch O'Brien, king of Munster, as stated in the “Chronicon Ratisbonense”, or Chronicle of Ratisbon.

Next to this class of venerable relics, we cannot pass without a notice, however brief, the other numerous objects of ecclesiastical art which have come down to us, such as Reliquaries, Bells, Croziers, Crosses, etc., etc. Many of these articles exhibit a high degree of skill in the workmanship, great beauty of design, and most delicate finish of all the parts.

No descriptions would be adequate to convey to you any idea of these singularly beautiful remains of our ancient Irish art. But, fortunately, description is the less necessary, as in the rich collection of the Royal Irish Academy, which is always open to the public, some of the choicest specimens of these relics may be examined at leisure by all interested in antiquarian studies. And as these remains are of value, not only for their own intrinsic excellence, but as throwing light on the condition of the arts in Ireland at remote and but little known periods; and as they likewise often furnish valuable testimony of the genuineness of our manuscript records, which, in their turn, may be so effectually employed to illustrate the history and

Of the an-
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quaries,
Bells,
Croziers,
Crosses, etc.,
still pre-
served to us.

uses of several of these objects; I trust that many of my hearers, especially those who are students of this University, will be constant visitors to that great Museum, which, indeed, must henceforward be the chief school for the genuine study of Irish ecclesiastical archæology, as well as of Celtic antiquities in general.

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Of the ancient Reliquaries, Bells, Croziers, Crosses, etc., still preserved to us.

Many beautiful and ancient relics, however, still remain in private hands; and perhaps the most remarkable of all these is the Bell of St. Patrick with its magnificent shrine, now in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Todd, and which, we have every reason to believe, is actually the *Finn Faidheach*, or "sweet-sounding", that was once used by the Saint himself, and which was made for him by *Mac Cecht*, one of his three smiths.

Another Bell, which is also believed, and not without reason, to have belonged to St. Patrick, is in the choice and beautiful collection of Dr. Petrie. It is in bronze, and not enshrined. Mr. Cooke of Birr, also, was the fortunate possessor of a beautifully enshrined bell, known as the *Bearnan Culann*, (or the gapped bell of St. Culann,) since sold by him to the British Museum. And in the collection of the same gentleman there is a bronze bell, which he states to have been found in the holy well of *Lothra*, in Ormond, and which, there is ground for believing, is the bell which Saint *Ruadhan* of *Lothra* rang as he made the circuit of Tara, when he cursed that ancient residence of the Irish monarchs in the sixth century, after which it was deserted.

Many other bells of great interest and antiquity still exist, the history of which is scarcely less deserving of notice; but time will not allow me to dwell on them here.

Several shrines and reliquaries also remain. The chief of them are: that of St. *Manchan* of *Liath Manchain* in Westmeath; that of St. *Maadhog*, which belonged to the *O'Ruaires* of *Breifné*, but was lately in the possession of his Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Slattery, late Archbishop of Cashel; and the beautiful shrine of St. *Caillin*, now, or lately, in the hands of Dr. Petrie.

Another class of ancient reliquaries is that amongst the most beautiful of which is the *Lamh Lachtain*, or Shrine of the Arm of St. *Lachtain*, in bronze, inlaid with silver, and presenting four exquisite patterns of tracery inlaid. This beautiful reliquary, which dates from the early part of the twelfth century, has, it is to be regretted, become lost to Ireland, and passed into English hands. A somewhat similar reliquary, but not of the same elaborate workmanship, is in the possession of the Lord Bishop of Down, the Right Rev. Dr. Denvir.

Our collections of antiquities contain several beautiful croziers, many of which are of a very early period. Amongst

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Of the an-
cient Reli-
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Bells,
Crozier,
Crosses, etc.,
still pre-
served to us.

these may be particularly noticed a fragment of the crozier of Durrow, which, perhaps, is the oldest we have, and which, there is reason to believe, belonged to St. *Colum Cillé* himself, the founder of the church of Durrow; it was presented by him to Cormac, his dear friend and successor.

One still older, and asserted to have been brought into Ireland by St. Patrick, existed in Christ Church in this city, till the year 1522, when it was destroyed by an infuriated mob. This crozier was known as the *Bachall Iosa*, or Staff of Jesus, a name accounted for by a curious legend preserved in the Tripartite Life of the Saint. Under this name it is constantly referred to in ancient Irish writings. [See APPENDIX, No. CII.]

A very ancient crozier, said to have belonged to St. *Finnbharr* (of Termonbarry, in Connacht),—and believed to have been made by *Conlaedh*, the artificer of St. *Brigid* of Kildare, early in the sixth century,—is now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, as well as a beautiful crozier of about the year 1120, which, there is reason to believe, belonged to Clonmacnoise.

In the collection of Dr. Petrie, so often alluded to before, there are some very beautiful examples of croziers, of exquisite workmanship, and undoubtedly of very high antiquity. There is also one in the possession of the clergymen of Clongowe's Wood College, which, there is reason to believe, was once the crozier of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin.

Passing over that now at Lismore Castle, and that of St. *Blathmac*, and others in the Royal Irish Academy, the most highly-finished of all will be found to be that now the property of his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. This crozier bears a Gaedhlic inscription, which identifies it with the Church of Kells, and assigns it to the middle of the eleventh century.

Various other objects of great interest,—as the Cross of *Conga* [Cong]; the *Fiacail Phadraig* (the Tooth of St. Patrick); the *Mias Tighernain* (the Paten of St. Tighernan, dug, it is said, out of the grave of that saint in an island in Loch Conn, and now in the possession of the Knox family, of the county of Mayo),—would require observation, did our limits admit of it.

But it is not to be understood that in this notice of our antiquarian remains I mean to do more than call attention to their great importance, and the aids which they furnish us in so many ways in the study and illustration of the manuscript remains of our ancient Gaedhlic literature, and more especially of that part of it which relates to early Christian times.

LECTURE XVI.

[Delivered March 30, 1855.]*

ECCLESIASTICAL MSS. Of the Early Lives of the Saints of Erin. Of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick. Of the contents of the *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré*, now commonly called the *Leabhar Breac*.

WE come now to the ancient books and compositions,—of which we still have so great a number remaining in the Gaedhlic language, some of them, indeed, of extreme antiquity,—relating to sacred and ecclesiastical subjects. Amongst the most important of these are the numerous tracts known as the Lives of the Saints, several Martyrologies and Festologies, and many works in prose and verse on various sacred subjects.

Of the curious and valuable historic tracts, once very numerous, called Lives of the Saints, we have still left to us a good many. Of these, some are written on vellum; and some on paper, copied from ancient vellum books. Amongst those written on vellum, we have three lives of Saint Patrick; namely, one known as the Tripartite Life, in the British Museum; one in the MS. commonly called the *Leabhar Breac*, but properly the *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré*, in the Royal Irish Academy; and a third in the Book of Lismore, at Lismore Castle.

Of the Lives of St. Colum Cille we have also three written on vellum, namely, one in the same *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré*, in the Royal Irish Academy; one in the Book of Lismore; and O'Donnell's great Life of his Patron Saint and illustrious relative, now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Of St. *Brigid* we have two ancient Lives on vellum; namely, one in the same *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré*, in the Royal Irish Academy, and one in the Book of Lismore; there is another on paper (about 140 years old) in the Royal Irish Academy.

Of St. *Senan*, of *Iniscathaigh* (now called Scattery Island, in the Lower Shannon), there is a Life on vellum in the Book of Lismore, and another on paper, which is much more copious in incidents, in my own possession. This latter copy was made about the year 1720, from an original now I fear lost, by Andrew Mac Curtin, a native of the county of Clare, and one of the best Gaedhlic scholars then living.

* See note at p. 320.

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cient Lives
of the Saints
of Erin.

Of St. Finnen, of Clonard, there is a Life on vellum in the Book of Lismore.

Of St. *Finnchu*, of *Brigobhann*, in the county of Cork, there is also a Life on vellum in the Book of Lismore.

Of St. *Ciaran*, of Clonmacnois, there is a Life on vellum in the part of the Book of Lismore which is now in the city of Cork; (see *ante*, p. 197).

Of St. *Mochua*, of Balla, in the county of Mayo, there is a Life on vellum in the same part of the Book of Lismore.

Of St. *Caillin*, of *Fidhnacha* (in the county of Leitrim), there is a Life on vellum in the Royal Irish Academy.

Of St. *Ceallach*, the son of *Eoghan Bel*, King of Connacht, we have a Life on vellum in the Royal Irish Academy; and one in my own possession, which I transcribed some years ago from an ancient vellum manuscript, the property of James Marinus Kennedy, Esq., Dublin.

Of the Life of St. Moling, of *Teach Moling* (now St. Mullins, in the county of Carlow), there is a copy in my own possession, made by me some years ago, also from Mr. Kennedy's ancient vellum manuscript.

Of the Life of St. Brendan, of Clonfert, there is a copy on vellum in the part of the Book of Lismore which is now in Cork.

We have on paper in Dublin, the Life of St. Patrick by Jocelyn, of St. *Brigid* of Kildare, and of St. *Colum Cillé*; the Lives of St. *Ciaran* of *Saighir* (in the King's County); St. Declan of Ardmore (in the county Waterford); St. Finan of *Ard-Finain* (in the county of Tipperary); St. *Finan Cam* of *Cinn Eitigh* (in the King's County); St. *Finnbharr* of Cork; St. *Mochuda* of *Raithin* and Lismore; St. *Maodhog*, or Mogue, of *Fearna Mhor*, or Ferns (in the county of Wexford); St. *Caemhghin* (or Kevin) of *Gleann da Locha* (or Glendaloch); St. *Molaisé* of *Damhinish* (or Devinis in Loch Erne); and of St. Grellan of *Cill Chluainé* (in the county of Galway).

We have in Dublin,—in the Royal Irish Academy, and in my possession,—copies of all the Lives enumerated in this list; and there is in the British Museum another collection of Lives of Irish Saints, some on vellum, and some on paper.

There is another fine collection of Lives of Irish Saints in the Burgundian Library at Brussels, collected by the venerable Friar Michael O'Clery, the chief of the Four Masters, about the year 1627. This collection consists of 39 different Lives, among which are a few of those that we have here.

It is only a few years since these remarkable tracts of the Lives of the Irish Saints were looked upon with distrust and

contempt both by Protestant and Catholic writers on Irish History. Even Dr. Lanigan, a clear and able, but often too dogmatic writer, in his *Irish Ecclesiastical History*, never misses an opportunity to scoff at the venerable Father John Colgan's credulity in giving to the world, in his *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, a few of these Lives in their original simplicity and fidelity of detail. Dr. Lanigan, as it seems, would have nothing published but what might seem to his own mind demonstrably consistent with probability: he would publish no legends of miracles and wonders; and he would give no view of the social, political, and religious state of society obtained through the medium of this most valuable class of ancient Irish writings. Dr. Lanigan would expunge from these tracts everything that was repugnant to what *he* called "reason"; thus assuming to himself the very important office of censor, and leaving the world to rest satisfied with what *he* decided to be true history.

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Of the ancient Lives of the Saints of Erin.

This mode of treating history has been tried by several writers and in several countries. Ancient records have been digested, the thread of continuous history carried down from time to time, unincumbered by collateral details of fable, and all fact clothed in legendary form rejected. These details, having the brand of "worthlessness" and "fiction" stamped on them by some great authority, were deemed unworthy of examination, and in course of time were allowed to moulder and perish; carrying with them into oblivion, however, much of the broad plain history of the ordinary life and acts of the great body of the world's inhabitants, and leaving in its place only the limited picture of the world's great personages and rulers.

Colgan and Keating, both of them Irish priests, have been unmercifully dealt with by our writers of the last two hundred years, on the very unfounded assumption that both these truly learned men believed themselves everything which appears in their writings. This can scarcely be called a fair proceeding, when we remember that Keating never professed to do more than abstract without comment what he found before him in the old books; and that Colgan had not promised or undertaken to give a critically digested History of the Lives of the Irish Saints at all. In fact Colgan, like Keating, simply undertook to publish through the more accessible medium of the Latin language, the ancient lives just as he found them in the Gaedhlic. And it would be more becoming those who have drawn largely and often exclusively, on the writings of these two eminent men, and who will continue to draw on them, to endeavour to imitate their devoted industry and scholarship, than to attempt to elevate themselves to a higher position of literary fame by

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a display of critical pedantry and what they suppose to be independence of opinion, in scoffing at the presumed credulity of those whose labours have laid in modern times the very groundwork of Irish history.

But what, after all, is the reason of the very decided attempt to throw discredit on the Lives of the Irish Saints; and why are they condemned as the contemptible and fabulous productions concocted in latter ages, that they are often supposed to be? No one who examines for himself can doubt that many holy men, at the first preaching in Erin of the glad tidings of salvation by Saints Palladius and Patrick, founded those countless Christian churches whose sites and ruins mark so thickly the surface of our country, even to this day, still bearing, through all the vicissitudes of time and conquest, the unchanged names of their original founders.

Of St. Adam-
nan's Life
of St. Colum
Cille.

St. Adamnan, an Irishman, and the tenth abbot of Iona after Saint *Colum Cille*, the founder of that great seat of piety and learning, wrote a life, in Latin, of his great predecessor and patron. St. Adamnan died, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, in the year 703. This Life, therefore, must have been written some time in the seventh century, say in about three generations after the death of Saint *Colum Cille*; Father Colgan has published this life in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, and although it is as full of wonders as any of the other Lives, yet it certainly cannot be placed in a list of lives written in the latter ages.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Be this as it may, however, the acknowledged fact that St. Adamnan wrote a life of his relative, predecessor, and patron, in three generations, at most, after the death of the latter, is sufficient authority for the antiquity of the practice of writing or compiling such works, at this, if not at an earlier period. And as there were in Erin in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, many men as holy and almost as distinguished in their lives as St. *Colum Cille*, and as the churches they founded continued to be occupied and governed by men as eminent and devoted as St. Adamnan, there is no good reason to doubt that the very ancient Lives of St. *Brigid*, St. *Ciaran* of *Saighir*, St. *Ciaran* of *Clonmacnois*, St. *Finnbharr* of *Cork*, St. *Finnen* of *Clonard*, and many others, were written by their immediate successors in their respective churches.

The idea of writing the Lives of the Saints of Erin first originated, it would appear, with St. *Fiac*, the celebrated poet, who was converted by St. Patrick, and consecrated the first

(46) This most interesting work has been ably edited, since the above Lecture was delivered, by the Rev. W. Reeves, D.D., M.R.I.A., for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society.

Bishop of Leinster. His church was at *Sléibhté* (Sletty) in the present barony of Idrona and county of Carlow. This bishop *Fiacce* wrote a metrical life of his great patron Patrick, some time between the years 538 and 558; within which period *Diarmaid Mac Ferghusa Cerrbheoil* reigned as Monarch of Erin, in whose time Tara was cursed and deserted,—a fact alluded to as foretold only in this poem, and which is itself an illustration of the veracity of our ancient writers in this respect. [See APPENDIX, No. CIII.]

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(St. Fiacce's Life of St. Patrick.)

We have it on the authority of the Tripartite itself, that St. Patrick's life and miracles were collected by no less than six different writers, not including *Fiacce* of *Sléibhté*; among whom were St. *Colum Cillé* who died A.D. 592, and probably the St. *Ultín* who died A.D. 656. We have it on the authority of the Liber Hymnorum (a composition, I believe, of the tenth century at least), that the Life and Acts of St. *Brigid* of Kildare were collected and written by St. *Ultín*, who died, probably, as already observed, in the year 656.

It is not to be expected, however, that these curious narratives of the lives and acts of the original founders of the Catholic Church of Ireland should have come down to our time in their primitive form, or without occasional expansions of some simple facts into fictions; but that the miracles and wonderful works ascribed to the saints are mere fables, of comparatively modern times, certainly cannot be insisted on, since we find the same or similar acts recorded in the oldest lives of St. Patrick, St. Brigid, and others, as in those which might be called later lives. The "Book of Armagh", which is generally believed to be as old as the year 807,—but which, I conceive, is probably older than the year 727,—this very ancient book contains an extract from the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, which records some wonderful miracles of the Saint, which, if not found in such ancient authorities as this, would be set down by modern writers, Catholic as well as Protestant, as but silly inventions of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries.

To the truly philosophical writer and reader the Lives of our Saints will present little that is inconsistent with the necessary condition of neglected history and biography, but much that is valuable as presenting a clear, and I doubt not, veritable view of the actual state of society in all the relations of domestic, political, and religious life, in those remote ages of our history; and he will scarcely feel called upon to discuss the precise time at which the Almighty withdrew the grace of miraculous manifestations from the chosen propagators of His divine law.

When foreign invasion and war had cooled down the fervid

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devotion of the native chiefs, and had distracted and broken up the long established reciprocity of good offices between the Church and the state, as well as the central executive controlling power of the nation, the chief and the noble began to feel that the lands which he himself or his ancestors had offered to the Church might now with little impropriety be taken back by him, to be applied to his own purposes, quieting his conscience by the necessity of the case. When such a state of things as this did actually come to pass, during and after the Danish wars, it was no wonder if the *Airchinnechs* (or "Erenachs") of these church lands, who were seldom if ever ecclesiastics, were induced to take up the lives and acts of their patron saints, recopy them from mouldering tomes, and incorporate with the old text fabulous incidents of fearful struggles between the original patrons and the neighbouring chiefs of his day, in which the latter were always sure to come off worst. I do not say that incidents of this kind were not found in the very oldest of these lives, but I am in a position to show that such incorporations were actually made in the eleventh and twelfth and even later centuries.

But, as to the genuineness and antiquity of many accounts of real miracles, full evidence is furnished by several ancient works. Thus, the Tripartite Life of Saint Patrick contains an account of one which we find copied imperfectly into the Book of Armagh. The following is the passage which relates this curious incident,—one which I introduce for the purpose of illustration, as it shows how even a very old work may be corrected by one still more ancient. [See original in APPENDIX, No. CIV.]

"One time", says the author of the Tripartite, "that St. Sechnall [Secundinus], of *Domhnach Sechnaill* [now Dunshaughlin, in the county of Meath] went to Armagh, Patrick was not there. He saw Patrick's servants having two chariot horses unyoked. And *Sechnall* said: It were fitter to give these horses to *Fiacc* the bishop. [The reason for sending the chariot to *Fiacc* was, according to the Life, because he had a painful sore on his leg.] Patrick arrived at these words, and heard what was said. Patrick then yoked the horses to the chariot, and sent them forth without any one to guide [or take charge of] them; and they went straight to St. *Mochta's* hermitage in Louth, where they stopped that night. On the next day they came to *Domhnach Sechnall* [Dunshaughlin]. They then went to *Cill Ausaille*, from that to *Cill Monach*, and from that to *Sléibhté* [in Carlow], to Bishop *Fiacc*".

Now this legend is quite intelligible in the Tripartite, but in the Book of Armagh it is not so. And the latter version, I think

it not improbable, was constructed on the former in some such manner as that I have above indicated. LECT. XVI.

The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, to which we have so often made allusion, has been long known to the writers on Irish ecclesiastical history, through Father John Colgan's Latin translation of it in his *Trias Thaumaturga*, published at Louvain in the year 1647. Of the ancient Lives of the Saints of Erin. (The 'Tripartite' Life of St. Patrick.)

After this publication, the original tract appears to have been lost, as no mention of Father Colgan's, or of any other copy of it, occurs in any book or writing that I have seen or heard of, nor did I ever know of any person who saw it, or had even heard of its existence since Colgan's time. To those—and they were many—who had faith in Colgan's honesty, the total disappearance of this most important tract became a source of uneasiness; and with others an idea had at length sprung up, though I believe not publicly expressed, that it was doubtful whether Colgan, in his translation, had done justice to the original, and whether he had not left out many things that might vitiate the authenticity of the tract, as well as the peculiar religious doctrines expressed and implied in it. This state of uncertainty, however, exists no longer, as an ancient copy of this most ancient and important tract has been recently discovered by me among the vast literary stores of the British Museum.

In the month of May, 1849, I was summoned over to give evidence before the Public Library Committee of the House of Commons. After having been examined on two successive days before that body, I determined to pay a short visit to the British Museum, which I had never before seen; and on being properly introduced to Sir Frederick Madden, that learned and polite officer at once gave me the most free access to the Museum collection of Irish manuscripts. Among the volumes laid before me, my attention was at once caught by a thin book of large quarto size in a brass cover, not a shrine, but a mere cover of the ordinary shape and construction. On examining this cover, I found it composed of two plates of brass, projecting nearly half an inch over the edges of the leaves at the front and ends, and connected at the back by a pair of hinges, thus giving the volume perfect freedom of opening on a principle not much put in practice by ordinary bookbinders. The brass was rather clean, and had a modern appearance. The plates measured about twelve inches in length, nine in breadth, and three-eighths in thickness. The front plate had a plain cross etched on it about eight inches long, with arms in proportion. I immediately guessed that the book within was not one of any insignificant character, and I hoped indeed that it might be

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some one of the many ancient works which, I well knew, had been long missing. Full of expectation, I opened the volume, and threw my eyes rapidly over the first page; from which, though much soiled and almost illegible, I discovered at once that I had come upon a life of St. Patrick. Being well acquainted with all the Irish copies of this Life known to exist here at home, I immediately found this to be one that was strange to me, and it at once occurred to me that it was a copy of the long-lost Tripartite. Under this impression, I called for Colgan's Trias Thaumaturga, which having got, I at once proceeded to a comparison; and, although I am but little acquainted with the Latin language, I soon found my expectations realized, for it was unmistakeably a fine old copy of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick. The Tripartite occupied originally twenty folios or forty pages of this book; but of these, the second and sixth folios were cut out at some unknown time long gone by.

The volume, besides our saint's life, contains fragments of two ancient historical tales, namely, *Fledh Bricrinn*, or Brickrin's Feast, and the *Táin Bó Chuailgne*, mentioned in a former lecture; but these tracts are written in a different hand from the Tripartite, and must have been originally part or parts of different books.

The following translation of a notice at the end of the Tripartite gives the precise year in which it was transcribed. [See original in APPENDIX, No. CV.]

"The annals of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the year that this life of Patrick was written, were 1477; and to-morrow night will be Lammas Eve, and it is in *Bailé an Mhoinín* I am. It was in the house of *O'Troighthigh* this was written by *Domhnall Albanach O'Troighthigh*, and Deo Gratias Jesus".

There are so many places in Ireland called by the name of *Bailé an Mhoinín* (that is, the village or place at or of the little bog), that it would be impossible, with only this mere accident of the name, to identify it. The *O'Troighthighs* were, however, originally natives of the county of Clare, either in or near Corcomroe; and they were a clann of some note at an early period in the history of that district, as appears from an entry in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1002:

"*Conchobhar*, the son of *Maelsechlainn*, lord of Corcomroe, and *Aicher O'Troighthigh*, with many others, were slain by the men of *Umhall*".

This *Conchobhar*, son of *Maelsechlainn*, was the founder of the family name of O'Connor of Corcomroe.

With the former history of this volume we are quite unacquainted. We only know that it passed from us some twenty-

five years ago, in the fine collection of Gaedhlic MSS., sold by Mr. James Hardiman to the British Museum; and that it forms No. 93, Egerton, in Mr. Hardiman's catalogue, where it is set down as, "Life of St. Patrick, and other legends and historical tracts on vellum in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries". The antiquity of this Life, in all its parts, may be well understood from the fact that, in the middle ages, it required an interlined gloss, by the most learned masters, in order to make it intelligible to their pupils and to other less learned readers. I have myself fortunately recovered an ancient copy of those glossed passages (in MS. H. 3. 18. T.C.D.), by which I am enabled to form an opinion of the antiquity of the text, which it has not perhaps fallen to the lot of other Gaedhlic scholars to do. The antiquity of the tract may be also inferred from Michael O'Clery's introduction to his Glossary of obsolete Gaedhlic words, published in Louvain in the year 1643, in which he classes the old Life of St. Patrick with several other ancient tracts which required explanations; explanations which it had received from various eminent scholars, even down to his own time: indeed any one intimately conversant with ancient Gaedhlic writings will perceive at once that this tract is one of great antiquity. This Life is written with frequent alternations of Gaedhlic and Latin sentences, the latter sometimes explained by the former; but, generally, the narration continues on through both.

There can be little doubt that the short sketch of St. Patrick's life, written into the Book of Armagh, was taken from this tract, for some reason that we cannot now discover; and there can be, I think, as little doubt that the annotations of Tirechan on St. Patrick's Life, found, in Latin, in the same Book of Armagh (and which Tirechan says, he obtained from the books and from the lips of his predecessor, St. Ultan, whose disciple he was, and who died, probably, A.D. 656),—there can be little doubt, I say, that these notes were taken, so far, from St. Ultan's written Life of our apostle, as well as from his verbal account of some information obtained or remembered by him after the compilation, as it is mentioned in the present tract, of our saint's life and acts. [See APPENDIX, No. CVI.]

I have said that I do not know of the existence, at present, of any other copy of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, besides that which I had thus myself the good fortune to identify in the British Museum; but, in Colgan's time, there were three copies of this life, "the author of which", says Colgan, "as it would appear, was St. *Eimhin*, or *Evin*"—[Colgan, vol. ii. p. 169]. I shall here quote what he says of those MSS.

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"We give this life", says Colgan, "from three very ancient Gaedhlic MSS., collated with each other, and divided by its author into three parts, with a triple preface, one prefixed to each; concerning the fidelity, the authority, and the integrity, as well as the author, of which we shall inform the reader in the following observations:

"The first thing that is to be observed is, that it has been written by its first author, and in the aforesaid manuscript, partly in Latin, partly in Gaedhlic, and this in very ancient language, almost impenetrable, by reason of its very great antiquity; exhibiting, not only in the same chapter, but also in the same line, alternate phrases, now in the Latin, now in the Gaedhlic tongue.

"In the second place, it is to be noticed that this life, on account of the very great antiquity of its style, which was held in much regard, used to be read in the schools of our antiquarians in the presence of their pupils, being elucidated and expounded by the glosses of the masters, and by interpretations and observations of the more abstruse words; so that, hence, it is not to be wondered at that some words (which certainly did happen) from these glosses and observations gradually crept into the text, and thus brought a certain colour of newness into this most ancient and faithful author; some things being turned from Latin into Gaedhlic, some abbreviated by the scribes, and some altogether omitted". * * * * *

"Fourthly", he says, "it is to be observed, that, of the three manuscripts above mentioned, the first and chief is from very ancient vellums of the O'Clerys, antiquarians in Ulster; the second, from the O'Deorans in Leinster; the third, taken from I know not what codex: and that they differ from each other in some respects; one relating more diffusely what is more close in the others; and one relating in Latin what in the others was told in Gaedhlic; but we have followed the authority of that which relates the occurrences more diffusely and in Latin".

Colgan then proceeds to consider the question of the authorship of this Life of the Saint.

He considers it as certain that the author was by birth a native of Erin, and by profession a monk or priest. That he was a native of Erin he considers proved by his exact and singular skill not only in the native tongue, but also in the proper names of men, places, families, and territories. He believes that the author flourished before the end, or about the middle of the sixth century, and that he was St. *Eimhín* (Evin), who, Jocelinus (cap. 186) says, wrote the acts of St. Patrick, partly in the Latin, partly in the Gaedhlic tongue. As to the age or time in which the writer flourished, Colgan draws several very ingenious arguments from

the internal evidences in the work itself. The chief of these rest on passages in which it is implied that, at the period in which they were written, certain individuals, the dates of whose deaths we can refer with tolerable certainty to some time in the sixth century, were then living. Thus we find the following:—"There is in that place a town called Brettan, where Loarn is [*est*] Bishop". Again:—"Patrick came to the Church of Donochmore, where Munca is Bishop". In another place he says:—"But this son of Milco is Bishop Guasactus, who is to-day [*hodie*] at Granard in the territory of Carbry". Again, speaking of St. *Fiace*, he observes: "But no one of them rose up to the servant of God, except *Dubhthach O'Lugair*, arch-poet of the king and kingdom; and one young man of his disciples, who is to-day [*hodie*] in the church of *Sleibhté*" [*Sletty*.]

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As far as internal evidence can go, these passages, supposing them to be genuine, which I see no reason to doubt, certainly seem to imply that the writer lived in the times of which he speaks. It must be admitted, however, that this mode of speaking in the present tense, used by distinguished ecclesiastics of the fifth and sixth centuries, continued to be used in the eighth and ninth, as may be seen in the notes upon the Festology of *Aengus Ceilé Dé*, though that work itself was written but shortly before the year 798.

For myself, I can see no reason whatever to doubt any statement to the effect that the acts of so remarkable a personage as St. Patrick were committed to writing, and that probably by more than one person, during his own lifetime, and by several hands in the periods immediately subsequent to it. And when a work narrating the acts of the saint's life is handed down to our times, accompanied by a very ancient tradition, and also by written testimony of its authenticity from a very remote period, I cannot see how we are warranted in rejecting it as spurious, or in presuming that, at least, the basis or framework of the narrative is other than what it purports to be.

Colgan, in summing up his evidence about the Tripartite, quotes the passage from Jocelinus, in which that writer says, that St. *Eimhín* (Evin) wrote a life of St. Patrick, partly in Latin, partly in Gaedhlic, and distinguishes this life from those by Saints Benignus, Mel, Luman, and Patrick Junior. It appears, therefore, that, at the time in which Jocelyn wrote—namely, the year 1185, it was believed that a life of St. Patrick then existed, which had been written by St. *Eimhín* (Evin). Colgan says that he believes the copies which he used were essentially the same as that seen by Jocelyn.

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As to the objections which may be urged that St. *Eimhín* could not be the author of the Tripartite, on the ground that there are cited in it, as the writers of St. Patrick's miracles, the names of St. *Colum Cillé*, St. *Ultan*, St. *Aileran* or *Eleran* the Wise, St. *Adannan*, St. *Ciaran* of *Belach Duin*, St. *Colman*, and others, who lived after the time of *Eimhín* (Evin), while St. *Eimhín* himself is not mentioned at all, he offers a very obvious explanation—that the passages in which they are mentioned are interpolations.

It is only natural to suppose that additions were made, at various times, by the different scribes, or, as we may call them, editors, through whose hands the original passed; or that the assertion has reference to lives compiled by those writers after St. *Eimhín*, each absorbing in his own edition all that had been written by his predecessor, (such indeed the Tripartite in its present form appears to be); or, possibly, St. *Eimhín's* Life had not been accessible to the compiler.

As far as my judgment and my acquaintance with the idiom of the ancient Gaedhlic language will bear me, I would agree in Father Colgan's deductions from the text of the Tripartite; but I cannot get over the fact that compilers of the seventh century are mentioned in the tract itself. It is curious, however, that John O'Connell, of Kerry, who wrote a long poem on the History of Ireland about the year 1650, refers to "St. *Eimhín's* Life of St. Patrick", and thus supplies us with an additional authority in favour of Colgan's opinion.

The first of the three parts gives an account of St. Patrick's parentage, captivity, education, arrival in Erin, and mission to his former master in Ulster, his return to Tara, and conflict with king *Laeghairé's* Druids, etc.; and the part ends with those remarkable words, as if the author had preached as well as written the tract: "The miracles will be only related so far this day". [See original in APPENDIX, No. CVII.]

The second part describes the saint's journey into Connacht, and his return by Ulster, north and east, after an absence of seven years; and it ends with the same words as the first: "The miracles will be only related so far this day".

The third part describes the saint's mission and travels into Leinster and Munster, with his return and death at Armagh. [See observations on the opening passage of this third part, in APPENDIX, No. CVIII.]

It is much to be regretted that Father Colgan did not live to publish his Life of St. *Eimhín*, the reputed author of the Tri-

partite Life of St. Patrick; however, as he has fortunately given us his festival, the 22nd of December, we are able to identify him and establish his period.

In the Festology of Aengus *Céile Dé* (or the Culdee), we find that writer, at the 22nd of December, beseeching the intercession of St. *Eimhín*, "the white" or "fair", from the banks of the river Barrow. Now, the saint *Eimhín* from the brink of the river Barrow, was *Eimhín*, the founder of the original church or monastery of *Mainister Eimhín* [now Anglicized Monasterevan], on the brink of the Barrow, in the Queen's County. This St. *Eimhín* was a Munsterman, and one of the four saintly sons of *Eoghan*, son of *Murchadh*, son of *Muiredhach*, son of *Diarmaid*, son of *Eoghan*, son of *Ailill Flann Beg*, son of *Fiacha Muillethan*, son of *Eoghan Mór*, son of *Oilioll Olúim*, king of Munster, who died A.D. 234. *Eimhín* was thus the ninth in generation from *Oilioll Olúim*, which, by allowing thirty years to a generation, will make 270 years. This, added to the year 234, in which Ailill died, will bring us down to the year 504, in which year, then, this St. *Eimhín* was probably living; so that he had, very probably, seen and conversed with St. Patrick, who had died only eleven years before this time, or in 493.

Admitting, however, that the Tripartite Life of our saint was compiled by St. *Eimhín*, it must be evident to any one that he could not have had full personal cognizance of all the incidents in the saint's career which are introduced into the work. He must have had the assistance of persons who had attended Patrick in his various missionary travels. And his dividing the work into three parts, each beginning with an appropriate introduction, and apparently read at fixed periods,—all this would seem to show that, whoever the writer was, the life was written and collated at intervals of a year or periods of greater length.

There can, I think, be little doubt that the lives said to have been written by *Colum Cillé*, Ultan, Adamnan, and others, were primarily drawn from this compilation, and expanded by the addition or incorporation of local information, which escaped the original collector or compiler.

In our present limits we cannot go farther into the consideration of this very ancient and important branch of religious and ecclesiastical Gaedhlic literature, which we have comprised under the general name of Lives of the Saints of Erin. The most remarkable of them is, without doubt, the Tripartite life of our great apostle, whose antiquity and authority we have been just discussing. But many others of great interest, and also bearing evidences of great antiquity, remain for consideration at a future occasion.

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Of the contents of the *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré*, called the *Leabhar Breac*.

We now turn to another class of religious compositions in the Gaedhlic language; and of these the chief collection is to be found in the great volume commonly known by the name of the *Leabhar Breac*.

We have in the course of these lectures often had occasion to refer to an ancient Gaedhlic MS., generally called *Leabhar Breac*, or Speckled Book, preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy; and as it is in itself a composition of great interest and importance, and as we shall often have occasion to refer to it in future lectures, it seems to me that a brief general notice of it will be appropriate here.

The proper name of this book is *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré*, or the great book of *Dún Doighré*.

Dún Doighré was the name of a place on the Galway side of the river Shannon, some distance below the present town of Athlone, where the great literary family of the Mac Ægans had, from time immemorial, kept schools of law, poetry, and literature. This book appears to have been written by some member of that learned family about the close of the fourteenth century. It is not a transcript of any one book, but, as will be seen, a compilation from various ancient books, preserved chiefly in the churches and monasteries of Connacht, Munster, and Leinster; such as *Mainister ua g-Cormaic* (or Abbey Gormacan, in the county Galway); *Leacacoin*, in Lower Ormond; *Cluain Sosta* (Clonsost) in the Queen's County; Clonmacnois, etc.

The volume is written in a most beautiful style of penmanship, on fine large folio vellum. The contents are all, with one exception, of a religious character, and all, or nearly all, in the purest style of Gaedhlic. Many of the tracts are translations and narratives from the Latin. Among these are found a Scripture narrative from the Creation to Solomon; the birth, life, passion, and resurrection of our Lord; and the lives, and manner of death of several of the apostles; various versions of the finding of the Cross, etc. There are besides these several pieces ancient sermons or homilies for certain days and periods of the year—such as, sermons for Lent, Palm Sunday, Easter Sunday, Pentecost, on the institution of the Holy Eucharist, and others of a similar kind. In these sermons the Scripture text is always given in Latin, and then freely and copiously expounded and commented on in pure Gaedhlic; and in the course of these expositions various commentators are often mentioned and quoted. Besides these sermons, there are many small tracts on moral subjects, illustrative of the divine teachings of our Lord. St. *Sechnall's* Hymn, in praise of his uncle St. Patrick, is also to be found there; as well as the celebrated *Altus* of St. Colum

Cillé; a *Lorica* by Gildas (who is believed to have been a Saxon saint); etc., etc.

Among the original Irish tracts in the *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré*, are found Pedigrees of the Irish Saints, compiled it is believed by *Aengus Céilé Dé*, at the close of the eighth century, as well as his celebrated Litany of the Irish Saints; ancient abstracts of the Lives of Saints Patrick, *Colum Cillé*, and *Brigid* of Kildare; a curious historical legend of *Cathal Mac Finghuiné*, king of Munster in the eighth century, of *Mac Conglinné*, the poet, and of the abbot of St. Finnbarr's monastery at Cork; the Martyrology of *Aengus Céilé Dé*, written chiefly at *Tamhlacht* (or Tallacht, in the county of Dublin), before the year 798; ancient copies and expositions of the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments; ancient rules of discipline of the religious order of the *Céilidhé Dé*, vulgarly called *Cúldees*; ancient Litanies and Liturgies, monastic Rules, Canons, sacred *Loricas*, and countless other articles of the same tendency,—among them an ancient rule and law for the observance of Sunday, or the Lord's day. The *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré* contains also a Life of Alexander the Great, remarkable as being copied from the ancient Book of the celebrated St. *Berchán* of *Cluain Sosta* (or Clonsost), who flourished so early as in the seventh century.

Of the contents of the *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré*, called the *Leabhar Breac*.

But to enter into more minute details of the contents of this curious and important volume, would carry me beyond my present purpose, nor, indeed, I may add, is it competent for a layman to deal with them in any but a very general manner. Compiled, as it was, from many and most ancient sources, the *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré* is the most important repertory of our ancient ecclesiastical and theological writings in existence; but it is not by any means our only resource for varied and valuable information on these subjects.

Besides the Martyrology of Aengus, contained in this volume, we have the Martyrologies of Marianus Gorman; the Martyrology of *Tamhlacht* (or Tallacht); the Martyrology of *Cathal MacGuire*, now at St. Isidore's in Rome; and the Martyrology of *Domnegall*, compiled by the Four Masters.

Some of my young friends, for whose special instruction in these matters I am honoured with a chair in this University, may here ask, what is the use or benefit of examining and studying these ancient tracts, which we call Martyrologies? This is a question which may be answered in a few words. Passing over altogether for a moment the value of such studies in a religious point of view, we shall take them at their mere antiquarian or their purely historical value.

Of the study of the ancient Martyrologies and other Ecclesiastical MSS. in the Gaedhlic.

LECT. XVI.

Of the study
of the ancient
'Martyr-
ologies' and
other Eccle-
siastical
MSS. in the
Gaedhlic.

And we may positively affirm, that it is totally impossible to know, to understand, or to write, either the civil or ecclesiastical history of Erinn, without a deep and thorough acquaintance with those yet unpublished and unexplored documents. This is felt and acknowledged by several writers and historic investigators of our day. So that I have no hesitation in asserting, that until these national remains are thoroughly examined by competent and well-qualified persons, we shall have no civil or ecclesiastical history of our country worthy of the name. But even as a matter of individual pride and gratification, indeed as a matter of intellectual enjoyment, could there be anything more agreeable to a cultivated mind than to know the origin and history of those countless monuments of the fervid piety and devotion of our primitive Christian forefathers, which are to be found in the ruined church and tower, the sculptured cross, the holy well, and the commemorative name of almost every townland and parish in the whole island? Few out of the many thousands who see those places and hear their names know anything whatever of their origin and history; and yet there is not one of them whose origin and history are not well preserved, and accessible to those who will but qualify themselves to become acquainted with them, by a proper study of the rich and venerable old language in which they are recorded.

Besides these martyrologies, and the many tracts on ecclesiastical subjects preserved in the *Leabhar Mór Dána Doighré*, you can scarcely open an ancient Gaedhlic manuscript without meeting one or more pieces in prose or verse, illustrative of the great principles, particular doctrines, and moral application of the Christian religion, as brought hither from Rome, and preached and established in Erinn by St. Patrick, in perfect connection with, and submission to, the never-failing Chair of St. Peter.

Mine is indeed but a poor attempt at placing before you a view of the extent and variety of this important class of our ancient writings; but it ought to be sufficient, in consideration of the natural duty that every man owes to himself, to his country, and to his race, to induce a more general and profound acquaintance with these long-neglected sources of our History.

LECTURE XVII.

[Delivered July 10, 1856.]

ECCLESIASTICAL MSS. (continued). Of the early Ecclesiastical Writings in the Gaelic language. Of the Books of Pedigrees of the early Saints of Erin. Of the Martyrologies and Festologies. The *Saltair na Rann*. The Martyrology of Marianus O'Gorman. The Martyrology of *Támhlacht*. The *Feliré*, or Festology, of Aengus *Céile Dé*. Of the Canon of *Fothadh*.

THE still existing materials for our ecclesiastical history are not, and could hardly be expected to be, as ample as those of the civil history of the country; because the causes which led to the neglect, destruction, or dispersion of both, affected the former more severely. From the year 1170 to the year 1530, this country was engaged in an incessant war for its civil independence against a powerful and perfidious foreign foe. From the year 1530 again to the year 1690, she maintained a war for civil and religious liberty against a fierce tyranny, characterized by robbery as foul and religious persecution as unrelenting as any with which the page of Christian history is stained. And from 1690 to 1793 (to come down no farther towards our own times), she was doomed to be the victim of a system of plunder still more completely organized and more degrading to the people,—a system under which the robbery of mere property was even less galling than the brutal “domiciliary visits” and the various other personal insults and wrongs inflicted under the protection of local legal tribunals where savage injustice invariably reigned, and the oppression of a legion of spies and informers from whom nothing could be concealed and in whose hands the slightest evidence of a suspicious character became the means of destruction to the persecuted Catholic.

In such a country the hand of the local tyrant, the village Nero and his spies, of course fell heaviest of all on the ministers of God, the natural preservers as well as recorders of the history of the Church. And from about the year 1530, in the reign of the English King Henry the Eighth, to the year 1793, the priests of Ireland were ever subject to persecution, suppression, dispersion, and expatriation, according to the English law; their churches, monasteries, convents, and private habitations, were pillaged and wrested from them; and a Vandal warfare was kept up against all that was venerable and sacred of the remains of

LECT. XVII.

Causes of the loss and dispersion of Irish Ecclesiastical and Historical MSS. during the last three centuries.

ancient literature and art which they possessed. When, therefore, we make search for the once extensive monuments of learning which the ecclesiastical libraries contained of old, we must remember that this shocking system continued for near three hundred years; and that during all that long period the clergy—the natural repositories of all the documents which belonged to the history of the Church—were kept in a continual state of insecurity and transition, often compelled to resort to the continent for education, often forced to quit their homes and churches at a moment's notice, and fly for their lives, in the first instance, to the thorny depths of the nearest forest or the damp shelter of some dreary cavern, until such time, if ever it should come, as they could steal away to the hospitable shores of some Christian land on the continent of Europe. Such were the times and such the circumstances which led to the destruction and dispersion of the great mass of our ecclesiastical literature and history; for we may be assured, and it is indeed matter of proof, that whatever else the Irish priest carried with him in his flight for his life, he rarely forgot, when at all possible, to take with him his Gaedhlic books, along with the various articles which appertained to the exercise of his sacred functions.

Thus it was that so large a collection of these expatriated books passed into Belgium, the chief part of which found their way into the Franciscan College at Louvain. And there must have been other collections in Belgium besides this; for I am acquainted with a manuscript book of historical and religious poems (of which few are found anywhere else), containing more than 10,000 quatrains, which was either compiled or transcribed at Ostend in the year 1631, now in possession of the O'Connor Don; and another manuscript book of poems, less select, and not so large, was compiled or transcribed in Lisle and Antwerp, by the expatriated friar, Fergal O'Gara, in the year 1656, which is now in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy (No. 22. 5.). Of the originals of these two books no trace has been yet discovered, nor indeed, I believe, has any extensive search been yet made for them among the Belgian libraries.

Yet, notwithstanding the losses which our ecclesiastical books must have suffered under the detestable war so long waged against their conservators, still a comparatively large and important quantity of them remains extant, at this day, in the original Gaedhlic, though scattered over Europe, and now deposited in so many various and remote localities. And it appears to me that I could not properly omit to devote a portion of this course of Lectures to the separate consideration of these ancient writings, in reference to the materials which they con-

tain for the elucidation of the history not only of the Church **LECT. XVII.**
in Ireland, but also of the nation itself.

The most important ancient Ecclesiastical Writings in the Gaedhlic known to me may be conveniently classed under ten distinct heads, not all of them, however, of equal importance to the special subject of our present studies.

Analysis
of what
remains of
the most im-
portant of
the Gaedhlic
Ecclesiasti-
cal MSS.

There are, first—Canons and Ecclesiastical Rules, drawn up for the government and direction of bishops and priests, as well as of some ancient regular orders.

Second—Monastic Rules of Discipline, interesting also as containing a full and clear development of the religious doctrines believed and taught in these holy institutions.

Third—A remarkable tract, containing the ancient ritual for the consecration of a church or oratory.

Fourth—An ancient tract explaining the ceremonies of the Mass. (This tract contains a clear and beautiful statement of the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.)

Fifth—Forms of Prayers, and Invocations to God and the Saints; among which is a beautiful Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Sixth—Ancient Homilies and Sermons, with commentaries upon and concordances of the Evangelists. (Some of these sermons are preserved in pure Gaedhlic, and others of them are composed of Gaedhlic and Latin, for the better preservation and discussion of the Scriptural texts and quotations.)

Seventh—Poems, doctrinal and moral, ascribed, on good authority, to the saints and doctors of the Gaedhil; and with these may be classed some ancient hymns, in Latin and Gaedhlic, of undoubtedly remote antiquity.

Eighth—Ancient Lives of a great number of our Saints (such as those of which I spoke in the last Lecture), full of valuable and otherwise inaccessible information—genealogical, historical, and topographical.

Ninth—Ancient Tracts respecting the genealogies and pedigrees of the Saints of Erinn.

Tenth—Martyrologies or Festologies, in prose and verse; containing lists of the saints of Erinn, and sometimes of those of the continent, arranged under their respective festival days; and with these, various genealogical, historical, and topographical illustrations.

The first seven of these divisions are of purely ecclesiastical and theological interest. The last three are more directly connected with the history of the country; and it is to these, therefore, that I have, in the first place, to direct your attention.

In the preparation of a course of popular lectures like these,

LECT. XVII.

Arrange-
ment of the
subject.

where the subject spreads over several centuries or ages, the lecturer finds some difficulty in arranging his treatment of the different portions in detail, so as that their discussion may come within the limits of the time prescribed to him; and he is therefore obliged often to depart from the strict order of chronology, and to group his subjects rather according to their importance, and the convenience with which this may be treated in a given time. This consideration has, I may say, compelled me to depart from the strict order of chronology in approaching the subject of the present lecture.

Of the ancient
Lives of
the Saints of
Erinn.

To the ancient tracts on the lives of the saints of Erinn, and their value as genuine materials for the purposes of Irish history, both civil and ecclesiastical, I have already on various occasions in the course of these Lectures (but particularly in the last), drawn your particular attention. As to this copious department of our literature, then, I shall only say here that every day's reading and every day's experience convince me more and more of the importance of recovering and bringing together, from all sources, every fragment of those most precious relics of a literature, a history, and a piety too long neglected, and often but too lightly and carelessly talked of among us. To be sure, there are many things in these ancient and simple biographies calculated to excite the smile of the philosopher of the present day. But is there nothing at first sight wearing the appearance of the absurd or ludicrous, to be found in the records, every year reverentially published, of the lives and labours in places unknown to us of contemporary missionaries of our Church,—nay even of the officers and agents of the Protestant missionary societies of matter-of-fact England,—in this the second half of the nineteenth century? Let no one, then, be afraid or ashamed of anything that may be found in these ancient and highly interesting tracts; and believe me when I assure you that, when properly studied, they will prove valuable subjects for the exercise of true historical criticism and honourable and candid investigation; and they will be found far more available for the purposes of true history than people generally seem inclined to believe.

Of the Pedigrees
and
Genealogies
of the Saints
of Erinn.

From the lives of the saints we pass to their Pedigrees and Genealogies; and though this may appear a subject of little importance to us, who live at so remote a period (from a thousand or fourteen hundred years after the deaths of these holy people), yet it will throw some light upon the history of the time; and it will be interesting, too, to observe that, in ancient Erinn, the first, the most ardent, and the most enduring converts to the true faith, were also the most learned, the most intellectual, and the most noble in the land.

And, in order that the perpetual memory of those distinguished individuals, male and female, who were first prepared by the grace of God to receive and retain the true faith in Erinn, should never be forgotten, the holy men who succeeded them (and who cherished their memories as the original repositories and preachers of the Christian doctrine, the foundations of the never-failing Catholic Church in Erinn) took especial care that their names and their lineage should be handed down with accuracy; and this, not only as a proof of the identity of the personages, and their connection with still-existing clans or tribes, but also as a memorial of the singular fact, in which our Christian writers took a special pride, that in ancient Erinn, at least, the first seeds of the Saviour's doctrines were received, cherished, and perpetuated, not, as in other countries, by the lowest and most uncultivated, but by the highest and most learned.

LECT. XVII.

Of the Pedigrees and Genealogies of the Saints of Erinn.

The oldest tract, or collection of the pedigrees of the saints of Erinn, of which we have now any recognizable copy remaining, is that which is ascribed to *Aengus Ceilé Dé*, commonly called *Aengus "the Culdee"*.

Of the Pedigrees ascribed to *Aengus Ceilé Dé*.

The genuineness of this composition is admitted by all writers of modern times, Protestant and Catholic; by Ussher and Ware, as well as by Colgan, etc. Of this remarkable tract, there are several copies extant, but whether in the same state of fulness, or with defections or additions, it is now impossible to decide, in the absence of any copy so old as *Aengus's* own time, which was about the year 780. The still-existing copies are to be found in the great Book of Genealogies, compiled by *Dubhaltach Mac Firbisigh*, as you have already learned, in 1650; in the Book of *Lecain*, compiled in 1416; in the Book of Ballinote, compiled in 1391; and in the Book of Leinster, compiled between the years 1120 and 1160.

Of all these, the copy in the Book of Leinster, while the oldest, is also the best and most copious; and it is the more valuable that it almost invariably gives references to the situations of the churches of the holy persons whose pedigrees are recorded, together with an account of the groups or associates who occupied those churches at one time, and sometimes their successors for a few generations.

These pedigrees, however, are not interesting merely as venerable memorials of the persons whose names and lineage they preserve, and as conveying with them (in the form of notes, etc.) so immense an amount of ecclesiastical topography as they do. They are also most important in another point of view; that of fixing, with sufficient exactness, the date of the foundation of all the

LECT. XVII.

Of the
Pedigrees
ascribed to
Aengus
Céile Dé.

primitive churches of our country. It is an invariable rule with the sacred genealogist to carry every pedigree up to some remarkable personage, whose race and period are well ascertained and fixed in the national annals and secular books of genealogy; and thus, by referring to these pedigrees, you may easily find the time at which any of the early saints of Erin flourished. As, for instance, St. *Colum Cille* is recorded to have been the son of *Feidlimidh*, son of Fergus, son of Conall, son of Niall “of the Nine Hostages”, monarch of Erin, who was killed in the year 405. Now, by allowing the usual average of thirty years to each of the four generations from Niall to Colum, making 120 years, and adding them to 405, we shall find that Colum (who is known to have died in the year 592) must have been born about the year 520. He was actually born, as we know from other sources, in 515.

Of the Mar-
tyrologies or
Festologies.

We come now to the tenth and last of the divisions in which I have classed the ancient ecclesiastical manuscripts—I mean those which are called the Martyrologies or Festologies, in which the names of the saints are classed under the days of the month upon which their festivals were observed.

Of these martyrologies I am acquainted with four, of different dates and different characteristics, besides one which I know to be in Rome, but which I have never seen. Of the four that I am acquainted with, there are three in Dublin and one in the British Museum; and of these, three are written out on paper, and one only on vellum; three are in verse, and one in prose.

The latest of the four, in point of composition, is the one in the British Museum [Egerton, 185]. It is a thin volume, of small quarto size, in verse, written, with the exception of a few pages, in the well-known, bold, and accurate hand of the great genealogist, *Dubhaltach Mac Firbisigh*, about the year 1650.

The volume consists of sixty-seven pages, of five quatrains or twenty lines each page. It is entitled *Saltair na Rann*, in a good modern hand, and the title is in accordance with the second quatrain, which begins [see original in APPENDIX No. CIX.]:

“The Saltair of the verses shall be the name
Of my poem: it is not an unwise title”.

Of the *Saltair na Rann*.

This title was given by the author, I should suppose, in imitation of the great *Saltair na Rann* of Aengus Céile Dé; but there is no resemblance between the two compositions, for the work of Aengus consists of 150 poems on the history of the Old Testament, written in the finest style of the Gaedhlic language of the middle of the eighth century, whereas the present poem

consists but of 312 quatrains, written in the inferior Gaedhlic of the close of the sixteenth century, if not later. LECT. XVII.

According to the poet's arrangement, every quatrain commences with the name of a saint, but sometimes there are three, or even four, quatrains devoted to the one day, according to the number of festivals that happen to fall upon it. Every saint has always a separate quatrain devoted to him. Of the *Sal-tair na Liann*.

Although this poem is written in the Gaedhlic language, it is not, strictly speaking, a Gaedhlic martyrology. All the Gaedhlic saints that I could discover in it are, St. Patrick, St. *Brigid* of Kildare, St. *Ciaran* of *Saighir*, and St. *Ciaran* of Clonmacnois. It does not contain a quatrain for every day in the year, like our other metrical martyrologies.

From page 11 to 54, the copy is written in Mac Firbis's hand, and the remainder in a good but modern hand, but incorrect in orthography. The poem begins [see original in same APPENDIX]:

“I will make a poem for the people of God”.

The next martyrology in the ascending order of chronology, is that of *Maelmairé Ua Gormain*, commonly called *Marianus Gorman*. Of the Martyrology of *Maelmairé Ua Gormain* (*Marianus Gorman*).

This tract, which is in verse, was composed when *Rudhraidhé* (or *Roderic*) O'Connor was monarch of Erin; *Gilla Mac Liag* (commonly called *Gelasius*), Primate of Armagh; and *Aedh* (or *Hugh*) *O'Caellaidhe*, Bishop of *Airghiall* (*Oriell*),—say some time between the years 1156 and 1173, when Mac Liag died. O'Gorman, the author, was Abbot of *Cnoc na n-Aspal*, or the Hill of the Apostles [in the present county of Louth]; and according to the preface, the reasons which induced him to write this Martyrology were: in the first place, to seek Heaven for himself and for every one who should constantly sing it; and secondly, to supply the names of a great number of the saints of Erin and of the world, which *Aengus Ceilé Dé* left out of his Festology, and for whom the Church had ordained festivals and Masses; and because that *Aengus* had assigned to several of those enumerated by him days of commemoration different from those then appointed for them by the Church.

This poem is arranged in months, and consists of a stanza, of an unequal number of lines, for every day in the year (but there are two stanzas for the first day of January); and into each of these stanzas are introduced the names of the saints whose festival days happen to fall upon the day of the month to which the stanza is assigned. It happens very frequently, too, that there are interlined and marginal notes to the text, re-

LECT. XVII. ferring to the situations of the churches of the saints whose names appear in the text.

Of the Martyrology of *Maelmairé, Ua Gormain* (Marianus Gorman.)

The poem consists of 2780 lines, beginning [see original in APPENDIX, No. CX.]:

“Upon the high kalends of January,
The submission of illustrious Jesus to the law”

Of the Martyrology of *Tamhlacht*.

The third of these Martyrologies is that which is generally known as the Martyrology of *Tamhlacht*, or Tallacht (near Dublin). It is a prose list or catalogue of the saints of Erin and their festival days, as well as often of the names of their immediate fathers and of their churches.

This tract has been generally believed to be the oldest Martyrology of the Irish saints known; and it is even stated in Father Michael O’Clery’s preface to Marianus O’Gorman’s poem, that the celebrated Martyrology of *Aengus Ceilé Dé* was composed from the Martyrology of *Tamhlacht*. This, however, must be a mistake; for upon examining the Martyrology of *Tamhlacht*, I find the names and dates of two holy men in it who must have died many years after Aengus himself, and who do not, of course, appear in his poem. These are *Blathmac*, the son of Flann, monarch of Erin, who died for the faith, at the hands of the Danes, in the island of Hi, or Iona, on the 19th of July, in the year 823; and *Feidhlimidh Mac Crimhthainn*, king of Munster, who died on the 18th of August, in the year 845, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, but whose festival is placed in the kalendar at the 28th of August. Now, according to the best accounts, Aengus wrote his poem in or before the year 798; and, as far as I have been able to ascertain, no saint is found in it who died after that year. He himself must have died about the year 815; so that it is quite impossible that he could have written his poem from this tract, which comes down, at least, to the year 845.

Until lately, the Martyrologies of *Tamhlacht* and Marianus O’Gorman were unknown in Ireland, except by name. However, in the year 1847, the [late] Rev. Professor Matthew Kelly, of Maynooth, procured a copy of the latter tract from the Burgundian Library at Brussels [since published by the Rev. Dr. Kelly, just before his death]; and in 1849 the Rev. Dr. Todd, to whom our native literature is so deeply indebted, procured from the Belgian government the loan of the book which contained this, as well as O’Gorman’s and Aengus’s Martyrologies, (all in Father Michael O’Clery’s handwriting), of which I made accurate copies for his private library.

The Martyrology of *Tamhlacht* is defective in a few places,

but it will be easy to supply these defects from the other martyrologies. LECT. XVII.

The last, the most important, and the oldest, I am certain, is the Martyrology of *Aengus Ceilé Dé*. Of the *Féilire*
(or Festology) of
Aengus
Céilé Dé.

Of this tract, there are six copies known to exist, four of which are on vellum—namely, one in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin; two in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; and one, if not two, in the College of St. Isidore in Rome; which, with Dr. Todd's and the Brussels copies on paper, make up six, if not seven.

The copy in the Royal Irish Academy is preserved in the celebrated *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré* (commonly called the *Leabhar Breac*), which was compiled about the year 1400.

There is a short history of the author, and the tract prefixed to this copy, which commences, as such ancient Gaellic documents usually do, with giving the name of the author, the time, the place, and the object of the composition. There is, then, a short disquisition on this arrangement, in which the usages of the philosophers and the order of the creation are referred to as precedents.

The author's name and pedigree are then given thus:—Aengus, the son of *Oengoba*, son of *Oblen*, son of *Fidru*, son of *Diar-muit*, son of *Ainmiré*, son of *Cellar*, son of *Oengus*, son of *Natsluagh*, son of *Caelbad* [of the Rudrician or Ultonian race, who was monarch of Erin, and was slain A.D. 357], son of *Crunnbadraí*, son of *Eochaidh Cobai*; [and see APPENDIX, No. CXI.]

The time at which Aengus composed his Festology was in the reign of *Aedh Oirdnuidhé*, who was monarch of Erin from the year 793 to the year 817.

This monarch, in the year 799, raised a large army, with which he marched against the people of the province of Leinster, and proceeded as far as *Dun Cuar*, on the confines of that province and Meath, where he encamped. The monarch, on this occasion, compelled the attendance of *Conmach*, the successor of St. Patrick and Primate of Armagh, with all his clergy, to attend this expedition. When the army rested, however, the clergy complained to the king of the hardship and inconsistency of their being called upon to attend on such occasions. The king listened to their complaint, and offered to lay it before his own poet, tutor, and adviser, the learned *Fothadh*, and abide by his decision, which was accordingly done. The poet's views were favourable to the clergy, and he gave his decision in a short poem of three quatrains, which are preserved in this preface, and of which the following may be

LECT. XVII. taken as a literal translation [see original in APPENDIX, No. CXII.]:—

The Canon of
Fothadh na
Canóiné.

The Church of the Living God,
Touch her not, nor waste,
Let her rights be reserved,
As best ever they were.
Every true monk who is
Possessed of a pious conscience,
To the Church to which it is due,
Let him act as any servant.
Every faithful subject from that out,
Who is not bound by vows of obedience,
Has liberty to join in the battles
Of *Aedh* the Great, son of *Niall*.

And by this decision the clergy were exempted for ever after from attending military expeditions. This decision obtained the name of a Canon; and its author has ever since been known in Irish history by the name of *Fothadh na Canóiné*, or *Fothadh* “of the Canon”.

Of the *Féiliré*
(or Fest-
ology) of
Aengus
Céilé Dé.

At the time of this expedition Aengus appears to have been residing at his church, at a place called *Disert Bethech*, which lay on the north bank of the river *n-Eoir*, (or Nore), a few miles above the present town of Monasterevin, in the Queen's County, and not far from the place where the monarch *Aedh* had pitched his camp. The poet *Fothadh*, it appears, availed himself of Aengus's contiguity to show him the poem in which his decision was expressed, and received his approval of it before presenting it to the king. The two clerical poets entered into bonds of amity and union on this occasion; and Aengus having then just finished his Festology, showed it for the first time to *Fothadh*, who solemnly approved of it, and recommended it to the perusal and pious recital of the faithful.

Aengus had received his clerical education at the celebrated church of *Cluain Eidhneach* (in the present Queen's County), after which he travelled into Munster, and founded the church of *Disert Aengusa* (at a place situated near Ballingarry, in the present county of Limerick), a church, the primitive belfry or round-tower of which remains even to this day.

On his return from Munster he went to the then celebrated church of *Tamhlacht* (Tallacht, in the county of Dublin), over which St. *Maelruain* then presided. *Maelruain* had founded this church (which he dedicated to Michael the Archangel) in the year 769, on a site and endowment which had been offered “to God, to Michael the Archangel, and to *Maelruain*”, by *Donnchadh*, (or Donnoch), the pious and illustrious king of Leinster. Here Aengus, for greater humility, presented himself to *Maelruain*

as a servant-man seeking for service, and *Maelruain* employed him to take charge of his mill and kiln (the ruins of which mill and kiln, in their primitive dimensions, I may here mention that I have myself seen; for it is only within the last five or six years that these venerable remains have yielded to "the improving hand of modern progress"). Here Aengus remained many years faithfully and silently discharging the duties of his humble employment, until at last his learning and character were discovered by an accident, and he was (of course) obliged to abandon the lowly condition of life to which he had devoted himself.

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Aengus had commenced his poem at *Cuil Bennchair* in *Ui Failghe* (or Offaly), continued it at *Cluain Eidhnech*, and finished it during his servitude at *Tamhlacht*.

The cause and object of writing this Festology are stated thus:—One time that Aengus went to the church of *Cuil Bennchair*, he saw, he says, a grave there, and angels from Heaven constantly descending and ascending to and from it. Aengus asked the priest of the church who the person was that was buried in this grave: the priest answered that it was a poor old man who formerly lived at the place. What good did he do? said Aengus. I saw no particular good by him, said the priest, but that his customary practice was to recount and invoke the saints of the world, as far as he could remember them, at his going to bed and getting up, in accordance with the custom of the old devotees. Ah! my God, said Aengus, he who would make a poetical composition in praise of the saints should doubtless have a high reward, when so much has been vouchsafed to the efforts of this old devotee! And Aengus then commenced his poem on the spot. He subsequently continued it gradually, and finished it as we have already seen.

This composition consists, properly, of three parts. The first is a poem of five quatrains, invoking the grace and sanctification of Christ for the poet and his undertaking.

The second is a poem, by way of preface, consisting of 220 quatrains, of which 80 are prefixed, and 140 postfixed to the main poem.

The third is the Festology itself, consisting of 365 quatrains.

The Invocation is written in the ancient *Conachlunn*, or what modern Gaedhlic scholars call in English "chain-verse"; that is, an arrangement of metre by which the first words of every succeeding quatrain are identical with the last words of the preceding one. The following literal translation may not be out of place here [see original in APPENDIX, No. CXIII.]:

Sanctify, O Christ! my words:—

O Lord of the seven heavens!

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Grant me the gift of wisdom,
O Sovereign of the bright sun!
O bright sun, who dost illuminate
The heavens with all thy holiness!
O King who governest the angels!
O Lord of all the people!
O Lord of the people!
O King all-righteous and good!
May I receive the full benefit
Of praising Thy royal hosts.
Thy royal hosts I praise,
Because Thou art my Sovereign;
I have disposed my mind,
To be constantly beseeching Thee.
I beseech a favour from Thee,
That I be purified from my sins
Through the peaceful bright-shining flock,
The royal host whom I celebrate.

The late General Vallancey and Theophilus O'Flannagan having met this poem, which is rather conspicuous, in the *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré* (or *Leabhar Breac*), and finding that the name of Christ, in the first line, is contractedly written with *CR* and an horizontal dash over them, thought that they had discovered in it an address to the sun, and a most important remnant of the worship of that luminary in ancient Erin! The letters *CR* were the contraction for *Creas*, which, the learned general discovered, from the books of the Brahmins of India, and the Sanscrit, to be a name for the sun common to India and Ireland!

These views of the learned gentlemen, as well as a highly poetical translation of the poor monk's poem, were embodied in a small printed pamphlet, and addressed, "To the President and Members of the Royal Irish Academy, as a proof of the ancient History of Ireland", by General Vallancey.

I regret that space does not allow me to embody this short pamphlet with the present lecture, as, perhaps, no better example could be found to show the manner in which, among the last generation, the character of an Irish historian and scholar could be acquired by the pedantic use of the most fanciful collation of our language and manners with the Sanscrit and other Eastern languages or dialects. And I am sorry to say that there are still among us writers who pass for historians and antiquarians, but who stand much in need of the lesson contained in this ridiculous example of General Vallancey's astuteness.

But to return. The Invocation to our Saviour is followed,

in Aengus's Festology, by the first part of the metrical preface, LECT. XVII.
 consisting, as has been already stated, of 80 stanzas. These
 verses are in the same measure, and of the same character, as Of the *Féiliré*
 (or Fest-
 ology) of
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 the Invocation, of which, indeed, they are a continuation. And,
 in fact, the entire work may be treated as one continuous poem,
 divided into three parts or cantos; for the last words of the In-
 vocation are the first words of the first preface, and the last
 words of this preface are the first words of the main poem, and
 the last words of the main poem are the first words of the post
 or second preface.

The first, in beautiful and forcible language, gives a glowing
 account of the tortures and sufferings of the early Christian
 Martyrs; how the names of the persecutors are forgotten, while
 the names of their victims are remembered with honour, veneration,
 and affliction; how Pilate's wife is forgotten, and the Blessed
 Virgin Mary is remembered and honoured from the uttermost
 bounds of the Earth to its centre. Even in our own country the
 enduring supremacy of the Church of Christ is made manifest;
 for Tara (says the poet) had become abandoned and desert under
 the vain-glory of its kings, while Armagh remains the populous
 seat of dignity, piety, and learning; *Cruachain*, the royal resi-
 dence of the kings of Connacht, is deserted, while Clonmacnois
 resounds with the dashing of chariots and the tramp of multi-
 tudes, to honour the shrine of St. *Ciaran*; the royal palace of
Aillinn, in Leinster, has passed away, while the church of St.
Brigid at Kildare remains in dazzling splendour; Emania, the
 royal palace of Ulster, has disappeared, while the holy *Coem-
 ghlin's* church at *Gleann-da-locha*, remains in full glory; the
 Monarch *Laeghairé's* pride and pomp were extinguished, while
 St. Patrick's name continued to shine with growing lustre. And
 thus does the noble poet go on to contrast the fleeting and for-
 gotten names and glories of the men and great establishments of
 the great pagan and secular world, with the stability, freshness,
 and splendour of the Christian churches, and the ever-green
 names of the illustrious, though often humble founders.

The *Féiliré*, or Festological Poem, itself comes next. It con-
 sists, as already stated, of 365 quatrains, or a stanza for every
 day in the year. The Circumcision of our Lord is placed at
 the head of the festivals; and with it the poem begins, as
 follows [see original in APPENDIX, No. CXIV.]:

At the head of the congregated saints,
 Let the King take the front place:
 Unto the noble dispensation did submit
 Christ—on the kalends of January.

The whole of this the chief poem, as well, indeed, as the

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first preface, is thickly interlined with an ancient gloss and commentary, on some difficult or obsolete words or passages, and sometimes with notes on the situations of the churches of the saints of Erinn, up to the author's time, with occasional passages from their Lives and Miracles. These notes are carried all over the margin, and require long and accurate study to connect them with their proper places in the text.

It will be seen, by and by, that this Festology is not confined wholly to the saints of Erinn.

Our great apostle, St. Patrick, is commemorated at the 17th of March, in the following stanza [see original in APPENDIX, No. CXV.]:

The blaze of a splendid sun,
The apostle of stainless Erinn,
Patrick—with his countless thousands,
May he shelter our wretchedness.

And at the 13th of April, Bishop *Tassach*, one of Patrick's most favourite companions, and his chief manufacturer and ornament of croziers, crosses, shrines, and bells, and who attended him at his death, is thus commemorated [see original in APPENDIX, No. CXVI.]:

The kingly Bishop *Tassach*,
Who administered on his arrival,
The Body of Christ—the truly powerful King—
And the Communion to Patrick.

In the third division of his work, Aengus recapitulates the preceding canto or Festilogium; he explains its arrangement, and directs the faithful how to read and use it; and he says that though great the number, he has only been able to enumerate the princes of the saints in it; he recommends it to the pious study of the faithful, and points out the spiritual benefits to be gained by reading or reciting it; he says that he has travelled far and near to collect the names and the history of the subjects of his laudation and invocation; that for the foreign saints he has consulted St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and Eusebius; and that from “the countless hosts of the illuminated books of Erinn” he has collected the festivals of the Irish saints. He then says that, having already mentioned and invoked the saints at their respective festival days, he will now invoke them in classes or bands, under certain heads or leaders; and this he does in the following order: the elders or ancients, under Noah; the prophets under Isaiah; the patriarchs under Abraham; the apostles and disciples under Peter; the wise or learned men under Paul; the martyrs under Stephen; the spiritual directors under old Paul; the virgins of the world

under the Blessed Virgin Mary; the holy bishops of Rome LECT. XVII.
 under Peter; the bishops of Jerusalem under Jacob or James; Of the Féité
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 lary) of
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 the bishops of Antioch also under Peter; the bishops of Alex-
 andria under Mark; a division of them under Honorati; a
 division of learned men under the gifted Benedict; all the
 innocents who suffered at Bethlehem, under Georgius; the
 priests under Aaron; the monks under Anthony; a division of
 the saints of the world under Martin; the noble saints of Erinn
 under St. Patrick; the saints of Scotland under St. *Colum
 Cille*; and the last great division of the saintly virgins of
 Erinn, under the holy St. *Brigid* of Kildare.

The sacred bard continues then, in an eloquent strain, to be-
 seech the mercy of the Saviour for himself and all mankind,
 through the merits and sufferings of the saints whom he has
 named and enumerated, through the merits of their dismembered
 bodies; their bodies pierced with lances; their wounds; their
 groans; their relics; their blanched countenances; their bitter
 tears; through all the sacrifices offered of the Saviour's own
 Body and Blood, as it is in Heaven, upon the holy altars;
 through the blood that flowed from the Saviour's own side;
 through His humanity; and through His divinity in unity
 with the Holy Spirit and the Heavenly Father.

At the end of this long invocation, the poet says the
 brethren of his order deemed all his prayers and petitions too
 little;—whereupon he says that he will change his course, so
 that no one may have cause to complain. He then commences
 another eloquent appeal to our Lord, for himself and all men,
 beseeching mercy according to the merciful worldly interposi-
 tion of the divine mercy in the times past;—such as the
 saving of Enoch and Elias from the dangers of the world; the
 saving of Noah from the deluge; the saving of Abraham from
 the plagues and from the hand of the Chaldeans; the saving of
 Lot from the burning city; Jonas from the whale; of Isaac from
 the hands of his father. He beseeches Jesus, through the inter-
 cession of His Mother, to save him as Jacob was saved from the
 hands of his brother, as John [Paul] was saved from the venom
 of the viper. He returns again to the examples of the Old Testa-
 ment, beginning with the saving of David from the sword of
 Goliath; of Susanna from her dangers; of Nineveh from des-
 truction; of the Israelites from Mount Gilba [Gilboa]; of
 Daniel from the lions' den; of Moses from the hands of Faro
 [Pharaoh]; of the three youths from the fiery furnace; of To-
 bias from his blindness; of Peter and Paul from the dungeon;
 of Job from demoniacal tribulations; of David from Saul; of
 Joseph from the hands of his brethren; of the Israelites from

LECT. XVII. the Egyptian bondage; of Peter from the waves of the sea; of John from the fiery caldron; of Martin from the priest of the idol. He beseeches Jesus again, through the intercession of the Heavenly household, to be saved as He saved St. Patrick from the poisoned drink at *Teamhar* (or Tara); and St. *Coemhghin* [Kevin] of *Gleann dá locha* from the perils of the mountain.

Of the *Féilire*
(or Festology) of
Aengus
Céile Dé.

I have trespassed on your patience at such unreasonable length, with the details of this extraordinary poem, merely for the purpose of showing you that the gifted writer could not be set down as a mere ignorant or superstitious monk, but that he was a man deeply read in the Holy Scriptures, and in the civil and ecclesiastical history of the world, and more particularly that part of it which was contained in what he so enthusiastically calls "The Host of the Books of Erinn".

It is no part of the purpose of these Lectures to enter into doctrinal discussions on the merits of our ancient sacred writings; but taking this Festology of St. Aengus as a purely historic tract, largely interwoven with the early history of Erinn, civil and ecclesiastical, I almost think no other country in Europe possesses a national document of so important a character.

When we look at the great number of the early Catholic Christians of Erinn, who are introduced by name into this tract, with their festival days, and with most copious references to the names and exact situations of the primitive churches founded by them,—and when we find that if not all, at least, nearly all these churches may be, or have been already identified by means of it,—its value can hardly be overrated.

It was during the progress of the late Ordnance Survey of Ireland that this tract came first into notice; and it is no ordinary satisfaction to me to have to say, that I was the first person in modern times that discovered the value of its contents, when under the able superintendence of Colonel Larcom and Dr. Petrie, I brought them to bear, with important results, on the topographical section of that great national undertaking.

Such was the attention attracted by the Festology of Aengus, at that time, that the Board of Trinity College, at the suggestion of the Rev. Dr. Todd, employed me to make a facsimile copy of the *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré*, or *Leabhar Breac*, in which it is contained, for the College Library; and on the breaking up of the department of the Ordnance Survey, to which I had been for seven years attached (and my connection with which, I may add, was suddenly and, as I felt then

and feel now, wrongfully terminated), our spirited fellow-citizen, my friend Mr. George Smith, of whom I have already had occasion to make honourable mention in connection with the Annals of the Four Masters, employed me to transcribe the Festology again, from the original book, with a view to its publication. This, however, was not a fac-simile copy, which it would indeed be practically useless to print, even if such a thing were possible, because the tract consists, properly, of three parts; namely, the text of the poem, the interlined gloss, and the interlined and marginal topographical and other notes. I copied these three parts distinctly, lengthened out all the contractions, and disposed them in their relative positions, in such an order and arrangement as met with the full approval of the late Very Rev. Dr. O'Renahan, President of Maynooth College, the Rev. Dr. Todd, Dr. Petrie, and Dr. John O'Donovan. And, having so transcribed and arranged it, I made a literal, and I trust an accurate, translation of the whole.

In the year 1849 I had occasion to spend some months in London, in the British Museum, having my copy of the Festology with me. In the course of the summer of that year Dr. Todd went to London, and we went together to Oxford, where we spent four days in comparing my transcript with the Oxford copies, and adding, as far as time would permit, such various readings as we believed desirable and useful. The publication of the edition so prepared has not yet, however, been undertaken; and the transcript and translation remain with Mr. Smith, waiting for, what I trust is not far distant, a more favourable season to present to the literary world the long-celebrated *Feliré* of Aengus *Ceilé Dé*.

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LECTURE XVIII.

[Delivered July 15, 1856.]

ECCLESIASTICAL MSS. (continued). The Canons. The Ecclesiastical and Monastic Rules. Ancient Treatise on the Mass. Ancient Prayers and Litanies. Of the (so called) PROPHECIES. The "Dialogue of the Two Sages". The 'Prophecies' attributed to Conn. The 'Prophecy' attributed to Art.

IN the present Lecture, I propose to conclude my short account of the ecclesiastical MSS., by a very cursory sketch of those of purely ecclesiastical interest; and I shall then proceed to the important subject of the historical pieces called the Prophecies. You will bear in mind the classification already made of these ecclesiastical MSS.

And first, of the Canons:

The ancient CANONS preserved among the ecclesiastical writings in the Gaedhlic language, and with which I happen to be acquainted, are few and brief, and oftener found recited in monastic rules than standing by themselves.

There are some important Ecclesiastical Canons included in the general institutes of the nation, to which, pending the inquiries of the Brehon Law Commission, I do not wish to allude further; but I may mention the following canons among those preserved in the *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré* (sometimes called the *Leabhar Breac*), in the library of the Royal Irish Academy: Canons concerning absence from Mass upon a Sunday; concerning confession and absolution; concerning the reciprocal duties of the parish priest and his flock; concerning the punishment of a bishop who confers holy orders on an unqualified candidate; concerning the duties of the episcopal office; concerning the education of persons for the priesthood; concerning the dedication of children to the service of the Church, and recalling them again.

Besides these canons of the ancient Catholic Church of Erin preserved in the Gaedhlic language, there are a great number preserved in the Latin. Of these latter I shall present you with one as a specimen, from the ancient Book of the canons of Armagh, and from that part of the same old MS. which was copied from the book written by St. Patrick's own hand. I select it not only as an example of its class among the writings I speak of, but because it is one of especial interest, inasmuch as it preserves to us the most perfect evidence of the

connection of the Catholic Church in Erin with the See of Rome, from the very first introduction of Christianity into the country. LEC. XVIII.

This canon has reference to matters of difficulty which might arise in any parish or diocese of the kingdom of Erin, and which could not be settled by the local ecclesiastical authorities; all which cases were to be referred to the Primate of Armagh; and if they could not be disposed of by him, they were then to be sent for final determination to him who sat in the apostolic chair of St. Peter at Rome. It is as follows:

“Moreover, if any case should arise of extreme difficulty, and beyond the knowledge of all the judges of the nations of the Scots, it is to be duly referred to the chair of the archbishop of the Gaedhil, that is to say, of Patrick, and the jurisdiction of this bishop [of Armagh]. But if such a case as aforesaid, of a matter at issue, cannot be easily disposed of [by him], with his counsellors in that [investigation], we have decreed that it be sent to the apostolic seat, that is to say, to the chair of the Apostle Peter, having the authority of the city of Rome.

“These are the persons who decreed concerning this matter, viz.:—Auxilius, Patrick, Secundinus, and Benignus. But after the death of St. Patrick his disciples carefully wrote out his books”. [See original in APPENDIX, No. CXVII.]

This most important Canon affords a proof so unanswerable as to dispose for ever of the modern imposition so pertinaciously practised upon a large section of our countrymen, as well as upon foreigners speaking the English language; namely, that the primitive Church of Erin did not acknowledge or submit to the Pope's supremacy, or appeal to it in cases of ecclesiastical necessity and difficulty. Nor is this canon, I may add, by any means the only piece of important evidence furnished by our ancient books on this great point of Catholic doctrine.

The second class of these religious remains consist of the Ecclesiastical and MONASTIC RULES. Of these we have ancient copies of eight in Dublin; of which six are in verse, and two in prose; seven in vellum MSS., and one on paper. 2^c Of the Ecclesiastical and MONASTIC RULES.

Of the authenticity of these ancient pieces there can be no reasonable doubt; the language, the style, and the matter, are quite in accordance with the times of the authors. It is hardly necessary to say that they all recite and inculcate the precise doctrines and discipline of the Catholic Church in Erin, even as it is at this day.

It would, as you must at once see, be quite inconsistent with the plan of these introductory Lectures to enter into details of

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2^o Of the
Ecclesiastical and
MONASTIC
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compositions of this kind; and I shall therefore content myself by placing before you a simple list of them in the chronological order of their authors, and with a very few observations on their character by way of explanation.

The first is a poem of 276 lines, by St. *Ailbhé* of *Imliuch* [Emly, in the present county of Tipperary], who died in the year 541. It is addressed to Eugene, son of *Sáran*, priest of *Cluain Caelain*, in the same district; and consists of lessons on the duties of a priest, an abbot, and a monk, and on the rules by which their lives ought to be regulated.

The second in chronological order is, the Rule of St. *Ciaran*; but whether of *Ciaran* of *Saighir*, or *Ciaran* of *Cluainmacnois*, who died in the year 548, I am not at present able to decide. This is a poem of 64 lines, on clerical and devotional duties.

The third in chronological order is the Rule of St. *Comhghall* of *Beannchuir*, [Bangor, in the present county of Down,] who died in the year 552. This is a poem of 144 lines, addressed alike to abbots, to monks, and to devout Christians in general.

The fourth is the Rule of St. *Colum Cille*, who died in the year 592. This is a short piece, of about three pages quarto, in prose. It is a precept for the regulation of the life and time of a religious brother who preferred solitude to living in community. He is recommended to reside in contiguity to a principal church, in a secure house, with one door, attended by one servant, whose work should be light, where only those should be admitted who conversed of God and His Testament, and in special solemnities only. His time was to be spent in prayers for those who received his instructions, and for all those who had died in the Faith, the same as if they had all been his most particular friends. The day was to be divided into three parts, devoted, respectively, to prayers, good works, and reading. The works were to be divided into three parts; the first was to be devoted to his own benefit, in doing what was useful and necessary for his own habitation; the second part to the benefit of the brethren; and the third, to the benefit of the neighbours. This last part of his pious works was to consist of precepts or writing, or else sewing clothes, or any other profitable industrial work: "so that there should be no idleness", continues the writer: "ut Deus ait: non apparebis ante me vacuus". [See APPENDIX, No. CXVIII.]

The fifth in chronological order, is the Rule of St. *Carthach*, who was familiarly called *Mochuda*. He was the founder of the ancient ecclesiastical city of *Raithin* [near Tullamore, in the present King's County]; and of the famous city of *Lis Mór* [Lismore in the present county of Waterford]; he died at the latter place on the 14th day of May, in the year 636.

This is a poem of 580 lines, divided into sections, each addressed to a different object or person. The first division consists of eight stanzas, or 32 lines, inculcating the love of God and our neighbour, and the strict observance of the commandments of God, which are set out generally both in word and in spirit. The second section consists of nine stanzas, or 36 lines, on the office and duties of a bishop. The third section consists of twenty stanzas, or 80 lines, on the office and duties of the abbot of a church. The fourth section consists of seven stanzas, or 28 lines, on the office and duties of a priest. The fifth section consists of twenty-two stanzas, or 88 lines, minutely describing the office and duties of a father confessor, as well in his general character of an ordinary priest, as in his particular relation to his penitents. The sixth section consists of nineteen stanzas, or 76 lines, on the life and duties of a monk. The seventh section consists of twelve stanzas, or 48 lines, on the life and duties of the *Célidhé Dé*, or Culdees. The eighth section consists of thirty stanzas, or 120 lines, on the rule and order of the refectory, prayers, ablutions, vespers, and the feasts and fasts of the year. The ninth and last section consists of nineteen stanzas, or 76 lines, on the duties of the kingly office, and the evil consequences that result to king and people, from their neglect or unfaithful discharge.

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The sixth rule in chronological order, is the general Rule of the *Célidhé Dé*, vulgarly called "Culdees". This is a prose tract of nine small quarto pages, written or drawn up by St. *Maelruain*, of *Tamhlacht*, [now Tallaght, in the county of Dublin,] who died in the year 787. It contains a minute series of rules for the regulation of the lives of the *Célidhé Dé*, their prayers, their preachings, their conversations, their confessions, their communions, their ablutions, their fastings, their abstinences, their relaxations, their sleep, their celebrations of the Mass, and so forth.

The seventh in chronological order is the Rule of the Gray Monks; but a chasm in the book has left us but the first stanza of this rule.

The eighth and last in chronological order, is the Rule of *Cormac Mac Cuilennain*, king and archbishop of Cashel, who died in the year 903. This is a poem of fourteen stanzas, or 56 lines, written in the most pure and ancient style of the *Gædhlic* language, of which, as well as of many other languages, the illustrious Cormac was so profound a master. This rule is general in several of its inculcations; but it appears to have been written particularly as an instruction and exhortation to a priest, for the moral and spiritual direction and preservation of himself and his flock.

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30 Of an
Ancient
Treatise on
the Mass.

The third of the classes into which I have divided this branch of our ancient literature consists of a single piece, but one of peculiar interest. It is an ancient Treatise upon, or Explication of, the symbolical ceremonies of the Mass, in Latin and Gaedhlic, and a powerful exposition of the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

I have already observed that these purely ecclesiastical writings scarcely come within the province of those materials of our history, which form the subject of these Lectures. Nevertheless, I am tempted, in consideration of the very nature of the institution within whose walls we are now assembled, so far to digress at this place, as to give you the substance of this very curious treatise. The passage which I have translated for you is short; but, even were it a little longer, I think you would excuse me, when you find in it a complete and undeniable proof of what it is the fashion of Protestant writers to deny without any reason, namely, that the belief of our Gaedhlic ancestors respecting the Real Presence, and all the meaning of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, was, in the early ages of the Church in Erin, precisely the same belief now held by ourselves, precisely the same belief inculcated then, as now, by the Catholic Church throughout the world.

The following extract is literally translated from the tract I have referred to. [See original in APPENDIX, No. CXIX.]

“And this is the foundation of the faith which every Christian is bound to hold; and it is upon this foundation that every virtue which he practises, and every good work which he performs, is erected.

“For it is through this perfection of the faith, with tranquil charity, and with steadfast hope, that all the faithful are saved. For it is this faith, that is, the Catholic faith, that conducts the righteous to the sight, that is, to see God in the glory and in the dignity in which He abides. It is this sight which is offered as a golden reward to the righteous after the Resurrection.

“The pledge for this sight which has been left to the Church here for the present, is the Holy Spirit, which resides in, which comforts, and which strengthens her with all virtues. It is this Spirit which distributes His own peculiar gifts to every faithful member in the Church, as He pleases and as they require to receive it from Him. For, it is by the Holy Spirit these noble gifts following, are bestowed upon the Church, among men; viz.: Baptism and Penitence, and the expectation of persecutions and afflictions.

“One of the noble gifts of the Holy Spirit is the Holy Scriptures, by which all ignorance is enlightened and all worldly affliction comforted; by which all spiritual light is kindled, by

which all debility is made strong. For it is through the Holy Scripture that heresy and schism are banished from the Church, and all contentions and divisions reconciled. It is in it, well-tried counsel and appropriate instruction will be found, for every degree in the Church. It is through it the snares of demons, and vices are banished from every faithful member in the Church. For the Divine Scripture is the mother and the benign nurse of all the faithful who meditate and contemplate it, and who are nurtured by it, until they are chosen children of God by its advice. For the Wisdom, that is the Church, bountifully distributes to her children the variety of her sweetest drink, and the choicest of her spiritual food, by which they are perpetually intoxicated and cheered.

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3^d Of an
Ancient
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the Mass.

“Another division of that pledge, which has been left with the Church to comfort her, is the Body of Christ, and His Blood, which are offered upon the altars of the Christians. The Body, even, which was born of Mary, the Immaculate Virgin, without destruction of her virginity, without opening of the womb, without presence of man; and which was crucified by the unbelieving Jews, out of spite and envy; and which arose after three days from death, and sits upon the right hand of God the Father in Heaven, in glory and in dignity before the angels of Heaven. It is that Body, the same as it is in this great glory, which the righteous consume off God’s Table, that is, the holy altar. For this Body is the rich viaticum of the faithful, who journey through the paths of pilgrimage and penitence of this world to the Heavenly fatherland. This is the seed of the Resurrection in the Life Eternal to the righteous. It is, however, the origin and cause of falling to the impenitent, who believe not, and to the sensual, who distinguish it not, though they believe. Woe, then, to the Christian who distinguishes not this Holy Body of the Lord, by pure morals, by charity, and by mercy. For it is in this Body that will be found the example of the charity which excels all charity, viz., to sacrifice Himself, without guilt, in satisfaction for the guilt of the whole race of Adam.

“This, then, is the perfection and the fullness of the Catholic Faith, as it is taught in the Holy Scriptures”.

I may observe here that the [late lamented] Rev. Dr. Matthew Kelly (Professor of Ecclesiastical History in St. Patrick’s College, Maynooth), to whom I submitted this piece, believed it to be the Mass brought into Erin by St. Patrick, differing as it does in some places, as to the order of the ceremonies, from any other Mass that he had ever seen.

I may also observe that the Gaedhlic part of the tract, though modified in some respects from the peculiar ecclesiastical style

LEC. XVIII. of orthography of the eighth and ninth centuries, is still of the purest and most ancient Christian character.

3^o Of an
Ancient
Treatise on
the Mass.

I believe I may well be pardoned having gone so far out of my path on the present occasion, as to present to you this passage in full. I do so not only for its own sake, but in order to lay before the Catholic University of Ireland a specimen of matter which appears to me to be of infinite value to the history of the Church in this country, and of which there is a very large amount preserved to us in the ancient writings just referred to. I cannot doubt but that it is only necessary to call the attention of the learned Catholic body to the existence of the wealth of evidence and illustration concerning the faith of our ancestors, which lies as yet buried in these great old Gaedhlic books, to cause effective measures to be taken to make these useful to the religion of the people to-day, by making known what they contain in full to the world.

4^o Of an
Ancient
form of Con-
secration of
a Church.

To resume. The fourth class consists also of a single piece, namely, an ancient Formula of the Consecration of a new church or oratory.

This piece is important, no less for its antiquity, and with reference to its doctrinal character, than for the historical evidence it contains as to the form in which the primitive churches of Erin were built, which must, according to this tract, have always had the door in the west end.

5^o Of Ancient
Prayers, In-
vocations,
and Litanies.

The fifth class of these religious remains consists of the Prayers, Invocations, and Litanies which have come down to us: these I shall set down in chronological order, as far as my authorities will allow me, and, when authority fails, guided by my own judgment and experience in the investigation of these ancient writings.

The first piece of this class (adopting the chronological order) is the prayer of St. *Aireran* the wise (often called *Aileran*, *Eleran*, and *Airenan*), who was a classical professor in the great school of Clonard, and died of the plague in the year 664. St. *Aireran*'s prayer or litany is addressed, respectively, to God the Father, to God the Son, and to God the Holy Spirit, invoking them for mercy by various titles indicative of their power, glory, and attributes. The prayer consists of five invocations to the Father, eighteen invocations to the Son, and five to the Holy Spirit; and commences in Latin, thus: "O Deus Pater, Omnipotens Deus, exerci misericordiam nobis". This is followed by the same invocation in the Gaedhlic; and the petitions, to the end, are continued in the same language. The invocation of the Son

begins thus: "Have mercy on us, O Almighty God! O Jesus Christ! O Son of the living God! O Son, born twice! O only born of God the Father". The petition to the Holy Spirit begins: "Have mercy on us, O Almighty God! O Holy Spirit! O spirit the noblest of all spirits!" [See original in APPENDIX, No. CXX.]

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5^o Of Ancient Prayers, Invocations, and Litanies. (The Prayer of St. Aireran the Wise.)

When I first discovered this prayer in the *Leabhar Buidhe Lecain*, (or Yellow Book of *Lecain*), in the library of Trinity College, many years ago, I had no means of ascertaining or fixing its date; but in my subsequent readings in the same library, for my collection of ancient glossaries, I met the word *Oirchis* set down with explanation and illustration, as follows:—

"*Oirchis*, id est, Mercy; as it is said in the prayers of Airinan the Wise:—Have mercy on us, O God the Father Almighty!" [See original in APPENDIX, No. CXXI.]

I think it is unnecessary to say more on the identity of this prayer with the distinguished *Aireran* of Clonard. Nor is this the only specimen of his devout works that has come down to us. Fleming, in his *Collecta Sacra*, has published a fragment of a Latin tract of *Aireran*, discovered in the ancient monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland, which is entitled, "The Mystical Interpretation of the Ancestry of our Lord Jesus Christ". A perfect copy of this curious tract, and one of high antiquity, has, I believe, been lately discovered on the continent.

There was another *Aireran*, also called "the wise",—who was abbot of *Tamhlacht* [Tallaght], in the latter part of the ninth century; but he has not been distinguished as an author, as far as we know.

The second piece of this class is the prayer or invocation of *Colgu Ua Duinechda*, a classical Professor of Clonmacnois, who died in the year 789. This prayer is divided into two parts. The first consists of twenty-eight petitions or paragraphs, each paragraph beseeching the mercy and forgiveness of Jesus, through the intercession of some class of the holy men of the Old and New Testament; who are referred to in the paragraph, or represented by the names of one or more of the most distinguished of them. The first part begins thus:—"I beseech the intercession with Thee, O Holy Jesus! of thy four evangelists who wrote thy gospel, namely Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John". The second part consists of seventeen petitions to the Lord Jesus, apparently offered at Mass-time, beseeching Him to accept the sacrifice then made, for all Christian churches, for the sake of the merciful Father, from whom He descended upon the Earth; for the sake of His Divinity which the Father had overshadowed, in order that it might unite with His

The Prayer of Colgu Ua Duinechda.

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Prayers, In-
vocations,
and Litanies.
(Of the
Prayer of
Aitiran
"the Wise";
and the
Prayer of
Colgu Ua
Duinechda.)

(Ancient Li-
tany of the
B. Virgin.)

The Litany
of *Aengus*
Céile Dé
(circa 798).

humanity; for the sake of the Immaculate body from which He was formed in the womb of the Virgin. The second prayer begins thus:—"O Holy Jesus; O Beautiful Friend; O Star of the Morning; Thou full, brilliant Noon-day Sun; Thou Noble Torch of Righteousness and Truth, of Eternal Life, and of Eternity." [See original in APPENDIX, No. CXXII.]

The third piece of this fifth class is a beautiful and ancient Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary, differing in many ways from her Litany in other languages, and clearly showing that, although it may be an imitation, it is not a translation. I believe it to be as old, at least, as the middle of the eighth century. It consists of fifty-nine Invocations, beginning; "O Great Mary! O Mary Greatest of all Marys; O Greatest of women; O Queen of the Angels", etc.; and it concludes with a beautiful and eloquent entreaty that she will lay the unworthy prayers, sighs, and groans of the sinners before her own merciful Son, backed by her own all-powerful advocacy, for the forgiveness of their sins. [See original in APPENDIX, No. CXXIII.]

The fourth piece of this class is the Litany of *Aengus Céile Dé*, consequently dating about the year 798. This composition, quite independently of its religious character, affords a most important corroborative piece of ecclesiastical history. It is mentioned by Sir James Ware in his "Writers of Ireland", as "a book of litanies in which, in a long series of daily prayers, are invoked some companies of saints, who were either school-fellows under the same master, or who joined in society under the same leader, to propagate the faith among heathens; or, who were buried in the same monastery, or lived in communion in the same church; or, lastly, who were joined together by any other like titles". So wrote Sir James Ware, a Protestant gentleman of learning and integrity. And when I quote this acknowledgment of the authenticity of the litany, let me be permitted to add that of another Protestant gentleman of at least equal depth of learning and accuracy of discrimination; one still among us, and who I hope may long continue to enlighten us by his knowledge, to improve us by his exquisite taste in the illustration of our ancient history, in literature and in art, and to elevate us by the bright example of a blameless life of incorruptible honour, a generous and manly liberality of tone, and many active, unostentatious, but exalted virtues; I mean my dear and honoured friend Dr. George Petrie. Thus writes Dr. Petrie in his unanswerable Essay on the ancient Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland; a work with which I hope all my hearers are familiar.

“Having now, as I trust, sufficiently shown that the Irish erected churches and cells of stone, without cement, at the very earliest period after the introduction of Christianity into the country; and if it had been necessary, I might have adduced a vastly greater body of evidence to substantiate the fact; I may, I think, fairly ask: Is it possible that they would remain much longer ignorant of the use of lime cement in their religious edifices, a knowledge of which must necessarily have been imparted to them by the crowds of foreign ecclesiastics, Egyptian, Roman, Italian, French, British, and Saxon, who flocked to Ireland as a place of refuge, in the fifth and sixth centuries? Of such immigration there cannot possibly exist a doubt; for, not to speak of the great number of foreigners who were disciples of St. Patrick, and of whom the names are preserved in the most ancient lives of that saint; nor of the evidences of the same nature so abundantly supplied in the lives of many other saints of the Primitive Irish Church; it will be sufficient to refer to that most curious and ancient document, written in the year 799, the litany of St. Aengus the Culdee, in which are invoked such a vast number of foreign saints buried in Ireland. Copies of this ancient litany are found in the Book of Leinster, a MS. undoubtedly of the twelfth century, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin; and in the *Leabhar Breac* [properly the *Leabhar Mór Dána Dóighré*], preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy: and the passages in it, relative to the foreign ecclesiastics, have been extracted, translated into Latin, and published by Ward, in his *Life of St. Rumold*, page 206; and by Colgan, in his *Acta Sanctorum*, page 539” [535].⁽⁴⁷⁾

The litany of *Aengus* begins thus: “The three times fifty Roman pilgrims, who settled in *Ui Melé*, along with Notal and *Nemshenchaidh* and Cornutan, invoco in auxilium meum, per Jesum Christum, etc....The three thousand father confessors who congregated in Munster to consider one question, under Bishop Ibar,—and where to the Angel of God was ascribed the great feast which St. Brigid had prepared in her heart for Jesus,—invoco in auxilium meum per Jesum Christum. The other thrice fifty pilgrims of the men of Rome and Latium who went into Scotland, invoco in auxilium meum per Jesum Christum. The thrice fifty Gaedhils of Erin, in holy orders, each of them a man of strict rule, who went in one body into pilgrimage,

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⁽⁴⁷⁾ *Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland*, p. 134. One slight mistake Dr. Petrie has fallen into in this passage, as to the tract in the Book of Leinster. The tract he alludes to there, is Aengus's Book of the Pedigrees of the Irish Saints, and not his Litany, which is found only in the *Leabhar Mór Dána Dóighré*.

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under Abban, the son of *Ua Cormaic*, invoco in auxilium meum per Jesum Christum", etc. [See original in APPENDIX, No. CXXIV.]

And thus does Aengus go on to invoke groups of men and women who came into Erinn from all parts of the world, and joined themselves to various religious persons and communities throughout our land, to benefit by their purity of morals and exalted piety; as well as the countless groups of men, lay and ecclesiastical, who left Erinn on pilgrimages to the Holy Land, under SS. *Ailbhé*, Brendan, etc.; and others who went out to plant and propagate their Christian knowledge and piety, in remote and unfrequented countries, which had not yet been brought within the range of the Lord's vineyard, or in which the seeds of Christianity formerly sown had either run to extravagant wildness or totally failed.

After invoking these various groups at considerable length, he turns to the bishops of Erinn, whom he invokes in groups of seven, taking together those who either lived contemporaneously or succeeded each other in the one church; as the seven bishops of *Drom-Aurchaillé*; the seven bishops of *Drom Dercedan*; the seven bishops of *Tulach na n-Espuc*, or Hill of the Bishops, etc. [I may mention to you that this *Tulach na n-Espuc*, was Tulla, near Cabinteely, in the county of Dublin; and that it is stated in the Life of St. *Brigid*, that these seven bishops, on a certain occasion, paid her a visit at Kildare, a circumstance which fixes the time at which they lived.]

The invocation extends to 141 groups of seven, or in all 987 bishops, ending with the seven bishops of *Domhnach Chairné* [probably the place now called Doneycarney, near Dublin].

We now come to another and the last section of our Ecclesiastical MSS., if we may include under this title the writings called Prophecies ascribed to the saints of Erinn.

In opening the subject of ancient Gaedhlic PROPHECIES, it might be expected that I should take a comparative glance at the prophecies of other countries, as this would indeed be the most learned and approved mode of introducing the subject; but as I have hitherto in the progress of these Lectures confined myself to a simple analysis of the historic and literary remains of our own country, treated from the points of view offered by internal evidence only, I shall follow the same rule in this instance, and proceed to treat of our ancient prophecies, as they are called, on their own authority and on their own internal merits alone.

In the first place I have to tell you, that although those ascribed to the saints form the chief part of our collection of prophecies, there are a few referred to times anterior to the year

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432, the year in which St. Patrick commenced his Christian mission in Erin; and their authorship is ascribed to persons still involved in the darkness of paganism. As, then, it is my design to take all the "Prophecies" in their presumed chronological order, I shall begin with those which are referred to our pre-Christian period.

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Of the Prophecies ascribed to the Saints of Erin.

The oldest prophecy, or rather prophetic allusion to future events in Erin, that I can remember, is found in the ancient but little-known tract, which is entitled *Agallamh an dá Shuadhl*, or the Dialogue of the two Sages (or Professors). The history given of this Dialogue is shortly this.

Of the so-called "Prophecies" anterior to the time of St. Patrick. (The "Prophecy" in the "Dialogue of the Two Sages".)

Adhna, a distinguished Connachtman, was chief poet of Ulster in the reign of Conor Mac Nessa (about four hundred years before St. Patrick's arrival). *Adhna* had a son, *Néidhé*, who, after having been carefully instructed in the prescribed literary course of the period by his father, was then sent by him into Scotland, to add to his stores of native knowledge all that could be acquired at the famous academy of *Eochaidh Echbheóil*, in that country. During *Néidhé's* sojourn in Scotland, his father, *Adhna*, died, and *Athairné*, the celebrated poet and satirist, was raised to his place of chief poet of Ulster. An account of these important changes having, however, reached young *Néidhé* in Scotland, he immediately returned to Erin, and went straight to the palace of Emania. He entered the royal court at once under protection of his well-recognized poet's tonsure, and made directly for the chief poet's chair, which he found vacant at the moment, with the arch-poet's *Tuighen*, or official gown, lying on the back of it. (This gown of the arch-poet is described as having been one ornamented with the feathers of beautiful birds.) *Néidhé*, finding the chair accidentally vacant, sat in it and put on the gown. *Athairné* soon after made his appearance, and seeing his appointed mantle and seat occupied by a stranger, he immediately addressed him in these words: "Who is the learned poet upon whom the *Tuighen* with its splendour rests?" [See original in APPENDIX, No. CXXV.]

This led to a long, learned, and animated contest in literature, poetry, philosophy, Druidism, etc., in which *Néidhé* showed himself fully qualified to retain the position which he had temporarily assumed; but, in obedience to the beautiful patriarchal law of reverence for seniority which pervaded all conditions of society in ancient Erin, having first established his superior qualifications, he then voluntarily vacated the chair, put off the splendid gown, placed it on the shoulders of *Athairné*, and, in the absence of his father by death and of his later preceptor by distance, he adopted him as his father and preceptor.

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This strange piece is couched in very ancient language, somewhat resembling, indeed partaking largely of the character of, the ancient text of the Brehon laws; but every phrase, almost every word, throughout the whole, is explained in the version which is preserved to us, by an ancient interlined gloss, still in ancient, but much more accessible language.

We have shown in a former Lecture, on the authority of the ancient Book of *Uachongbhúil*, that the obscurity of the language in which this dialogue was carried on, in the presence of King Conor and the nobles of Ulster, was the immediate cause of taking from the Poets the exclusive right which, down to that time, they had enjoyed, of interpreting the ancient laws of the country, and of opening their study to all such men of all grades as should incline to make the law their profession. This dialogue is also quoted at the word *Teathra* ("the Sea"), and at the word *Tuighen* ("the Gown") in Cormac's Glossary; a compilation of the close of the ninth century. Yet, although the mere literary part of the tract may, perhaps, be referred to the remarkable period of Conor Mac Nessa's reign, it is too much to expect that the precise reference to the precise discipline and doctrines of the future Christian Church of Erin, which it is made to contain prophetically, could have been really predicted by persons not yet rescued from the darkness of Paganism. The passage occurs thus: The Dialogue is carried on by way of question and answer: *Athairné* puts the question, and *Néidhé* answers. After a variety of questions relating to literature, poetry, Druidism, astronomy, ethics, etc., *Athairné* asks *Néidhé* whether he has any knowledge of the future state of Erin; *Néidhé* answers that he has, and he then goes into a long review of what is to happen in church and state, to the end of time. There would be mortalities of cows all over the world; Kings would be few; Professors of the various arts would be mere imitators; Pagan enemies would waste Erin, so that dignity of birth or extent of wealth would serve nobody. [This no doubt alludes to the Danish invasion in the eighth century.] Kings would be wanderers; religion extinguished; the nobles crushed down; the ignoble raised up, and neither man nor God would be honoured or worshipped; clerical orders and functions would be cast off, and hypocrisy and delusions assumed; musicians would be metamorphosed into clowns; the churches would become subject to the lords of the lands; pupils would neglect to maintain their tutors in their old age. There would come, after this, great mortalities; lightnings, and thunder; unnatural seasons; a vengeful slaughter for three days and three nights; and this would be the fiery plague of the festival of St. John the Bap-

tist, which would destroy two-thirds of the people of the world, and one-third of which should fall upon the animals of the sea and the trees of the forest. After those years of sorrow, the foreigners would come in their ships to *Inbher Domnainn* [now the Bay of Malahide, on the coast of the county of Dublin]. This was to be the *Roth Rámhach*, or "Rowing Wheel", (of which more hereafter); and it would fly off to the *Coirthe Cnúmhchoillé*, or Rock of *Cnúmhchoill* (of which more hereafter), where it would be broken;—that is, where the enemies, (of whom, as of a plague, it was the poetical designation,) would be overthrown and almost annihilated, as well as their "stammering foreign women, that is, Saxon women, who would bear children to their own fathers". The destruction and desertion of the great palaces and cities of Erin was to take place,—namely, Emania, in Ulster; Tara, in Meath; *Cruachain*, in Connacht; Cashel, in Munster; and *Aileach*, in Derry;—after which the sea would come over Erin, seven years before the day of judgment.

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This part of this so-called prophecy appears to me curious, because it seems to bring the author's time down to the tenth century, when the Danes were accustomed to run over here from England, with their Saxon bond wives and bond women. But I need not dwell longer upon it at present.

The second personage belonging to the pre-Christian period, to whom I have found any existing prophecy ascribed, is no other than the celebrated Conn "of the hundred battles", monarch of Erin, who was slain in the year of our Lord 157, or 275 years before the arrival of St. Patrick.

"Prophecies" ascribed to Conn of the Hundred Battles.

Conn's name is connected with two distinct prophecies,—one delivered by himself, and entitled the *Bailé Chuinn*, or Conn's Ecstasy; the other delivered to him, and entitled the *Bailé an Scáil*, or the Champion's Ecstasy. The word *Bailé*, which means madness, distraction, or ecstasy, is the ancient Gaedhlic name for a Prophecy.

Of these two "Prophecies" nothing seems to have been known to Gaedhlic scholars and historians, for some centuries back, more than the quotation from the *Bailé Chuinn* found in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, as published by Father John Colgan, in his *Trias Thaumaturgas*, in the year 1647, (a quotation which was reprinted by Dr. Petrie, in his *History and Antiquities of Tara*, published in the year 1839, in the 18th volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*). Even at the time that Dr. Petrie wrote his important Essay on Tara, the serious examination of our ancient Gaedhlic manuscripts was but in its infancy; and when this *Bailé Chuinn* was discovered in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, it was not known who Conn, the

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author of it, was; nor at what time he flourished; nor whether it contained any more than what is there quoted; it was only believed that he must have been some ancient Druid. Neither could the most minute research among our extensive collection of manuscripts in Dublin throw any light on his history. However, on my visit to London in the summer of 1849, I had the good fortune to discover an ancient copy of the entire prophecy, of which an extract only is quoted in the Tripartite Life.

The piece is a short one, filling but one column of a small folio page. It is entitled *Bailé Chuinn Ched-Chathaigh*; that is, 'the Ecstasy (or Prophecy) of Conn of the hundred battles'. The manuscript is written on vellum, and was compiled or transcribed in Burren, in my native county of Clare, by Donnel O'Davoren, about the year 1590. It will be found in the British Museum, classed, "Egerton 88". The transcript appears to have been made from some ancient decayed manuscript, and with some carelessness, many words being carelessly spelled or contracted. The style of the composition is affectedly irregular and obscure, and cannot be taken as evidence of the remote antiquity to which it is referred. It will appear from what follows, that the piece professes to have been originally written forty nights before Conn's death. The "Prophecy", which is written in prose, has reference to the succession of the kings of Tara; and Conn commences with his own son, Art, of whom he disposes in the following few words:

"Art will succeed at the end of forty nights; a powerful champion, who shall die at *Mucruimhé*"; [see original in APPENDIX, No. CXXVI.] The Prophecy then runs rapidly down to Mac Con, the successor of Art; Cormac the son of Art, and successor of Mac Con; *Cairbré*, the son of Cormac, killed at the battle of *Gabhra*; *Fiacha Sraibhtiné*, the son of *Cairbré*; *Muirédhach*, the son of *Fiacha*; and passing over *Eochaidh Muighmheadhóin*, the son of *Muirédhach*, it comes down to his son again, *Niall* of the Nine Hostages; and then to *Laeghairé*, the son of *Niall*, who was monarch when St. Patrick arrived. Here the prophet foretells the coming of our great apostle, in words which stand as follows, with their ancient explanations: "With *Laeghairé* the violent will the land be humbled by the coming of the *Tailcenn*, that is, Patrick; houses across, that is churches, bent staffs, which will pluck the flowers from high places". [See original in same APPENDIX.] A somewhat different and better version of this prediction is given in the ancient Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, where it is quoted, without gloss, from the *Bailé Chuinn*; it runs thus: "A *Tailcenn* shall come, he will erect cities, churches, music houses, with gables and

angles; many kings will take up pilgrim staffs". [See original in APPENDIX, No. CXXVII.] The word *Tailcenn* (or *Tailgenn*), which occurs here, and in various places in our ancient writings, means the reverend person,—to whom all men would bow the head in reverence. [See same APPENDIX.] For the precise meaning of every word in this ancient strain I have succeeded in procuring from ancient manuscripts the most undoubted authority; and this is rather remarkable, since the version of it given by Father John Colgan in his Latin translation of the Tripartite Life, is inaccurate and incongruous.⁽⁴⁸⁾

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After bringing the predictions down to king *Laeghairé*, and the coming of St. Patrick, as we have just seen, the royal "prophet" is made to continue the list of his successors in the sovereignty, sometimes by name, and sometimes by description, down to the three Nialls, the last of whom, *Niall Glun-dubh*, was killed in battle with the Danes, near Dublin, in the year 917; and from that down, by description, to a king described as the false fratricidal king in whose reign the Saxons were to come. Now, this fratricidal king of Tara was, without doubt, *Domnall Breaghach O'Macilsechlainn*, who, in the year 1169, murdered his cousin *Diarmuid*, the rightful king of Tara, and set himself up in his place. And this was the precise year in which the Anglo-Normans (or Saxons, as they are called here), first invaded Ireland; so that, whatever degree of credit might be due to the early part of this strange prophecy, the latter part savours strongly of a foregone knowledge of historic facts.

It is unfortunate that no vestige of the original history of this prophecy has come down to us: what the immediate inciting causes to it were, and to what extent it ran at the time that it was first introduced into the ancient Tripartite Life of St. Patrick. That some such account existed, there is good reason to believe; and upon the character of it would very much depend whether the so-called prophecy, or any part of it, was to be received as authentic or not. These observations will be better understood from the following fanciful history and description of the *Baile an Scéil*, the other ancient prophecy with which the name of king Conn is connected. The history is prefixed to the copy of this prophecy in the British Museum MS. (Harleian, 5280), and runs in the following style:—

One morning Conn repaired at sunrise to the battlements of the *Ri Raith*, or Royal Fortress, of Tara, accompanied by his three

⁽⁴⁸⁾ It runs as follows: "Adveniet cum circulo tonsus in capite, cujus aedes ad instar aedium Romanarum: efficiet quod cellæ futuræ sint in pretio et æstimatione. Aedes ejus erunt angustæ et angulatæ et fana mueta pedum pastorale dominabetur"—*Trias Thaum.*, p. 123.

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Druids, *Mael, Bloc, and Bluicné*, and his three poets, *Ethain, Corb, and Cesarn*; for he was accustomed every day to repair to this place with the same company, for the purpose of watching the firmament, that no hostile aerial beings should descend upon Erin unknown to him. While standing in the usual place this morning, Conn happened to tread upon a stone, and immediately the stone shrieked under his feet, so as to be heard all over Tara, and throughout all Bregia, or East Meath. Conn then asked his Druids why the stone had shrieked, what its name was, and what it said. The Druids took fifty-three days to consider; and at the expiration of that period returned the following answer: "*Fal* is the name of the stone; it came from *Inis Fáil*, or the island of *Fal*; it has shrieked under your royal feet, and the number of shrieks which the stone has given forth, is the number of kings of your seed that will succeed you till the end of time; but", continued the Druid, "I am not the person destined to name them to you". [See original in APPENDIX, No. CXXVIII.]

Conn stood some time musing on this strange revelation; when, suddenly, he found himself and his companions enveloped in a mist, so thick, that they knew not where they were, so intense was the darkness. They had not continued long in this condition, until they heard the tramp of a horseman approaching them; and immediately a spear was cast three times in succession towards them, coming nearer to them each time. The Druid then cried out: "It is a violation of the sacred person of a king to whoever casts [on the part of any one that casts] at Conn in Tara". The horseman then came up, saluted Conn, and invited himself and his companions to his house. He led them into a noble plain, where they saw a royal court, into which they entered, and found it occupied by a beautiful and richly dressed princess, with a silver vat full of red ale, and a golden ladle and a golden cup before her. The knight, on entering the palace, showed his guests to appropriate seats, and sat himself in a princely chair at the head of the apartment; and then, addressing himself to Conn, said:—

"I wish to inform you that I am not a living knight; I am one of Adam's race who have come back from death; my name is *Lugh Mac Ceithlenn*, and I am come to tell you the length of your own reign, and the name and reign of every king who shall succeed you in Tara; and the princess whom you have found here on your entrance, is the sovereignty of Erin for ever".

The princess then presented to Conn the bare rib of an ox, and the bare rib of a boar. The ox's rib measured four-and-twenty feet in length; and when both its ends were laid on the ground, it formed an arch eight feet in height. She subse-

quently presented him with the silver pail and the golden ladle and cup. The princess then took up the ladle, filled the cup, and said: "Who shall this cup with the red ale be given to?" The knight answered: "Give it to Conn of the Hundred Battles (that is, he shall gain a hundred battles); fifty years shall he have reigned, when he will be slain at *Tuath Amrois*". The princess said again: "Who shall this cup with the red ale be given to?" "Give it", said the knight, "to Art, the son of Conn: he shall have reigned thirty years, when he shall be slain at *Magh Mucruimhé*". And thus does the princess continue to put her questions, the knight always giving the name of the succeeding king, the length of his reign, and the place and manner of his death, down to *Laeghairé*, the son of *Niall*, where the knight answers: "Give it to *Laeghairé* of the many Conflicts, who shall devastate the *Lifé* [Liffey, that is, Leinster], and many other territories. Five years shall he have reigned, when a stranger company shall come, among whom shall be the *Tailecenn*, that is, Patrick, a man of great dignity, whom God will honour, who will light a great torch which shall illuminate Erin even to the sea. *Laeghairé* shall be slain on the bank of the *Caisé*. Kings and many champions will be brought to take up the pilgrim's staff by the preaching of the *Tailecenn*".

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The prophecy is then continued in the same way down to the monarch Fergus, the son of *Maeldúin*, who was to be slain in the Battle of *Almhain*, on a Friday, an occurrence which took place in the year 718. And here our copy unfortunately breaks off, otherwise we should be pretty well able to fix the probable date of the original composition of this piece.

That this piece, however, whatever was its date, was a well-known tract, and of authority for the succession and reigns of the monarchs of Erin in the middle of the eleventh century, is clear, as we find it quoted as an authority by Flann, of Monasterboice (who died in 1056), in the 16th stanza of his poem on the succession of the Kings of Tara, when speaking of the monarch *Eochaidh Muidhmhedhóin*, who died in the year of our Lord 365, in the eighth year of his reign. Thus writes Flann [See original in APPENDIX, No. CXXIX.]:

Died, after being kinged by the hosts,

The smooth and stainless *Eochaidh Muighmhedhóin*,

Here was verified (whatever other cases may be.)

That which was written in the *Bailé an Scáil*.

This is an important reference to the *Bailé an Scáil*. It is pretty clear that Flann did not believe in its inspiration, and that he had not found its historic details as accurate, in all instances, as those which related to *Eochaidh Muighmhedhóin*.

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A fine copy of Flann's poem is preserved in the Book of Leinster, compiled about eighty years after his death. It begins [see same APPENDIX]:

"The Kings of Tara who were animated by fire".

I think it quite unnecessary to offer any observation on the *Bailé an Scáil* itself, after having placed before you a fair version—indeed a literal translation nearly—of the purely fabulous account of its origin, which has come down to us, and which must certainly be as old as the prophecy itself. And notwithstanding that the *Bailé Chuinn* is quoted in the most ancient copies known to us of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, still it is impossible to assign to it any higher degree of antiquity or authenticity than to the other. Indeed, both seem to have been manufactured by the same hand, one being a mere echo of the other, but with some additional details, as far as our imperfect copy of it comes down.

It would be absurd to believe that either Conn himself, or his doubtful informant the *Scáil* (both pagans), could have received any divine revelation, or could, even with druidical aid, have given us the precise name, length of reign, number and names of battles, as well as the place and manner of death, of every king of Conn's race, who would occupy Tara, from the year of our Lord 157, down to the Saxon or Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland, in the year 1169! How, then, it may be asked, did this prophecy come to be introduced into our most ancient copies of the Tripartite Life? To this question, I can only state my opinion in answer; an opinion founded, however, on the thoughtful reading and study for many years of the character and possible authenticity of such old compositions of a so-called "prophetic" character as have come under my notice. Allow me, then, to say, that we have no really ancient copy of the Tripartite, that is, any copy older than, or even as old as, the twelfth century; and (if we had copies to refer to in succession from the sixth century to the twelfth, when the prophecy would, if perfect, we presume, have ended,) I have for my part little doubt that could we with certainty discover the first copy in which the *Bailé Chuinn* occurs, we should find it not older than the year 1169; that is, presuming that the present is the original version of the prophecy.

It is a very remarkable fact, however, that Macutenius, who collected or wrote a short tract on the life of St. Patrick before the year 700, introduces an ancient pagan prophecy of the coming of our apostle, of which he gives the Latin, but that he makes no mention, nevertheless, of the *Bailé Chuinn*. Probus also, who wrote a Life of St. Patrick in the tenth century, it is believed, quotes the same pagan prediction, and gives a Latin

translation of it, but has no reference to the *Bailé Chuinn*; and Jocelyn, who wrote his Life of St. Patrick about the year 1185, gives the same pagan prophecy, but not a word about the other.

I shall now pass from the *Bailé Chuinn*, for the present, to take it up again when I come to speak more particularly of the pagan prophecy just referred to.

The practice of ascribing predictions of the coming of St. Patrick to persons who lived some centuries before that event, was not confined to the case of Conn of the Hundred Battles, or his gifted friend from the land of spirits, the *Scál*. We find, in the ancient historic tract on the Battle of *Magh Mucruimhé* (which was fought in the year of our Lord 195), a "prophetic" poem, ascribed to the monarch Art, the son of Conn, who was slain in that battle. This poem is preserved in the ancient vellum MS. called the *Leabhar na h-Uidhré*, compiled before the year 1106, a book which has been so often spoken of in the course of these lectures. There is a short prose introduction headed, "The Prophecy and Christian Belief of Art the Lonely", which states that the prophecy was the result of a vision which Art saw while enjoying a sleep on the top of his *Dumha Selga*, or hunting-mound, a short time before the battle, while hunting at *Treóit* (the place now called Trevit, situated about three miles east of Tara, in the county of Meath).

In this vision Art is said to have seen the coming of St. Patrick; the great changes which his mission would bring about in the condition of Erin; the subsequent importance, as a religious establishment, of *Treóit*, the place in which he then happened to be, and where, by his own direction, his body was carried from the battle-field and buried, in anticipation of the future sanctity of the place.

The poem, which consists of 156 lines, was addressed to *Den Mór*, Art's attendant, and begins [see APPENDIX, No. CXXX.]:

"Pleasant for Denna, the vehement",.....

This is one of the oldest poems that I am acquainted with, and many of the words are explained by an ancient interlined gloss; but it is remarkable that it has no reference to those who were to succeed Art in the monarchy, nor to the Danish or Saxon invasions. I think it was written immediately at, or about the time of founding the church of *Treóit*, and before either of the invasions had occurred, and that, consequently, the prophet was too honest to see farther forward into futurity.

In my next Lecture I shall proceed with some account of the remainder of these so-called Prophecies, after which I propose to take up those ascribed to St. *Colum Cillé* and his successors.

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Of the so-called "Prophecies" anterior to the time of St. Patrick. ("Prophecy" ascribed to Art "the Lonely", son of Conn,—slain A.D. 195.)

LECTURE XIX.

[Delivered July 17, 1856.]

THE (so-called) PROPHECIES (continued). The Prophecies attributed to *Finn Mac Cúmhaill*. Of the Magical Arts of Finn. Of the Pagan Prophecy of the coming of St. Patrick, quoted by Macutenius. The Prophecies attributed to St. *Caillin*. The Prophecies attributed to *Beg Mac Dé*. The Prophecies attributed to St. *Colum Cillé*. Of the spurious and modern Prophecies attributed to this Saint.

IN our last Lecture we considered shortly the remarkable "*Dialogue of the Two Sages*", the two "Prophecies" referred to Conn of the Hundred Battles, and that ascribed to his son Art, called the Lonely. Before we pass to the Prophecies (as they are called) attributed to the early Christian Saints of Erin, we have still to notice one or two other compositions which pass under the same name, though belonging to an earlier era.

The next of our pagan "prophets" in chronological order is no less a personage than the celebrated *Finn Mac Cúmhaill*, who was slain in the year of our Lord 283, or 149 years before St. Patrick's coming. It would indeed have been a great omission on the part of our ancient chroniclers of the wonderful, if they had failed to endow Finn with the gift of prophecy, along with all his other surprising accomplishments.

I have in a former Lecture given a short account of the poems in general which we find ascribed to Finn in our old manuscripts, and among them one foretelling the mission of St. Patrick, the founding of a Christian church by St. *Moling* at *Ros Broc* [now St. Mullins, in the county of Carlow], and the future renown of that place. There are, however, besides this, two other "Prophecies" known to me as ascribed to Finn, one of them of an ancient date, and the other not so old; and there is a third prophecy of Finn's, preserved among some poems and prophecies ascribed to St. *Colum Cillé*, in a vellum manuscript in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; but I had not, when there, time to examine it.

Of the two prophecies which I am about to describe, one is preserved in a vellum manuscript of the fifteenth century, in the Library of Trinity College (Class H. 3, 17). It is very short, and is written in irregularly measured prose, in ancient language, and with an interlined gloss. It is headed: "Finn, the grandson of *Baisné* cecinit, foretelling of Patrick, when he

slipped off the flag on which he afterwards came to Erinn". LECT. XIX.
 [See original in APPENDIX, No. CXXXI.]

The "Prophecy", which consists of about thirty lines, begins with the following [see same APPENDIX]:—

"It is not in the path of crime my foot has come.

It is not a decline of strength that has come upon me,

But it is the warrior's stone this stone rejects:

He is a distinguished man for whom the stone rejects me,

[a man] With dignities from the Holy Spirit" (*i.e.*, the dignity of a bishop).

It is impossible to understand the legend alluded to in this very curious piece, in the absence of any more of its history; and the more so, that, as I am certain, the short heading is defective by two words; for I should have but little difficulty in identifying the legend, and inferring the history of the prophecy, supposing it had run, for example, thus: "Finn, the grandson of *Baisné* cecinit, foretelling of Patrick, when he [Finn] slipped off the flagstone upon which [the leper] came afterwards to Erinn".

The legend of the leper and the flagstone is this: When St. Patrick was leaving the coast of Britain to come over to Erinn on his mission, just as the ship had cast off from the shore, a poor leprous man came on the beach, and begged earnestly to be taken on board. Patrick was willing to put back and take him up; but the crew refused, and the ship moved on. The poor leper still continued his entreaties; whereupon, Patrick took his altar-stone (which, in the old writings, is called the Stone Altar), and casting it on the water within reach of the leper, desired him to sit on it and be quiet. This the leper did, and immediately the stone moved, following the ship throughout its course, until they reached the harbour of Wicklow, where the leper was one of the first to land; after which the Saint again took possession of his "Stone Altar". This stone is spoken of as an altar in the text of this prophecy, and with the promise, that as long as it lives in Erinn Patrick's children in Christ will live in his doctrines. It is not improbable that there was an ancient legend, which is not now known, of the history of this stone before Patrick consecrated it to his holy purposes. In this, as in the former prophecies, Patrick is called the *Taileann*. [See APP., No. CXXVII.]

Assuming the foregoing, then, to be the true reading of the legend implied in the heading, there remains still the other legend to be accounted for; that, namely, of Finn's slipping off the flagstone; a legend, of which I have never met with any trace in my reading, though it has been rather extensive in this

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particular direction. If, however, I were allowed to infer the legend from the few facts mentioned in the opening lines of the prophecy, I should say that it might perhaps have once run in this strain:—

That Finn was hunting somewhere about *Sliabh Mis* (in the county of Antrim), where St. Patrick, during his early captivity in Erin, was employed to herd the swine of his master Milchu; that Finn in his progress happened to tread upon a stone, from which he slipped in some remarkable manner; that, on looking at the stone, he discovered that it was one which offered a good material for a weapon,—probably for one of those curiously-fashioned weapons of which we have so many specimens of all sizes in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and which now pass by the unmeaning name of celts (a kind of weapon, which in ancient Gaedhlic was called *Lia Milidh*, or Warrior's Stone), and one or more of which every champion carried in his girdle to be cast as occasion might require; that Finn, in some unaccountable way, failed to appropriate the stone; that he then had recourse to his Druidic powers of divination to discover the cause of his failure; that he found the stone to be predestined for a higher and holier office than that of an offensive weapon in the hands of a professional warrior, and that on that account, it intuitively shrunk from his hand; and finally that, long afterwards, when Patrick was employed as a swine-herd on this mountain, this stone having attracted his notice, he took it up without difficulty, and carried it about him in his escape from bondage, and ever after, until he was ordained a priest; and that then he formed it into the stone altar, which he carried with him on his journey from Rome, and upon which the leper, as we have already seen, accompanied him over the sea from Britain into Erin.

That some such legend as this had been (and probably is still) in existence, on which this prophecy was founded, any one who has paid much attention to the character of our old romances, will, I think, without difficulty feel disposed to believe. But the matter certainly requires much further investigation.

There are two other prophecies of *Finn Mac Cúmhaill* to be found in modern Gaedhlic manuscripts; but they are much inferior in style to the pieces just described, and it will be seen at once by the Gaedhlic scholar, that they must have been composed centuries after the former.

The first of these is a poem of 188 lines, in which the poet *Oisín* is made to repeat to St. Patrick a prophetic poem which his father, *Finn*, had composed at *Beinn Edair* (now the Hill of Howth). St. Patrick addresses *Oisín* as follows [see original in APPENDIX, No. CXXXII.]:

O *Oisín*, wilt thou relate unto us,
Some of the prophecies of *Mac Cúmhaill*,—
Of what the gifted king foretold,
He whom angels truly honoured.

Oisín answers: I will relate to thee with pleasure,
O Patrick, the chaste son of *Calphurnn*,
And thy heart will be sore from hearing
Of all the evils which are foretold.

Finn having one day sat in the east,
Over the sea at the hill of *Edar*,
He saw a black cloud approach from the north,
Which, all of a sudden, darkened Erinn.

* * * * *

The hearty *Caeilté* then said
To noble *Finn* of *Almhain*:
Put thy thumb of knowledge to thy tooth,
And leave us not in ignorance.

Finn answers: Alas, my dearest *Caeilté*,
The prophecy is far from thee,—
Barbarians from beyond the sea
Will one day confound the men of Erinn.

Finn goes on then to show that this black cloud meant the
Saxons, or Anglo-Normans, that

On a Thursday a man goes to invite them,
It will be a bad legacy to Erinn's land,—
Mac Murchadha, the dark demon,
His return shall be that of a ghost.

The invaders, according to this poem, were to despoil the land of Erinn for the space of 400 years, but the space of time varies in various copies. They were to receive several defeats, and some of these defeats are plainly enough pointed out,—as, for instance, where they were to be three times defeated by the brave *Donn* or lord of *Ui Failghé*, now Offaly. This lord of Offaly must have been *Murchadh* O'Connor, who defeated the English of Meath first in the year 1385, at the battle of *Cruachán Bri Eilé* [now Crochan, a well-known place in the present King's County]; a second time in the year 1406, at the battle of *Géisill* [Geshill, in the same county]; and a third time at *Cill Eochain* [somewhere on the borders of Meath and Offaly], in the year 1414.

The foreigners were to receive another remarkable defeat at *Ceann Feabhrat* (on the borders of the counties of Cork and Limerick); and I believe that this was fulfilled in the year 1579, when the two sons of the Earl of Desmond met Sir William Drury, the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, at *Gort na Ti-*

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brad, in the county of Limerick, not far from *Ceann Febrat*, and where the English captains, Herbert, Eustace, and Spris, were killed, together with 300 of their men, immediately after which Sir William Drury himself died.

After announcing these occurrences, the prophecy passes to the battle of *Saingel* [Singland, near Limerick], where an oak of the house of O'Brien was to lead the native clans against the enemy and defeat them with great slaughter, and then would the five provinces arise and expel the strangers altogether. This rising applies, doubtless, to the war of the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, and in which Hugh of Derry was to take a chief and successful part. This was, of course, the great *Aedh Ruadh* [Hugh Roe] O'Donnell, and the poem must, I am very sure, have been written some few years previous to the disastrous battle of Kinsale, in which Hugh was defeated and compelled to fly to Spain, where, as you are aware, that illustrious chieftain soon afterwards died.

It would be easy to analyze this whole prophecy, correct its incongruities, and fill in its dates and agents, if it were worth it; but as it is evidently a composition of the close of the sixteenth century (or a collection and continuation of some earlier local fugitive stanzas carried down to that period), I do not deem it worth any further notice, and shall therefore pass to another prophecy, ascribed, with equal veracity, to the same author.

This second is a poem of forty lines, addressed by *Finn Mac Cúmhail* to some woman who recited a poem to him. The warrior prophet promises the coming of St. Patrick, who would bless Erin,—all lands would be measured by acres—the gray Saxons would be numerous—and he regrets his own inability to take part in their expulsion. Another word, however, would really be too much to waste on this piece.

The Legend
of Finn's
"Thumb of
Knowledge".

The history of *Finn Mac Cúmhail's* "Thumb of Knowledge", as related in the ancient Tales, is a very wild one indeed; but it is so often alluded to that I may as well state it here. It is shortly this: upon a certain occasion this gallant warrior was hunting near *Sliabh na m-Ban*, in the present county of Tipperary; he was standing at a spring-well, when a strange woman came suddenly upon him, filled a silver tankard at the spring, and immediately afterwards walked away with it. Finn followed her, unperceived, until she came to the side of the hill, where a concealed door opened suddenly, and she walked in. Finn attempted to follow her farther, but the door was shut so quickly that he was only able to place his hand on the door-post, with the thumb inside. It was with great difficulty he was able to extricate the thumb; and, having done so, he im-

mediately thrust it, bruised as it was, into his mouth to ease the pain. No sooner had he done so, than he found himself possessed of the gift of foreseeing future events. This gift, however, was not, we are told, always present, but only when he bruised or chewed the thumb between his teeth. (This legend is found in the vellum MS., H. 3. 18., T.C.D.) Such is the veracious origin, handed down to us by the tradition of the poets, of *Finn Mac Cúmhaill's* wonderful gift of prophecy!

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St. Patrick.

The next and last of the so-called pagan prophecies, with which I shall at present trouble you, consists of but a few words, which we generally meet in the form of a stanza of four lines, and relates exclusively to the coming of St. Patrick into Ireland. It is found in all the ancient copies of the Saint's life that I have met. The history of this prophecy is, like itself, short enough. Three years before the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland, on his apostolic mission (that is, in the year 429), his coming was, it is stated, foretold as a fearful event to the pagan monarch *Laeghaire*, by his two chief Druids, *Lochra* and *Luchat Mael*, in the following words [see original in APPENDIX, No. CXXXIII.] :

"Prophecy"
of Saint
Patrick's
coming, at-
tributed to
the Druids
of King
Laeghaire.

A *Tailcenn* will come over the raging sea,—[see p. 393.]

With his perforated garment, his crook-headed staff,

With his table at the east end of his house,

And all his people will answer, 'amen', 'amen'.

The perforated garment is easily explained to be the Chasuble of the Catholic Priest; the crook-headed staff, the bishop's Pastoral Staff; and the table at the east end of his house, as the table of the Lord, the Altar of the Church.

Of the antiquity of this prophecy there can be no rational doubt, as we find it quoted by Macutenius; who, as already stated, wrote or transcribed some notes on the life of St. Patrick, some time before the year 700, which are preserved in the ancient Book of Armagh (fol. 2, page b, col. a), in which he says that the words of this little verse are not so plain on account of the idiom of the language. Macutenius does not give the original words, and his Latin translation of them clearly shows that he did not understand them. Probus also, who wrote a life of St. Patrick in Latin, in the tenth century (it is believed), quotes this prophecy, apparently from Macutenius, without the original words; but he gives us a still more inaccurate translation than the former one. (See *Trias Thaumaturgus*, p. 49, col. a.)

Now of all the pagan predictions of St. Patrick's apostolic mission, this alone has any colour of authenticity: not from any thing in its style or history, but from the fact that Christianity was fully established and extensively spread on the continent

LECT. XIX. (and to some extent in Britain) in the reign of *Laeghairé*, and from the high probability that his druids were well acquainted, if not with its doctrines, at least with its peculiar external features and ceremonies; and so, that from the fact of its having approached their own shores, and probably landed on them too, they foresaw the inevitable consequence of its spreading over the entire land of Erin, and the final overthrow of their own ancient system and the various institutions founded upon it. This prophecy would not apply as much to Palladius as to Patrick; because although the former came one year earlier, he failed in his mission, whilst the success of the latter was complete and permanent.

"Prophecy" of Saint Patrick's coming, attributed to the Druids of King *Laeghairé*.

You may, if you wish, extend to Finn, Art, and Conn, the possibility of an acquaintance with Christianity, as well as to *Laeghairé's* Druid; but the probability is much more in favour of the latter.

Of the "Prophecies" ascribed to the Saints of Erin. (The "Prophecies" of Saint *Caillin*.)

We now pass from our pagan to our Christian "Prophets"; and amongst these we shall begin with St. *Caillin* of *Fidhnacha Maighe Réin* (in the present county of Leitrim); who, according to his life, quoted in the Annals of the Four Masters, buried the great *Conall Gulban* in his church in the year 464.

The Life of St. *Caillin*, of which there is a vellum copy of the sixteenth century in existence, contains a poem of 816 lines, ascribed to the saint himself, on the colonizations of Erin, and the succession of its monarchs down to his own time, in the reign of *Diarmaid*, the son of Fergus *Cerrbheóil*, and in which he "foretells" by name all the monarchs from *Diarmaid* down to Roderick O'Connor, in the year 1172. To this list he adds twelve more, by fanciful descriptive names, the last of whom is to be *Flann Céthach*, in whose time Antichrist is to appear on earth, and of whom we shall have more to say a little further on. The "Prophet" then gives a list of the *O'Ruaires*, Lords of *Breifné* (Breifny), his native territory; coming down to gallant *Ualgarg O'Ruairc* in the year 1241. Ten lords of the descendants of *Ualgarg* were to succeed himself. The last of these ten would be William *Gorm* (Blue William), who would plunder the saint's church at *Fidhnacha*, after which the sceptre would pass from his house. I have not been able to find any "Blue William *O'Ruairc*" in our annals; but I find a William *Ruadh* (or red-haired William) *O'Ruairc*, Lord of *Breifné*, who died in the year 1430; and there is little doubt in my mind that this very glaring forgery was concocted in or about this time. This poem, which, as I have already said, contains 204 stanzas, or 816 lines, begins thus [see original in APPENDIX, No. CXXXIV.] :

“Great Erinn, Island of Angels”.

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There are many more prophetic rhymes interspersed through this *Life of St. Caillin*, but they were all written by the same ‘prophet’ and at the same time as the first.

The next of our Christian “prophets” was *Beg Mac Dé*, who The “Prophecies” of *Beg Mac Dé*. died in the year 556. He was the son of a Munster nobleman, and held the office of poet and prophet at Tara, in the reign of the above king *Diarmaid*. He appears to have been a person of an eccentric character, more remarkable for ready wit than sound sense. He was a man, however, of a religious disposition, and well acquainted with St. *Colum Cille*, as well as with other distinguished ecclesiastics and scholars of his time. There are several fugitive stanzas, witty sentences, and prophetic sayings of his, scattered through our ancient writings, specimens of which may be seen in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, at the years 478 and 825. There is also what appears to be either a short collection or a continuous series of his prophetic prose sayings, preserved in the ancient vellum MS. already spoken of, (Harleian, 5280), in the British Museum. All the predictions in this little tract, which extends but about half a small folio page, are of an unfavourable character; they contain allusions to the Danish but none to the Anglo-Norman invasion, which I think plainly enough shows that they were written after the former, but before the latter. Indeed, the time of writing could, I believe, be safely deduced from the first sentence of the piece, which runs as follows [see APPENDIX, No. CXXXV.]: “Wo is he who shall live to see in the land of the Gaedhil, the son succeed the father in [the primacy of] *Ardmacha*” [Armagh.] This allusion to the son succeeding the father at *Ardmacha* would, I think, bring the composition of this prophecy down to about the year 940, when the lay usurpation of the Primacy commenced, which continued for 200 years afterwards; but the allusion in the text to *Aenghus Ua Flainn*, successor of St. Brendan at *Cluain Ferta* (Clonfert, in the county of Galway), brings the time of the author down to the year 1036, in which *O’Flainn* died. *Beg Mac Dé* is quoted also in the tract on the Danish wars, preserved in the Book of Leinster.

The next, and the most popular of all our “prophets”, is St. *Colum Cille*. The “Prophecies” of Saint *Colum Cille*. It would be difficult, indeed, to fix on the period at which prophetic sayings first began to be ascribed to this saint; but the oldest MS. in which I have found him quoted as a prophet is the Book of Leinster, in a fragment of the history of the Danish wars preserved in that book, and which must

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have been compiled about the year 1150. The quotation consists but of the following stanza [see original in APPENDIX, No. CXXXVI.] :

"Those ships upon Loch Ree,
Well do they magnify the pagan foreigners;
They will give an Abbot to *Ardmacha*;
His will be the rule of a tyrant".

This stanza has reference to the fleet of ships or boats which the Danes placed on the Upper Shannon, by means of which they plundered the churches and territories on both sides of the river. This was about the year 840, when Turgesius was the Danish leader, and when he made his wife supreme head of the great ecclesiastical city of Clonmacnois, and afterwards promoted himself to the Abbey of *Ardmacha*, as foretold (or rather, as I believe, aftertold) in this stanza.

This stanza, however, is but a quotation from a poem of 360 lines, which now exists, and in which it makes the tenth stanza; or, what is more probable, this and a few more stanzas which appear to belong to it, were seized upon at a later period, and made the foundation of the present poem.

This poem, which St. *Colum Cille* is said to have addressed to his friend and companion St. *Baoithin*, at Iona, begins thus [see original in same APPENDIX] :

"Attend, O excellent *Baoithin*,
To the voice of my bell in cold Iona,
Until I now relate to thee
All that shall happen towards the world's end".

The supposed prophet then gives a gloomy account of what was to befall the *Leath Chuinn*, Conn's or the northern half of Erin; and the death of Cormac Mac Cullinan, king and archbishop of Cashel, in the year 903. Then comes the allusion to the fleet of Loch Ree, or the Upper Shannon—quite out of its proper place; after which the battle of Clontarf is foretold. The prophet then passes down through some of the Leinster and Munster kings and monarchs of Erin to *Muircheartach* (or *Mortoch*) O'Brien, who was to demolish *Aileach*, the ancient palace of the descendants of Niall of the Nine Hostages (situated in the present county of Derry); an event which occurred in the year 1101. In this year, Murtoch O'Brien, monarch of Erin, marched with a large force over *Eas Ruadh* (at Ballyshannon), and from that to the above ancient palace of *Grianán Ailigh*, which he razed to the ground, ordering his men to carry back with them a stone of the building in every sack which had been emptied of its provisions upon the march; and with these stones he afterwards built a parapet upon the top of his royal

palace (which was situated on the site of the present cathedral of Limerick), as a perpetual memorial of his victory over the ancient enemies of his house.

[I may here observe that this was not a wanton deed of destruction on the part of O'Brien, but a retaliation for something of a similar insult which the northerns had, two hundred years before that, offered to the Dalcassians, when they made a sudden and unexpected rush into that country, and cut down and carried away by force, from the celebrated woods of *Creatalach*, [Cratloe, I believe], as much prime oak as roofed and adorned the same palace of *Aileach*.]

The prophecy goes on then to foretell that this indignity to the northerns should be avenged by *Aedh* (or Hugh), the valiant king of Tirconnell, who was to appear in 136 years after (that is, in the year 1237), and who was to be slain at Dublin by the sea-king, the son of Godfrey, after a reign of twenty-one years, that is, in 1258. Either the prophet or his transcriber of the poem is here, however, out in his calculation. No Hugh O'Donnell of Tirconnell bore sway at or about the year 1258; nor have we any record, as far as I know, of any northern prince avenging the destruction of *Aileach* about this time, nor for 341 years after; that is, till the year 1599, when the great Red Hugh O'Donnell made a sudden irruption into Thomond, and plundered and ravaged the northern and north-eastern parts of it. And it is a remarkable fact that the fulfilment of this very prediction was at that time applied to him by the Dalcassian poet, *Maoilin Og Mac Bruaideadha* [Mac Brody], whose cattle O'Donnell's people had carried off, but which O'Donnell, on the poet's demand, restored in full, whereupon the poet said [see original in APPENDIX, No. CXXXVII.]:

“It was destined that, in revenge of *Oileach*,
O Red Hugh! the prophet foretold,
The coming of thy troops to the land of *Magh Adhair*;
From the north is sought the relief of all men”.

The prophecy then goes on to say that, in thirty years after, *Aedh* (but this is certainly a different Hugh, and this part of the poem is misplaced) *Cliaabhghlas* (or Hugh the gray-bodied) would assume the rule of Erin; after whom there would be but seven successors to the end of time, with twenty-seven years between each; that the last of them would be *Flann Ciothach*, in whose time would come the *Brat Baghach*, or Flag of Battles, and the *Roth Ramhach*, or Rowing Wheel. This “rowing wheel” was to be a ship containing one thousand beds, and one thousand men in each bed; alike would this strange ship sail on sea and on land, nor would it furl its sails

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until it was wrecked by the Pillar-stone of *Cnámhchoill*. They would then be met by the brave chief of *Cnámhchoill*, who would cut them all off, so that not one of them should ever cross the sea again. After this there would come a fleet to *Inbher Domhnaím* [the present bay of Malahide, in the county of Dublin]. This fleet was to consist of one thousand ships of all kinds. These would capture the cattle and women of Erinn; and in the excess of their pride and confidence they would move on to Tara, where they would be overtaken by the king, *Flann Ciothach* [recte "*Ginach*", or the voracious]. A battle would ensue at the side of *Ráith Chormaic*, at the hill of Tara, and at the ford in the valley; where almost a mutual annihilation of the contending forces would occur; but the foreigners would be routed and followed to their ships, of which one barque only would escape over the sea. The foreigners, however, would leave twenty-seven families behind them, who were to mix with the natives, but who would be all destroyed (by the fiery bolt) at the festival of John the Baptist, which was to happen upon a Friday, and which would destroy three-fourths of all men until it reached the Mediterranean sea.

This part of the poem is evidently transposed, and should have come in at or about the fourteenth stanza; but it commences now at the sixty-seventh, and continues to the eighty-seventh stanza. And though this may appear to be a matter of very little moment, I shall presently show that restoring it to its proper place and time is a matter of the greatest importance in dealing with a curious subject which has not hitherto undergone any thoroughly critical examination.

As to the first prediction, that is, the coming of what is called the *Brat Baghach* or Flag of Battles, it is evident enough that this was to be a fleet of the Danes or Northmen, who were to be broken against the pillar-stone of *Cnámhchoill*. Now *Cnámhchoill* was an ancient wood situated near the present town of Tipperary; and the history of the pillar-stone which stood in it, as it is handed down to us, is shortly this:—*Mogh Ruith*, the Archdruid of Erinn, having, as we have seen in a former Lecture, exhausted the druidic knowledge of the best masters in Erinn and Scotland, travelled with his daughter into Italy, where they put themselves under the tuition of Simon Magus, and assisted him in his contention with the apostles. And it was with their assistance that Simon was said to have built the *Roth Ramhach*, or "Rowing Wheel", by means of which he sailed in the air, to show that his miraculous powers were greater than those of the apostles. The Druid and his daughter (whose name was *Tlachtga*) returned home afterwards, the daughter

carrying with her what remained of the materials of the Rowing Wheel, which appears to have consisted of two pieces of rock, one of which she set up in *Forchairthinn* (somewhere in the neighbourhood of *Ráith Chúmhaill* [Rath Coole, I think, in the present county of Dublin], and the other at *Cnámhchoill* (in Tipperary). These rocks or pillars, it was said, retained their share of the destructive influence of the "Rowing Wheel", as every one who looked at them was struck with blindness, and every one who touched them, with death. The reason, we are further informed, why this fearful Rowing Wheel was to pass with destruction over Europe in the latter times, was, because there was a pupil from every nation in Europe at the school of Simon Magus, assisting him in his contention with the Apostles [see same APP.].

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Now the three events predicted here appear to me to have occurred in the years 941, 979, and 1096, and were, I am very sure, well known historical facts at the time that this poem was written.

The first, the destruction of the Rowing Wheel, was, I believe, the great battle of the wood of *Salchóid* (or Sollyhead, about three miles to the west of the present town of Tipperary), near enough to *Cnámhchoill* for the verification of a post-prophecy. This battle was fought in or about the year 941, by *Mathghamhain Mac Cinnéidigh* [Mahon the son of Kennedy], king of Munster, and his brother Brian, afterwards the great *Brian Bóroimhé* (then but in the sixteenth year of his age), against the Danes of Munster; and in it the terrible Danish chiefs, *Treitill*, *Ruamann*, Bernard, Maurice, and *Torolbh*, the most cruel and barbarous of all the Danish chiefs, were killed, together with two thousand of their bravest men. A large party of the Danes retreated after it into Limerick, pursued by the victorious brothers with the brave clans of the Dalcassians, and here again a great slaughter of the Danes took place; all their strongholds and fortifications were won and burned down, their houses and treasures pillaged, and their whole power and force, quite unexpectedly, annihilated for the time.

The verification of the second predicted event, namely, the battle of Tara, will, I think, be clearly recognized in the following passage from the Annals of the Four Masters:—

"A.D. 978. The battle of Tara was gained by *Maelsechlainn*, son of *Domhnall*, over the Danes of Dublin and of the Islands, and over the sons of *Amlaff* in particular, where many were slain, together with *Randall*, son of *Amlaff*, heir to the sovereignty of the Danes; *Conamhail*, son of *Gilla-Arri*, the orator of Dublin; and a dreadful slaughter of the Danes along with them. * * * * * After this, *Amlaff* went over the sea and died at Iona".

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It is remarkable that this is the only battle of which we have any record, as having been fought at Tara within the Christian era; and it is a singular coincidence, or, if you please, verification, of this would-be prophecy, that Amlaff, the chief of the Danes, should have departed from Erin after his overthrow in this battle, and, of necessity, with but a small company, probably but one ship, as the prophecy has it.

As regards the third prediction, namely, the twenty-seven Danish families who were to remain after the battle of Tara (in Dublin of course), and who were to be destroyed by the terrible visitation of the Festival of John the Baptist, when it should fall upon a Friday in a leap year. This long-dreaded occurrence of the festival happened in the year 1096, according to the following entry in the Annals of the Four Masters:—

"A.D. 1096. The festival of John [the Baptist] fell on Friday this year; the men of Erin were seized with great fear, and the counsel taken by the clergy of Erin, with the successor of St. Patrick at their head, in order to save them from the mortality which had been predicted to them from a remote period, was to command all in general to observe a three days total fast, from Wednesday till Sunday every month, and a fast every day till the end of a year, except on Sundays, solemnities, and great festivals; and they also gave alms and many offerings to God, and many lands were granted to churches and ecclesiastics by kings and chiefs: and so the men of Erin were saved for that time from the fire of vengeance".

So far the dreaded terrors of this festival passed harmlessly over in 1096: but not so in the previous year; for we find that "there was an awful pestilence all over Europe in general in this year (1095), and some say that the fourth part of the men of Erin died of this plague". Now, among the great number of distinguished persons who died of this pestilence, we find the names of *Dunghus*, Bishop of Dublin, and *Godfrey Maranach*, Lord of the Danes of Dublin and the Hebrides; and when we find that, although the fourth part of the men of Erin were carried off by this distemper, the number recorded is less than twenty; and when we find that the Danes of Dublin supply their two most distinguished men to the list, I suppose we may fairly conclude that the destruction of the other classes among them was almost total, and so far I believe our prophet's predictions were verified with sufficient accuracy for his purpose, and I am sure to his perfect knowledge.

As I shall have occasion to touch again on the festival of St. John, I shall now pass from it, and ask your attention for a few minutes, while I endeavour to show my reasons for thinking

that this is not a genuine poem,—that (I think) it never was written by St. *Colum Cille*. LECT. XIX.

I must acknowledge at the outset that the want of an ancient and correctly-arranged copy (the present being a modern one on paper, and much confused, if not interpolated) renders any discussion on its real antiquity and authenticity very difficult; but as no other copy is nearer to us than Oxford, where one on vellum of the sixteenth century is preserved, but which has not been yet critically examined, I shall have to deal with the present copy as I find it.

Of the "Prophecies" ascribed to the Saints of Erin. The "Prophecies" of Saint Colum Cille.

It must be admitted as I have already shown, that one stanza of this, or some such poem, ascribed to St. *Colum Cille*, one which forms the tenth stanza of the present copy, is that quoted along with St. *Berchán*'s in the folio of the tract on the Danish Wars, remaining in the Book of Leinster; and that there appears to me no difference in style of construction, or character of the language, between this and the other stanzas of the poem. Neither is the style or language more antiquated than many poems written in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The entire poem after all deals only (and that very defectively) with that period of our genuine history which extends from the year 842, in which the Danes first appeared on *Loch Ribh* [Loch Ree, in the Upper Shannon], to the destruction of *Ailech* by *Muirheartach* (or *Mortoch*) O'Brien, in the year 1101, that is 259 years; all the rest of the poem consisting of mere general speculations on the future.

Now it requires, I should think, but little argument to show the improbability, to say the least of it, of St. *Colum Cille* sitting down in his church at Iona on the night of the 9th day of June, in the year 592, in the 77th year of his age, but one week, and that to his own knowledge, before his death, and there composing a poem of 90 stanzas, or 360 lines, on a few occurrences which were to happen in Ireland between the years 842 and 1101. For, after all, this very long poem deals but with a very few facts; such as that Cormac Mac Cullinan was to be killed in battle on Tuesday (in the year 903); that a Danish fleet would appear on Loch Ribh (in 842); that the "Rowing Wheel" and the ships of *Inbher Domnann* would come and be destroyed; that *Brian Bóroimhé* would be killed at the battle of Clontarf; then the statement of the promised destruction of the people whenever the festival of St. John should fall upon a Friday (which, however, was not fulfilled); and lastly the destruction of the palace of *Ailech* by *Mortoch* O'Brien in 1101. The promised revenge for *Ailech*, which was to happen in 125 years after its destruction (that is, in the year 1226), never was fulfilled; which shows clearly, in my mind, that at whatever

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time—and it could not be very remote—the first part of the poem was written, this latter part must have been composed some time after the destruction of *Ailech* in the year 1101.

At the winding up of the poem, the Saint is made to propose to leave to the men of Erin certain relics of his own to protect them from all future dangers. These relics were his *Altus*, his Vespers, his *Amhra* (or Elegy), and his *Mesca* (or "Intoxication"), which is the name of the present poem, said to have been written by him a week before his death. Now, the *Altus* is the well known Latin poem on the Trinity, written by St. *Colum Cille* at Iona, when he received the present of the great rich cross which Pope Gregory the Great had sent him.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The second relic, his Vespers, I never read of save in this tract; unless indeed it were his well known copy of the Psalms, for centuries celebrated as the *Cathach*, now the property of Sir Richard O'Donnell, and at this moment to be seen in the Royal Irish Academy. The third relic, his *Amhra* (or Elegy), of course had not been written until after his death; so that he could scarcely think of bequeathing it, though he was aware that it was to be written. The fourth relic, his *Mesca* (or "Intoxication"), is the present poem. And I believe I may conclude my observations upon it by expressing my own certain conviction that no part of it was written for at least 400 years after the death of the Saint.

The second so-called prophetic poem ascribed to St. *Colum Cille*, with which I am acquainted, is one of twenty-two stanzas or eighty-eight lines, addressed also to St. *Baoithin*; the following is the first stanza [see original in APPENDIX, No. CXXXVIII.]:

"Listen to me, O pale *Baoithin*,
Thou noble man of true devotion,
Until I relate to thee without guile
All that shall befall the *Clann Chonaill*".

This spurious poem gives a list of the kings or chiefs of *Tir Chonaill*, beginning with *Domhnall Mór* O'Donnell, who died in the year 1241, down to the great Red Hugh, who died in Spain in 1602; and when the line of known names fails the author, he continues the list by a few figurative or descriptive names, among which that of *Ball Dearg* O'Donnell is given, who flourished in 1690.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ This poem is published by Colgan in his *Trias Thaumaturgus*; and another edition of it, with the original notes and glosses, from the *Liber Hymnorum*, is now in course of publication by the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society, edited by the Rev. Dr. Todd.

This piece of forgery surely does not deserve another moment's consideration, and I shall therefore pass to the third of the prophetic poems ascribed to St. *Colum Cille*. The third poem consists of twenty-one stanzas, or eighty-four lines, beginning [see original in APPENDIX, No. CXXXIX.]:

"The three Conns of the Red-haired man's race".

This poem professes to foretell the exploits and fate of three lords of the O'Donnell family, who were to descend from the "Red-haired man", and each of whom should bear the name of Conn. The first of these was to fall by the *Cenel Eógghain* (or O'Neills), the second by his own family, and the third in battle with the English near Dublin. Now, there was no remarkable red-haired man of the line of chiefs of Donnegall before *Aedh Ruadh* (Red Hugh), the son of *Niall Garbh* O'Donnell, a brave man, who resigned the chieftaincy of Tirconnell in the year 1497 to his son Conn. Conn, however, was killed in the same year, in a battle fought between him and the O'Neills, at *Beulatha Daile*, in Donnegall, upon which the father resumed the chiefship again, and died in 1505. No Conn of the O'Donnell family ever became chief or leader of the *Clann Chonaill* after the above Conn, son of Red Hugh. It is true, however, that a Conn O'Donnell, who was the son of *Calbhach*, son of Manus, son of *Aedh Dubh* (Black Hugh), son of the same *Aedh Ruadh* (Red Hugh), was a most distinguished man, and opposed to the chief at the time; this Conn died in 1583. Of the third Conn, who was to die on the plain of Dublin, there is no trace in our annals. A Conn O'Donnell, son of *Niall Garbh*, of the same line, was killed in the year 1601, not on *Magh n-Ealta* (the plain of Dublin), "fighting against the English", as predicted, but before the venerable monastery of Donnegall, where his father and himself were basely fighting on the side of the English, against the brave Red Hugh O'Donnell.

I think I have followed this silly prophecy far enough to prove to you that St. *Colum Cille*, who died at Iona in Scotland in the year 592, could hardly be supposed to write a poem on the life and adventures of three insignificant men, who were to live and die in Ireland some nine hundred years after.

It is remarkable that no reference to any of these long, circumstantially defined prophecies can be found in any of the many ancient copies of the Saint's life which have come down to us. Even O'Donnell, the patron Saint of whose family *Colum Cille* continues to be recognized to the present day, who compiled a life of him in the year 1522 (into which he collected every legend respecting him, no matter how impro-

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able, upon which he could lay hold)—even this writer, I say, does not, in any copy that I have seen, make the remotest allusion to any such prophecies having been ever written by or attributed to St. *Colum Cille*. Neither is there any such allusion to be found in the more ancient lives of him, preserved in the *Leabhar Mór Dána Doighré* (known as the *Leabhar Breac*), and in the Book of Lismore. Even St. Adamnan, the cousin of St. *Colum Cille*, who was born about the year 627, that is, about thirty-five years after the Saint's demise (and who wrote a Latin history of the life and miracles of his great kinsman and predecessor in the Abbotship of Iona), does not make the smallest allusion to the Saint's ever having written any such prophecies as these, nor to the existence of any such works at the time. Saint Adamnan's, as well as the other biographies of St. Colum, preserve several instances of the Saint's revealed knowledge of coming events; but these are always of the simplest character,—such as telling his monks or his attendants, that in three days a distinguished guest, who was then on his way over the sea, would arrive at the port of Iona; or that such a student will be a distinguished saint hereafter; and so on.

The fact is, the practice of writing those long and but too suspiciously circumstantial prophetic poems, and ascribing them to distinguished persons far back in our history, appears to have first sprang up in Erin after the occurrence of the Danish invasion, at the close of the eighth century; and I may indeed add, that we have lately seen instances of the same practice continued down so late as to about the year of our Lord 1854!

When the cruel northern barbarians commenced to plunder and destroy the churches and all that was sacred and beautiful in the country, then the lay *Airchinnech* or steward of the Church, and the local bards, discovered among their old books a forewarning of this fearful visitation, in such small scraps of rhyme as are collected in the tract on this Danish War, already spoken of. And speaking of these flying stanzas, it is strange that in the one which I have quoted as ascribed to St. *Colum Cille*, the author should only foresee the ravages of a Danish fleet on the banks of the Shannon, and the desecration of Armagh by a Danish lay abbot, without foreseeing at the same time the ruthless plundering of his own great establishment at Iona, as well as of all his churches in Erin, and the martyrdom of his people, by the same barbarous hordes. If this be a prophecy, it is strange, I repeat it, that this venerable and holy man should only receive from Heaven so very limited and vague a glimpse of so fearful a national disaster as the invasion of the Danes, their prolonged cruelties and final destruction;

while his inspired knowledge of the long line of petty princes of his own kindred, who were to govern a single tribe of the great Milesian race, happens to be so precise as to foretell their names, the number of years which each was to flourish, and the manner and place of their death!

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The fourth prophetic poem ascribed to St. *Colum Cille*, with which I am acquainted, is one in which he is made to foretell the decay of Tara, of *Cruachain*, and of *Emhain* (or Emania), because the nobles of Erin would cease to be good Christians. This piece, which is really too contemptible for serious notice, consists of forty lines, beginning [see original in APPENDIX, No. CXL.]:

"Tara of Bregia, Tara of Bregia,
Though countless be her men this day,
Not far distant the time when it will be a desert,
Although this day it enjoys full happiness".

The fifth prophetic poem ascribed to St. *Colum Cille*, with which I am acquainted, consists of thirty-one stanzas, or one hundred and twenty-four lines. This poem is addressed to the celebrated prophet St. *Berchán* of *Cluain Sosta* (Clonsost, in the present King's County). This "prophecy" gives a very unfavourable account of the future moral and social state of Erin, but contains no allusion to the political changes of the country. The poem is a pure forgery, and begins [see original in same APPENDIX]:

"A time will come, O *Berchán*,
When you would regret to be in Erin.
The laws will be but few,
The literary students will be ignorant".

The sixth prophetic poem ascribed to St. *Colum Cille*, with which I am acquainted, is one of ten stanzas, or forty lines, in the same style as the last, and promising the same unfavourable future state of Erin: bad kings, bad judges, bad fathers, bad sons, bad daughters, bad seasons, and so on. It professes to be a special revelation from Heaven received from the lips of an angel, and begins thus [see original in same APPENDIX]:

"Hail thee! O messenger,
Who cometh from the King of Heaven's mansion,
Since unto me thou hast come,
Unto God I return my thanks".

The seventh and last prophetic poem, with which I am

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acquainted, ascribed to St. *Colum Cille* is one of five stanzas, or twenty lines, spoken by him at Iona shortly before his death, to his friend and relative St. *Baoithin*; in which he says that, after his burial in Iona, Mandar, the Danish chief, will come with his fleet, and exhume the body, and that it will be afterwards interred in Downpatrick, in the same tomb with St. Patrick and St. Brigid. This poem is preserved in O'Donnell's Life of St. Colum, and begins [see original in same APPENDIX]:

"Mandar of the great ships will come".

This poem, in its present style, was certainly not written within hundreds of years of St. Colum's death.

Of the apocryphal character of the so-called "Prophecies".

You will not for a moment, of course, infer from any strictures that I have made, or shall make, on these so-called Prophecies, that I entertain any doubt that the saints and elect of God have been, and will continue to be at all times, the medium of His revelations to man. It is, indeed, my firm belief that at the present day we receive divine warnings and instructions, without ever feeling that they are inspired truths, which, in times when faith and hope were more new and fervid, and worldly clamours and cares less engrossing, would have been recognized and received as direct revelations from Heaven. But the compositions under the name of Prophecies, of which I have been speaking, are of a very different class, as I think I have sufficiently shown.

And now having so expressed my most mature and decided opinion of the spurious apocryphal character of these reputed prophecies, I feel it to be a duty I owe to my country, as well as to my creed as a Catholic, to express thus in public the disgust which I feel in common with every right-minded Irishman, in witnessing the dishonest exertions of certain parties of late years, in attempting, by various publications, to fasten these disgraceful forgeries on the credulity of honest and sincere Catholics as the undoubtedly inspired revelations of the ancient Saints of Erin. It is impossible, indeed, not to be struck with the testimony which even these so-called "Prophecies" bear concerning men whose sanctity must have been indeed striking and remarkable, when, at the distance of hundreds of years after their deaths, such silly forgeries could for a moment pass current under the revered stamp of their holy names. And if simple credulity alone were the only evil involved in a fervent belief in the more immediate promises of these Prophecies, it would scarcely come within my province, under any circumstance, to intrude my humble opinion upon a subject which ought more properly to belong for examination and decision to

the constituted pastors of the people, as their preservers from mischievous delusions of this kind as well as from all other influences dangerous to the soul. The native language, however, having under most baleful influences ceased for centuries to be taught in the Ecclesiastical Institutions in which the Irish clergy have been educated, at home and abroad, and this having happened in the period within which ancient writings and traditions, often inconsistent and never authenticated, have been subjected to the more critical examination of Irish scholars, lay and ecclesiastical, it is no wonder that we should find, as in fact we do, that comparatively old writings, so composed as to be still as formerly in harmony with the national political sentiments for some centuries, should be received at this distance of time, and even by comparatively educated persons, with reverence and even confidence. It is time, however, in my mind, that this kind of delusion should be put an end to. Our primitive Saints never did, according to any reliable authority, pretend to foretel political events of remote occurrence; and, perhaps in a future course of Lectures, I may find an opportunity, not only to show you that this was the case, but also to place before you satisfactory evidence in detail of the very causes which first produced, and afterwards fastened in our later literature, these spurious prophecies, as well as other historical falsehoods equally mischievous and discreditable.

LECT. XIX.

Of the apocryphal character of the so called "Prophecies".

LECTURE XX

[Delivered July 21, 1856.]

The (so-called) PROPHECIES (continued). The Prophecies attributed to St. *Berchán*. The Prophecy attributed to St. *Bricín*. The Prophecies attributed to St. *Moling*. Of the ancient superstitions concerning the "Rowing Wheel", the "Broom out of *Fánait*", and the Fatal Festival of St. John the Baptist. Political use made of such superstitions against the people of Ireland. Prevalence of absurd superstitions, even now, regarding the so-called Prophecies.

IN my last Lecture I concluded the subject of the writings called Prophecies attributed to pagan authors, and I gave you some account of the earlier writings of this class referred to the saints of Erin, and particularly the so-called Prophecies of St. *Colum Cille*. From St. *Colum Cille* we pass now to St. *Berchán* of *Chuain Sosta* [Clonsost, in the present King's County],—a saint who is usually styled *Berchán na Fháitsiné*, or Berchan of the Prophecy, and who enjoys this title even in such old MSS. as the Book of Leinster, in which, in his pedigree, he is called "Bearchan Profetans".

St. *Berchán* was one of the Dalriadan race (of Scotland), and flourished, it is supposed, about A.D. 690; but what the particular prophecy was, from which he derived the title of prophet, I have not been able to discover, unless it be that contained in the three stanzas found in the tract on the Danish Wars already spoken of, which stanzas run as follows [see original in APPENDIX, No. CXLI.] :

"Pagans will come over the slow sea;
They will gain ascendancy over the men of Erin;
There will be an abbot from them over every church;
They will have power over Erin.

"Seven years will they be—no faint achievement—
In the chief sovereignty of Erin;
In the abbacy of every church
These foreigners of Dublin fortress.

"An abbot of them will be over my church too,
Who will not attend to matins;
There will be neither prayer, nor credo,
Nor Latin, but all foreign language".

Whether these three stanzas constituted the entire of the ori-

ginal "prophecy" ascribed to St. *Berchán*, I am not able to say; but there is a very long prophetic poem (of 204 stanzas, or 816 lines) in existence, ascribed to this saint, and of which these three make verses 7, 8, and 9. This poem, which appears to have been addressed to some pupil or disciple, begins thus [see same APPENDIX]:

LECT. XX.
Of the "Prophecies" ascribed to the Saints of Erin. (The "Prophecies" of Saint *Berchán*.)

"Stop a little, my white small boy;
Listen to the words of *Berchán*,
Until I make a cross upon thy sweet lips—
A consecrating touch of my crozier".

The author then goes on to say that in sixty years after his own death his church would be ruined; and that although it was then full of ecclesiastics, a time would come when the sweetest tones of its bells would not be able to call even one priest to vespers in it. This short introduction brings the author to the three stanzas mentioned above, in which he foretells the Danish invasion; and if the prophecy had stopped here with the ninth stanza, it might be difficult to say at what precise time it was written after the Danes had gained a firm footing in Erin. But, unfortunately for the authenticity of the piece as a prophecy, the tenth stanza betrays the century in which (or after which) the author flourished, so unmistakably, that we may be quite certain that either this stanza, and with it the whole remaining part of the poem, were written about A.D. 1120, or else that the first nine stanzas alone were of an older date, and the great body of the composition strung to them long afterwards, so as to give the whole an air of antiquity as high as that which may be claimed for these few verses. It is my own opinion that the first nine stanzas are older, perhaps by a century, than the remainder; but I entertain no doubt that no part even of these first stanzas is nearly so old as the time of St. *Berchán*. The tenth stanza runs thus [see same APPENDIX]:

"Shortly there will come a youth,
Who will relieve *Banbha* from oppression,
So that the foreigner's power shall never be
After him in *Dún dá Leth ghlas* [Downpatrick]".

The next stanza says that this youth, who was to relieve Erin from the oppression of the Danes, was not to be a king, but only an heir apparent to the monarchy, and that he would be killed at Tara. Now, among all the heirs to the crown of Tara, of which our annals make mention, there is but one who could answer to this prediction, and his death is thus recorded in the Annals of the Four Masters at the year 1026:

"Three battles were gained by *Roen*, son of *Muirheartach*, son of *Maelseachlainn* of the *Clann Cholmáin*, royal heir of

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Tara,—one battle over the men of Meath, another over the men of Bregia, and the third over the foreigners of Dublin".

And again, at the next year, that is 1027, we find that:—

"An army was led by Sitric, son of *Amhlaibh* [or Awley, king of the Danes of Dublin], and *Dunchadh*, Lord of Bregia, into Meath, as far as *Leac Bladhma*, where the men of Meath, under the command of *Roen O'Maoilseachlainn*, met them; in which the Danes and the men of Bregia were defeated and slaughtered, together with *Dunchadh*, son of *Donn*, lord of Bregia, and *Gillausaillé*, son of *Gillacaemhghin*, lord of *Ui Britin*. They turned back upon *Roen* again, however, and defeated and slew *Roen*, lord of Meath, and great numbers beside".

This is the only record in the Annals of any "royal heir" of Tara having given to the Danes their final or any important overthrow; and judging from the analogy of known cases of the kind, there can be, I think, but little doubt that this part of the prophecy was written in or about his time. But, although the writer steps suddenly from the seventh century, in which *St. Berchán* flourished, down to the eleventh century, he goes back again then to his own time, and foretels all the monarchs that were to reign over Erin till the time of Antichrist, occasionally introducing a provincial king into the list. This list ends with the 96th stanza. From that to stanza 117, the poem is occupied with very dubious references to *St. Patrick*, *St. Brigid*, and *St. Colum Cillé*, as well as obscure references to the Picts of Scotland. From stanza 117 to the end it gives a list of the Dalriadan kings who were to reign over Scotland, with the length of reign, and manner and place of death of each, from *Aedhan Mac Gabhráin* in 570, to *Domhnall Bán* in 1093.

The succession of the kings of Erin is intelligible enough down to *Muircheartach* [or *Mortoch*] O'Brien, who died in the year 1119; and as neither *Toirdhealbhach Mór* [Turloch Mór] O'Connor (who assumed the monarchy after O'Brien), nor *Ruaidhri* [Roderic], his son, who succeeded Turloch in 1156, is mentioned, nor the Anglo-Norman invasion in 1169, it is, I think, clear enough that the author of this prophecy lived in the time of *Muircheartach* O'Brien, that is, about 1119.

Again, in the twelfth stanza, the "prophet" addresses *Colmán Mór* in the following manner [see same APPENDIX]:—

"Let some one request the son of *Aedh* [Hugh],—

Colmán Mór,—to protect me;

He has but a month's time from this night

Until he meets death in his encampment".

Now this is inaccurate history; for *Colmán Mór* was the

brother, not the son, of *Aedh Sláiné*; and they were both the sons of *Diarmaid*, the monarch of Erin. Colman was slain not in his camp, but in his chariot, in the year 552; and his brother, *Aedh Sláiné*, who became monarch in 595, was slain in the year 600. But the writer had no notion whatever of addressing himself in person to *Colmán Mór* and *Aedh Sláiné* themselves, who had been long dead in his time. It was a well-known and allowable form in ancient Gaedhlic history to speak of the representatives of a chief or saint, as of the chief or saint himself; and thus we find, down to the tenth and eleventh centuries, either honour or dishonour spoken of as having been offered to St. Patrick, when in fact it was to his representative or successor it had been offered, six hundred years after himself. And it is the same in civil history; for we find even down to the sixteenth century, the O'Donnells and O'Neills, and their co-descendants, spoken of as *Conall* and *Eóghan*, their remote ancestors in the fifth century. So that, when the writer of this poem pretended to address himself in the person of St. *Berchán* to *Aedh Sláiné*, and his brother, *Colmán Mór*, to protect his church, it does not at all follow (and this is, indeed, very clear from the context) that he addressed them personally—though that was what he wished to be understood—but that he presented this poem to their descendants a long time after their death and that of St. *Berchán*, as one in which St. *Berchán* had commended his church to the powerful protection of their ancestors before them; and that, as a matter of course, they the descendants were bound for ever after to extend the same protection to the same church. Any one intimately acquainted with the manner in which lay abbots and lay impropiators of Church-lands interpolated the simple and edifying lives of our holy primitive saints, will immediately understand the original cause of writing such pieces as this.

Again, at the opening of the second part of this poem,—I mean that part which refers to the succession of the kings of Scotland,—the reputed author, St. *Berchán*, is made to tell us that it was on the day after writing the poem that St. Patrick was to die,—that is, on the 17th of March, 493; that on the same day, St. *Brigid* was to proceed to Downpatrick, to endeavour to procure that the holy Patrick should be buried at Kildare; and that, in sixty years from the 17th of March, 493, St. *Colum Cille* would be born.

Now St. Patrick died in the year 493; St. *Brigid* in the year 525; and St. *Colum Cille* was born in the year 515. St. *Berchán* “the prophet” was of the Dalriadan Scotie race of

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Of the “Prophecies” ascribed to the Sons of Erin. (The “Prophecies” of Saint *Berchán*.)

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Of the "Prophecies" ascribed to the Saints of Erin. (The "Prophecies" of Saint *Berchán*.)

Scotland, and the twenty-first in descent from *Cairbré Riada*, (who fought at the battle of *Ceann Feabhrat*, near Kilfinan in the county of Limerick, in the year 186); and according to his pedigree preserved in the Book of Leinster, he must have flourished in the seventh century. It is therefore impossible that this *Berchán* could have been alive on the day before St. Patrick's death, thirty-two years before the death of St. *Brigid*, and sixty years before the birth of St. *Colum Cillé*, who was, as you have seen, born in the year 515, for this would be throwing his own nativity back to the year 455.

I have said that this poem consists of 204 stanzas; of this number, however, ninety-six only are devoted to the Danish Invasion, and the succession of the kings of Erin; the remaining 108 stanzas are devoted to notices of the deaths of St. Patrick, St. *Brigid* of Kildare, and St. *Colum Cillé*, and to the succession of the kings of Scotland.

This part of the poem, beginning with the ninety-seventh stanza, assumes distinctly as I have mentioned, the authority of a very high antiquity. The first stanza runs thus [see same APPENDIX]:

"The Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,
Are they whom I adore as one;
Upon to-morrow will ascend to heaven
Patrick of *Ardmacha*, the diadem of chastity".

According to this stanza the poem would have been written on the day preceding that of St. Patrick's death; that is, on the 16th day of March, in the year of our Lord 493. I need scarcely say that a poem or any other piece of genuine Gaedhlic composition of this remote date, would be received, quite independently of its historic or prophetic value, as a production of the highest archæological interest, not only by Gaedhlic scholars, but by all the antiquarians of Europe. Unfortunately, however, no such antiquity can be claimed for this, any more than for the preceding part of the poem; and the only difference is that this part is more precise in fixing the real period of the composition of the entire piece, as will be seen at its conclusion.

After the confession of Faith and the death of Patrick just referred to, the author goes on to state that St. *Brigid* of Kildare was to go to *Ardmacha* on the following day, to endeavour to procure the body of St. Patrick, to have it buried at Kildare; and that she should not succeed, but that he should be buried at Downpatrick, where *Brigid* herself would be subsequently buried in the same tomb with him. He then says that in sixty years from the same morrow there would be born at *Rath Cro*,

a son, whose renown should fill all Erin and Scotland; that he would be a sage, a prophet, and a poet, a son of virginity, and a priest; and that he would fight the Battle of *Cúil Dreimné* which would be the cause of his forsaking his beloved church of Derry and going into exile in Scotland. This gifted son was, of course, the great St. *Colum Cille*, who was destined to settle in Iona, and to convert the Scots and Picts.

LECT. XX.

Of the "Prophecies" ascribed to the saints of Erin. (The "Prophecies" of Saint *Berchán*.)

The prophecy goes on, then, to give the succession of the kings of Scotland, with the name, length of reign, exploits, and manner of death of each, from *Aedhan Mac Gabhráin*, the contemporary of St. *Colum Cille*, down to the usurper *Domhnall Bán*, who assumed the title in the year 1093; and it is precisely at this date that the Irish part of this great prophecy stops. Here, however, there is no speculation on the future state of Scotland, as there is on that of Erin in the first part; and this it is that I think fixes pretty clearly the date of the whole piece, in its original form.

There is another poem of seven stanzas ascribed to St. *Berchán*, in which he very dimly relates to St. *Ciarán* some of the destinies of Erin, just as they are both going to visit the islands of Arann on the coast of Clare. The actors in this poem (the great stock in trade of these prophets), are *Aedh Ruadh* (Hugh Roe O'Donnell), and others of his race. The piece, which is not as a "prophecy" worth any further notice, begins [see original in APPENDIX, No. CXLII.]:

"Long live, I pray, Erin after me."

It may be curious to state here that at the celebrated Battle of *Béal an Atha Buidhé*, fought by the great Hugh Roe O'Donnell against the English in the year 1598, O'Donnell's poet, *Ferfesa O'Clery*, quoted the following verse from a prophecy of St. *Berchán*, to show that he, O'Donnell, was the person foretold in it who would destroy the English power in Ireland; but this verse is not found in any of the saint's prophecies that we have been describing. Indeed, I strongly incline to believe it was specially made for the occasion. [See original in APPENDIX, No. CXLIII.]

"In the battle of the Yellow Ford,
It is by him shall fall the tyrants;
After extirpating the foreigners,
Joyful will be the men from Torry".

There is, besides, another poem of thirty-one stanzas, ascribed to St. *Berchán*, beginning [see original in APPENDIX, No. CXLIV.]:

"A warning will come after the flood,
As I think, in Erin's Isle,

LECT. XX.

Of the "Prophecies" ascribed to the Saints of Erin. (The 'Prophecies' of Saint *Berchán*.)

Which will drive some parties to destruction,
By the stormy waves of *Loch Sileann*".

This poem goes on to say that before the occurrence of this great event, red water would burst forth from a hill in the north of Erin; that *Loch Sileann* [now called Loch Sheelin, in Westmeath], would, during a *Samhain* [November] thunder storm, burst its banks and flow into *Loch Gamhna* [in Longford], then to *Loch Erne*, and so to the Shannon; that the glen of the river *Muaidh* would burst and destroy *Tir Fiachrach*, and drown *Inis Bo Finne*; that Galway would suffer dreadfully; that the Saxons would become powerful and tyrannical, churches would be taxed, and their clergy hiding in glens, or going over the sea; that a man of the Clann O'Neill would raise a war, assisted by King Louis of France; that they would fight the Battle of Emania (near Armagh), when twenty thousand Saxons would be killed; and that another great destruction of them would take place at Kildare, after which the Saxons would never again be strong, and the power of the Gaedhils would be assured for ever.

This forgery was, I believe, the composition of *Tadhg* (or Teige) *O'Neachtain*, and of so late a date as about the year 1716.

"Prophecy" ascribed to St. *Bricin*.

Leaving now St. *Berchán*, we come to another of our so-called prophets, of whom, indeed, but very little is known, though he was undoubtedly a distinguished scholar and ecclesiastic in his day. This was St. *Bricin*, abbot of *Tuaim Dreacain*, [probably the place now called Toomregan, near the village of Ballyconnell, on the borders of the counties of Cavan and Fermanagh.] St. *Bricin* flourished in the year 637; and you may recollect that, in a former Lecture, it was shown that it was to his great establishment at *Tuaim Dreacain*, that *Cennfaeladh* the Learned was carried to be cured, from the battle field of *Magh Rath*, where his skull had been fractured with the loss of part of his brain; and that here it was that he learned by rote all that was taught in St. *Bricin's* three schools. The prophecy ascribed to this Saint, which is strictly ecclesiastical, is entitled *Bailé Bhricin*, or the "Ecstasy of Bricin", and the following short history is prefixed to it:

Saint *Bricin*, one Easter Sunday night, after having kept the great fast of Lent, was sitting in his chamber, having omitted to go to perform his accustomed devotions in his church. While thus sitting at his ease, he heard the angels of Heaven celebrating aloud the happy festival in the Church, upon which he fervently prayed the Lord to afford him an opportunity of conversing about the Heavenly host with one of His angels.

After this the angel of the Lord came to talk to him between midnight and matins. *Bricin* was then favoured with a sight of the Heavenly host celebrating the festival of the Resurrection around the altar of the Lord in Heaven, after which he begged of the angel to inform him of the number and names of the sons of Life, or righteous men, who would, after himself, continue to adorn the Church of God for ever in Erin. The angel answers that a great foreign persecution of the Churches would come (alluding to the Danish Invasion); that after this persecution, the first son of Life who should appear would be a lord of three monasteries, who would raise the condition of the laity and beautify the appearance of the churches; who would be a king, a bishop, and a fountain of charity and mercy. I do not know any person who would answer this description as well as Cormac Mac Cullinan, king and archbishop of Cashel, who was slain in the year 903. The next son of Life who was to appear was *Tánaidhé Mac Uidhir* [Mac Guire], who was abbot of *Beannchuir* [county Down], and who was slain by the Danes in the year 956. The angel goes on then to enumerate the sons of Life to the number of fifty, by figurative names, which, at this distance of time, are totally unintelligible, if, indeed, they were all ever meant by their author to bear any definite meaning; nor does he appear to have observed any fixed chronological order, as will be seen from three of the personages identified by some ancient transcriber, and who stand in the text in the following order: *Tánaidhé Mac Uidhir*, abbot of *Beannchuir*, already mentioned, who was slain in the year 956; *Fothadh na Canóiné*, of *Fathan Múra*, who flourished about the year 800; and *Donnchadh O'Braoin*, abbot of *Cluainmichnois*, who died in 987; after whom there were to be but six more sons of Life until the birth of a man named *Tibraidé*, in whose time the Christian religion was to cease, and the reign of Antichrist was to be established. This *Tibraidé* was to be born in the reign of *Aedh Engach* (or Hugh the Valiant), according to the prophecy called *Bailé an Scáil* (the "Eestacy of the Champion"), of which I have already spoken; but, as my copy of that prophecy is imperfect at the end, where this prediction could be found, I am unable to draw any conclusion from a comparison of both texts. It is my opinion, however, that *Bricin's* prophecy was written about A.D. 1000; and, probably, by the same person who wrote *Bailé an Scáil*. It is preserved in a manuscript in the British Museum, already referred to (Harl. 5280).

From St. *Bricin* we pass to St. *Moling*, of *Tigh Moling* (now St. Mullins in the county of Carlow). St. *Moling* died in the year 696; and with the exception of St. *Colum Cille*,

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Of the "Prophecies" ascribed to the Saints of Erin. ("Prophecy" of St. *Bricin*.)

"Prophecy" of St. *Moling*.

LECT. XX.

Of the "Prophecies" ascribed to the Saints of Erin. ("Prophecy" of St. Moling.)

there are more poems ascribed to him than to any other of our early saints. Among all his poems, however, I have met with no more than one of a prophetic character. This is called the *Bailé Mholing*, or "Ecstasy of Moling", and consists of forty-seven stanzas or one hundred and eighty-eight lines, on the succession of the kings of Leinster, beginning [see original in APPENDIX, No CXLV.]:

"I say unto ye, O men of Leinster—
And not for the sake of rich rewards—
Guard well your own territories,
An attack will come upon you from afar.

Respond ye, for it well behoves ye,
To the noble Fergal, son of *Maeldúin*,
By you shall fall the brave descendant of Conn,
In the furious battle of *Almhain*.

Aedh Allan with his battalions
Will come from the north to avenge his father,
Here he will be met by *Aedh Menn*,
Who shall be left dead at *Fidh Cuilinn*.

* * * * *

The broom out of *Fánait* will be severe;
Over the centre of Erin, from the north-west
To the sea in the south, it shall make its course,
And bring direful woe to the people of Cork".

Now, the noble Fergal, son of *Maeldúin*, whose expedition and death are predicted here, succeeded to the monarchy of Erin in the year 709; and in the year 718, that is, in twelve years after St. Moling's death, he made the incursion into Leinster, which resulted in his death, at the battle of *Almhain* [now the Hill of Allen, in the county Kildare, the ancient patrimony of *Finn Mac Cúmhail*]. *Aedh Allan*, the son of Fergal, succeeded to the monarchy in the year 730; and in three years after, that is, in 733, he marched all the forces of the north of Erin into Leinster to a place called *Ath Seanaigh* [now Ballyshannon, four miles to the west of Kilcullen Bridge in the county of Kildare], where he was met by the Leinstermen, in their utmost force, under their king, *Aedh* [or Hugh], son of *Colgu*. A furious battle ensued, in which the Leinstermen were almost totally cut off; and their king was slain in single combat by the monarch *Aedh*.

The prophecy passes directly from the events of this year, 733, to the death of Cormac Mac Cullinan in the battle of *Magh Ailbhé* in the year 903; and without any special reference to the Danish Invasion, tells that the Danes will carry off

the cattle of *Cill Ausaillé* (now Killossy, near Naas in the county of Kildare), after which they were to be defeated and almost destroyed by *Ugairé*, the son of *Aillill*, King of Leinster, a prince who did, in fact, defeat them at the battle of *Ceannfuaít* (now Confeý, near Lucan, in the county of Kildare) in the year 915, where *Ugairé* himself fell, together with a great number of the gallant chiefs of Leinster.

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Of the "Prophecies" ascribed to the Saints of Erin. ("Prophecy" of St. Moling.)

The poem goes on, then, to give a list of several of the kings and chiefs of Leinster under figurative names (but with original interlined identifications) down to *Diarmaid*, son of *Meal na m-bó*, King of Leinster, who was killed in the battle of *Odhbha* (in Meath) in the year 1072, and, I believe, to *Donnell Mac Gilla-patrick*, who died King of Ossory, in the year 1165. *Mac Gilla-patrick*, according to this "prophecy", was to be succeeded by *Flann* of *Cáil Gamhna*, who is not identified; and this *Flann* was to slaughter the Danes of Dublin seven times, and reduce the strength of Munster.

This description would apply to no Leinsterman of this period but to *Diarmaid Mac Murchadha* [commonly called *Dermot Mac Murroch*], who became King of Leinster in 1137; and the poem must, I am convinced, have been written in his time, but before his banishment from Erin, and subsequent return with the Anglo-Normans, else the latter unfortunate event would have been foretold in it.

The prophet, then, when he comes to touch on the real future, follows precisely the course of the other prophets of whom we have been treating, and jumps from *Diarmaid Mac Murchadha* to *Flann Ciothach*, so often mentioned already. In his time the *Roth Ramhach*, or "Rowing Wheel", was to come, as well as a dreadful calamity promised to reach Erin from the south-west, which was to destroy the three-fourths of the people, as far as the Mediterranean Sea; and another dreadful calamity or visitation which was called the *Scuap a Fánait*, or "Broom out of Fanait" (in Donnegall), which was to sweep over Erin from the north-east into the sea in the south-west, and was to bring fearful destruction upon Cork. This prophecy limits the reign of the portentous king, *Flann Ciothach*, who is here called *Flann Ginach* [the voracious], from *Durlas* [Thurles], to sixty years, sixty months, sixty fortnights, and sixty nights; and states that the time between the end of *Flann's* reign and the day of judgment will be but one hundred years. "*Berchán dixit*" is written in the margin, opposite stanza 36 of this poem, but the original author follows from that stanza to the end.

From this well written poem, falsely ascribed to St. *Moling*,

LECT. XX.

"Prophecy"
ascribed to
Sedna (VI.
century).

we pass now to another prophetic poem of 20 stanzas, or 80 lines, carried on by way of a dialogue between St. *Finnchu* of *Bri-Gobhann* (in the county of Cork), who flourished in the sixth century, and a prophet named *Sedna*, with whose history I am unacquainted. The poem begins [see original in APPENDIX, No. CXLVI.]:

"Tell unto me, O *Sedna*,
News of the end of the world,
What will be the condition of the people
Who follow not a life of truth".

Sedna answers this question, as might be expected, in terms very unfavourable to the conduct and fate of the generations which were to follow, whose crimes would bring on them various plagues, as well as loss of all their power and dignity. He then foretells that the Saxons would come in upon them and hold sway in Erin during a term of nine score years (that is to the year 1350), when they would behave treacherously to one another; and that one of the old Anglo-Normans would, at a subsequent period, lead that party and the native Irish against the Elizabethan and other modern settlers, and would totally drive them out of the country.

All the copies of this poem that I have seen are so inaccurate, that the predictions cannot be reconciled with the actual history of the country; nor should I follow the silly production further, but that I find the prophecy quoted in a well-written poem composed by Donnell Mac Brody of the county of Clare, for James, the son of Maurice *Dubh*, son of John FitzGerald, Earl of Desmond. John FitzGerald, Earl of Desmond, was arrested by the Lord Chief Justice at Kilmallock, and sent prisoner to London, in the year 1567, according to the Annals of the Four Masters; and the same annals tell us, that in the year 1569, James, the son of Maurice, son of the above earl, was a warlike man, at the head of many troops; and that the English and Irish of Munster, from the River Barrow to *Carn Ui Néid* (in the south-west of the county of Cork), entered into a unanimous and firm confederacy with him against Queen Elizabeth.

So far, the prophecy (which appears to have been, as usual, made for this occasion) was fulfilled; but the part of its fulfilment which then had not arrived, never after proved true; as James, the son of Maurice *Dubh*, after a career of varied fortune, was killed at last, near *Cnoc Gréiné* (in the county of Limerick), in a skirmish with the Burkes of Clann William, in the year 1579.

Mac Brody's poem, of which I possess a fine copy, consists

o forty-two stanzas, or 168 lines, and begins [see original in LECT. XX. APPENDIX, No. CXLVII.]:—

“Whose is the oldest charter of the land of *Niall*”.

There is another prophetic poem, said to have been delivered by some person named *Maeltamhlachta*, to another person named *Maeldithri*, neither of whom can be identified. It is a silly production, of no antiquity, in its present form; it promises, that when the Saxons shall have become as wicked as the native Gaedhil, their power over Erin shall come to an end; and that this prediction has not been finally verified long ago, one cannot help remarking, is a pretty clear proof that the author was very little of a prophet! The poem, which is not worth another word of notice, begins [see original in APPENDIX, No. CXLVIII.]:—

“Say, O *Maeltamhlachta*”.

So far I have led you through the chief part of the foundations upon which have been built the various compositions long spoken of and referred to as the popular “Irish Prophecies,” as well as of some few that have not, I believe, been ever before brought into public notice. In place of entering into any further discussion upon their antiquity or authenticity, I shall now proceed to add a few more specific references, which may throw some light on the often-mentioned *Roth Ramhach*, or Rowing Wheel, the Broom out of Fanait, and the fatal day of the Festival of John the Baptist, so often and so mysteriously spoken of in the old MSS.

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That these were fanciful names for threatened visitations of the Divine vengeance, which were to afflict the people unless they repented of their imputed sins and iniquities (threats of vengeance, which might be held in terror over evil doers for ever, no matter how long after they may have from time to time been apparently verified, or stated to have been so), will I think, appear clearly enough, from the few short articles which I now propose to lay before you.

The first of these articles is an extract from the life of St. Adamnan, who died in the year 703. Of this extract, the following is a literal translation [see original in APPENDIX, No. CXLIX.]:—

“Two of the various gifts of St. Adamnan were preaching and instruction. He preached in the last year of his life, that a pestilence would come upon the men of Erin and of Scotland, at the ensuing festival of St. John.

“At this time an unknown young man was in the habit of visiting St. Colman of *Cruachán Aiglé*, [*Cruach Patraic*,] a spiritual director of Connacht. And the young man related

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many wonderful things to Colman, and asked him if Adamnan had not predicted a pestilence to the men of Erin and Scotland at the ensuing festival of St. John. The prediction is not true, said Colman. It is true, said the young man, and the pestilence shall be fulfilled by the death of Adamnan himself at this approaching St. John's festival".

And the life goes on to say, that the prediction was in fact so verified by the death of St. Adamnan on the 23rd of September in that year, three weeks after the festival of the beheading of John the Baptist (29th August); and that this was felt by the men of Erin and Scotland as the greatest calamity that could befall them.

This would appear to have been the real origin and verification of the St. John's festival prediction; though succeeding dealers in prophecies, like those of the present day, found it their interest, or their inclination, to give new interpretations.

At some period subsequent to the Danish Invasion, this prophecy of St. Adamnan was put into a more formal shape, and written and preached under the title of Adamnan's vision. Of this piece called Adamnan's vision, which is very short, there is a beautiful copy in Latin, with a Gaedhlic commentary, preserved in the *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré* (or *Leabhar Breac*), in the Royal Irish Academy, and a fragment, on paper, in the library of Trinity College. The whole tract makes more than one of the closely and beautifully written pages of the *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré*. The following is the text of the vision and its title [see original in APPENDIX, No. CL.]:

"The vision which Adamnan—a man filled with the Holy Spirit—saw, that is, the angel of the Lord spoke these His [that is, the Lord's] words to him:

"Woe! woe! woe! to the men of Erin's Isle who transgress the commands of the Lord. Woe! to the kings and princes who do not direct the truth, and who love both iniquity and rapine. Woe! to the prostitutes and the sinners, who shall be burned like hay and straw, by a fire ignited in the bissextile and intercalary year, and in the end of the cycle. And it is on the [festival of the] beheading of John the Baptist, on the sixth day of the week, that this plague will come, in that year, if [the people] by devout penitence do not prevent it as the people of Nineveh have done".

So far the vision, which is immediately followed by an explanation of the cause and character of this fearful visitation, and the mode of warding it off. The substance of this explanation may be summed up as follows:

It was to Adamnan, it informs us, that were revealed all the

plagues, mortalities, and destructions by foreigners which were to afflict Erin in consequence of the iniquities of her people. Dreadful would be the plagues that were to come if they did not repent, namely, a flame of fire that would purify Erin from the south-west: and that was to be the fire which would burn the three-fourths of the men of Erin in the twinkling of an eye,—men, women, boys, and girls. Of all the plagues that were to afflict the nation,—disease, famine, foreign invasion, and destruction,—this terrible fire of St. John's festival would be the last and most destructive. The people are then charged with the crimes of theft, falsehood, murder, fratricide, adultery, destruction of churches and clergy, charms, incantations, and all sorts of wickedness, excepting alone the worship of idols. This catalogue of imputed crimes is then followed by an earnest inculcation of the mode of warding off the fiery visitation of St. John's festival, in accordance with the testament of St. Patrick and St. Adamnan, and after the example of the people of Nineveh and several others of sacred history. And this was to be done by a total change of life, by fasting and praying, and giving large and liberal alms to the poor and the churches.

There can, I think, be little doubt but that this piece was written after the great mortalities of the seventh and eighth centuries, the *Buidhe chonnaill* and *Crom chonnaill* [see APPENDIX, No. CLI.], and even after the total overthrow of the Danish power in the year 1014, but before the Anglo-Norman Invasion was so much as thought of. The ecclesiastics of this time were expert calculators of cycles, and they availed themselves here of an ancient prediction (if, indeed, it was ancient), threatening a fiery visitation when the festival of the Beheading of John the Baptist (that is, the 29th day of August) should fall on a Friday near the end of what I must believe to be a cycle of the Epact. Now the number of the Epact for the year 1096 was 23, so that a cycle of the Epact terminated that year. In that year also the Decollation of St. John the Baptist fell on a Friday. And this conjunction had not happened, I believe, from the time of the Danish supremacy until this year of 1096. This year of 1096 was besides a bissextile, or leap-year. We have already seen, from the Annals of the Four Masters at this year, how strictly in accordance with the instructions laid down in this tract was the course recommended by the clergy of that period and acted on by both laity and clergy. And so we may, I think, fairly assume that this version of the vision of St. Adamnan was written (at least in its present form) immediately or shortly before that year, although it is possible that a portion of it, or perhaps some version of the entire, may have been

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uttered or written many generations before. And the probability of this "Vision" being of the date I assign to it, is further sustained by the fact that the language is not of a more ancient character.

It appears certain, from the Life of St. Adamnan, that his prophecy respecting the St. John's festival amounted only to the prediction of a simple pestilence or calamity, and that this prophecy was believed to have been fulfilled in his own death. At what time this simple calamity was magnified into a flame of fire which would burn to cinders three-fourths of the people, from the south of Erin to the Mediterranean Sea, and back again from *Fínait* (in Donnegal) to Cork, it would be curious and instructive to inquire; and it is fortunate that we have, in the same *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré*, a short article, giving such an origin to this fiery visitation as will, I am satisfied, take it for ever out of the catalogue of inspired predictions, as well as another short article, which, in my opinion, clearly identifies the "Fiery Dragon" with the so-called "Broom out of *Fínait*".

The following literal translation of the first of these little tracts will be found as curious in its topographical as in its legendary interest [see original in APPENDIX, No. CLII.] :

"It is in the reign of *Flann Cínaidh* [*Ginach*, or "the voracious"] that the Rowing-Wheel, and the Broom out of *Fánaid*, and the Fiery Bolt, shall come. *Cliach* was the harper of *Smirdubh Mac Smáil*, king of the three Rosses of *Sliabh Bán* [in Connacht]. *Cliach* set out on one occasion to seek the hand in marriage of one of the daughters of *Bodhbh Derg*, of the [fairy] palace of *Femhen* [in Tipperary]. He continued a whole year playing his harp, on the outside of the palace, without being able to approach nearer to *Bodhbh*, so great was his [necromantic] power; nor did he make any impression on the daughter. However, he continued to play on until the ground burst under his feet, and the lake which is on the top of the mountain, sprang up in the spot: that is *Loch Bél Séad*. The reason why it was called *Loch Bél Séad*, was this:

"*Coerabar boeth*, the daughter of *Etal Anbuail* of the fairy mansions of Connacht, was a beautiful and powerfully gifted maiden. She had three times fifty ladies in her train. They were all transformed every year into three times fifty beautiful birds, and restored to their natural shape the next year. These birds were chained in couples by chains of silver. One bird among them was the most beautiful of the world's birds, having a necklace of red gold on her neck, with three times fifty chains depending from it, each chain terminating in a ball of gold. During their transformation into birds, they always re-

mained on *Loch Crotta Cliach* [that is, the Lake of *Cliach's Harps*], wherefore the people who saw them were in the habit of saying: 'Many is the *Séad* [that is, a gem; a jewel, or other precious article] at the mouth of *Loch Crotta* this day'. And hence it is called *Loch Bél Séad*, [or the Lake of the Jewel Mouth.]

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"It was called also *Loch Bél Dragain*, [or the Dragon-Mouth Lake]; because *Ternóg's* nurse caught a fiery dragon in the shape of a salmon, and St. *Fursa* induced her to throw it into *Loch Bél Séad*. And it is that dragon that will come in the festival of St. John, near the end of the world, in the reign of *Flann Cínadh*. And it is of it and out of it shall grow the Fiery Bolt which will kill three-fourths of the people of the world, men and women, boys and girls, and cattle, as far as the Mediterranean Sea eastwards. And it is on that account it is called the Dragon-Mouth Lake.

"*Cliach* the Harper, now, always played upon two harps at the same time; and hence the name *Crotta Cliach* [the Harps of *Cliach*—*Cruit* being the Irish for a harp], and *Sliabh Crott*, [or the Mountain of the Harps, on the top of which the lake of *Cliach's* Harps is still to be seen].

"It was of this fiery bolt that St. *Moling* was preaching when predicting the St. John's festival, when he said,

"O great God [O great God],
May I obtain my two requests,
That my soul be with angels in bliss,
That the flaming bolt catch me not.

In John's festival will come an assault,
Which will traverse Erin from the south-west;
A furious dragon which will burn all before it,
Without communion, without sacrament.

As a black dark troop will they burst in flames.
They will die like verbal sounds;
One alone out of hundreds
Of them all shall but survive.

From *Dún Cearmna* to *Sruibh Brain*,
It will search; and to the Mediterranean Sea, eastwards;
A furious, flaming dragon, full of fire;
It shall spare but only a fourth part.

Woe to whom it reaches, woe him who awaits it,
Woe to those who do not ward off the plague;
The Tuesday upon which the festival falls,—
It were well to avert it in time.

One shall tell the precise time
When the Lord shall bring all this to pass;

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Five days of spring after Easter,
 Five years before the mortality.
 A time will come beside this,
 When in a bissextile year;
 A Friday upon a cycle, woe who sees.
 Oh ! the fiery plague may I not see !"

Such, then, was the purely fabulous origin of the Fiery Bolt which was to burn three-fourths of the men of Erinn from the south-west.

You will remember that this version of St. *Moling's* prediction of the festival of St. John differs considerably from the version of it already given. In his poem on the succession of the kings of Leinster, the time of its fulfilment is referred to some indefinite period after the appearance of the *Roth Ramhach* (the Rowing, or Oar Wheel); whilst here its occurrence is particularly laid down in five years after the year in which the festival falls on Tuesday in the same year in which Easter Sunday should happen five days before the end of spring, that is, on the 25th of April. This combination of these festivals has never since occurred, even to the present time; for, although Easter Sunday fell upon the 25th of April in the years 482, 672, 919, 1014, 1204, 1451, and 1546, yet the 29th of August did not happen to fall upon a Tuesday in any of these years, nor in the fifth year after any of them, so that the would-be prophet would appear to have miscalculated his time, or the prediction is yet to be fulfilled !

Having thus laid before you all that I have been able to collect relative to the origin of the Rowing Wheel, and the prediction respecting the festival of the Decollation of St. John, as well as the use made of them in after ages, and having expressed my own decided opinion, that these never were real prophecies or inspired predictions at all, I shall now pass to the third of this group of foretold misfortunes, namely, the *Scuap a Fánait*, or "Broom to come out of Fanait" (in Donnegal).

You will remember that in the poem on the succession of the kings of Leinster, ascribed to St. *Moling*, who died in the year 696, the saint is made to predict that

"The broom out of Fanait will be severe
 Over the centre of Erinn : from the north-west
 To the sea in the south it shall make its course,
 And bring direful woe to the people of Cork".

And in the second place he says it will come on a Tuesday. It will be seen from the following note on the festival of the

Beheading of John the Baptist, in the Festology of *Aengus Céile Dé* (preserved in the same *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré*) that this calamity, like the Fiery Bolt, was to afflict Erin in revenge of the decapitation of the man who baptized the Saviour. Thus runs this curious note [see original in APPENDIX, No. CLIII.]:

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"It is in revenge for the death of John the Baptist that the Broom will come out of *Fánait* to purify Erin towards the end of the world, as it was foretold by *Aírerán* the Wise, and by *Colum Cillé*, and it is on Tuesday in particular the Broom out of *Fánait* will come, as *Colum Cillé* said: 'Like unto the grazing of a pair of horses in a yoke, so shall be the closeness with which it will cleanse Erin'.

"Thus saith *Aírerán*, of the Broom: 'There will be two ale-houses within the one close, side by side. The man who goes out of the one into the other shall find no one alive in the house into which he goes, and neither shall he find any one alive in the house out of which he went, on his return to it, such shall be the rapidity with which the Broom comes out of *Fánait*'.

"Thus saith *Riaghail* [on the same subject]: 'Three days and three nights over a year shall this plague remain in Erin. When a ship can be seen on *Loch Rúdhraidhé*, from the door of the refectory, it is then the Broom out of *Fánait* shall come. A Tuesday, too, after Easter, in spring, will be the day upon which the Broom shall issue from *Fánait*, to avenge the death of John the Baptist'.

We have here three different persons predicting, as we are told, the Broom out of *Fánait*, besides St. *Moling*, whose prediction of it we have noticed twice already. St. *Colum Cillé* is made to say that it would come on a Tuesday. St. *Aírerán* the Wise does not specify any particular day or season; and he himself, I may observe, died of the plague which was called *Buidhe chonnaill*, in the 664; but St. *Riaghail* gives a Tuesday in spring, after Easter, as the day of its appearance, "when a ship could be seen on *Loch Rúdhraidhé* from the door of the [his] Refectory". The *Loch Rúdhraidhé* mentioned here, is the present bay of Dundrum, in the county of Down; and St. *Riaghail's* refectory and church were situated on the east side of this bay, near its mouth, where the name is still preserved in the parish of Tyrella, properly *Teach Riaghala*, or *Riagail's* house or church.

The reference to a Tuesday after Easter in spring, given by St. *Riaghail* as the day on which the Broom was to come, is not precise enough to enable us to understand what Tuesday is meant; and it is evident that there is something left out in the

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note from which it is taken. There can scarcely be any doubt that it was intended to agree with St. *Moling's* time for the coming of the Fiery Bolt: that is, when the 29th of August, the feast of the Decollation of John the Baptist, should fall on a Tuesday, and Easter Sunday within five days of the end of spring.

The probable fact would appear to me to be, that when the Fiery Bolt was, by some southern prophet of disaster, threatened to flash from *Dún Cearmna* [now called the Old Head of Kinsale, in the county of Cork] to *Sruibh Brain* [or Loch Foyle, in *Inis Eóghain*], that is, from the southern to the northern extremity of the island,—some northern rival afterwards took it upon himself to return the compliment, and send back the Broom from Fanait, in the same northern point, to deal destruction on the people of Cork. But the time first appointed by St. *Moling* for the visitation of the Fiery Bolt,—that is, five years after the year in which Easter Sunday would fall on the 25th of April, and the 29th of August on a Tuesday,—as already shown, has not yet come.

Then, as regards the second time appointed by St. *Moling* for the coming of the Fiery Bolt, if that be what is meant,—that is, on a Friday in a leap year, at the end of a circle, or cycle,—I have already shown that all the predicted circumstances of this appointed time occurred in the year 1096. In that year the 29th of August fell on Friday; the year was a leap year; and it was at the end of a circle or cycle of the Epact, which was twenty-three in that year; for, if we add the annual increase of eleven days to twenty-three, it would make it thirty-four, thus passing into a new cycle of the Epact for the next year, 1097, whose Epact would accordingly be four.

But, what is much more important than any argument of mine, I have already shown, from the annals of our country, the consternation which seized on the people at the approach of the year 1096; and how faithfully the means of averting the threatened calamities, as said to have been recommended by St. Adamnan, were carried out—in penitence, prayers, devotions, fastings, alms to the poor, and offerings to the churches; thereby showing clearly that the prophecy had not been, up to that time, fulfilled. And, as we have no record of its being feared or talked of ever since, I suppose we may hope that the means so long prescribed as efficient, and then so amply and so successfully put in practice to avert it, have for ever blotted out the hard sentence which the Lord was believed to have passed on an already sorely afflicted country!

When first I entered in these Lectures on the discussion of the authenticity of these "Prophecies," as they are called, I never

intended to follow them out to the extent that I have done; but the more I examined them, the more imperatively did I feel myself called upon—as one who had spent his whole life in the perusal and comparison of the original Gaedhlic documents,—to examine them fairly and thoroughly, and, without assuming anything of dictation or dogmatism, to record my humble opinion of the degree of credence to be given to this class of compositions. Another motive, too, impelled me to come forward,—the first that I am aware of to do so,—to throw doubt and suspicion on the authenticity of these long-talked-of “Irish Prophecies”—I mean the strong sense I entertain of the evils that a blind belief in, and reliance on their promises have worked in this unfortunate land for centuries back. I have myself known—indeed I know them to this day—hundreds of people, some highly educated men and women among them, who have often neglected to attend to their wordly advancement and security by the ordinary prudential means, in expectation that the false promises of these so-called prophecies—many of them gross forgeries of our own day—would in some never accurately specified time bring about such changes in the state of the country as must restore it to its ancient condition. And the believers in these idle dreams were but too sure to sit down and wait for the coming of the promised golden age; as if it were fated to overtake them, without the slightest effort of their own to attain happiness or independence.

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cies”.

When such has been and continues to be the belief in such predictions, and even in these modern times of peace, what must their effect have been in the days of our country's wars of independence, when generation after generation so often nobly fought against foreign usurpation, plunder, and tyranny! And in the constant application of spurious prophecies to the events of troubled times in every generation, observe that the spirit of intestine faction did not fail to make copious use of them. So we have the blind prophet predicting that a Red Hugh O'Donnell would annihilate the Anglo-Norman power on the plains of the Liffey; but we have him adding, too, that the same redoubtable hero would, to complete his triumph, burn and ravage Leinster, Munster, and Connacht also, as if for the very purpose that the common enemy should, on his next coming over the water, have less opposition to meet.

And well did the astute Anglo-Normans (as well as, indeed, their Elizabethan successors in a subsequent age), know what use to make of these rude and baseless predictions, as we read in Giraldus Cambrensis, when speaking of the invasion of Ulster by John De Courcy. [See original in APPENDIX, No. CLIV.]

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"Then was fulfilled, as is said, the prophecy of the Irish Columba; who, foretelling that war [at Downpatrick] ages before, said that the carnage of the citizens would be so great, that the enemy would wade knee-deep in the blood of the slain. For when, owing to the softness of the mud, the weight of the men's bodies caused them to sink down to the bottom, the blood which oozed from them flying to the surface of the viscid earth, easily reached to the knees and legs of the assailants. The same prophet is also said to have stated that a certain man, poor, and a beggar, and, as it were, a fugitive from other lands, would come to Down with a little band, and without the authority of a superior would gain possession of the city. [He foretold] also many battles, and the fluctuating issues of fortune; all which were evidently fulfilled in the case of John De Courcy. Even John himself is said to have carried about with him this Irish book of prophecies, as a mirror of his exploits.

"It is stated also in the same book, that a certain youth was to storm the walls of Waterford with an armed band, and take the city, with great slaughter of the inhabitants; that the same individual was also to march through Wexford, and afterwards enter Dublin without obstruction. All which was plainly fulfilled in Earl Richard Strongbow. The saint testifies also that the city of Limerick would on two occasions be abandoned by the English, and on the third be retained. Now it appears to have been twice forsaken. First, as has been stated, by Raymond; second by Philip de Breusa, who, on arriving near the city which had been granted to him, finding himself shut out from it by the river which flowed between, without any effort or assault, went back the way he came, as shall be fully stated in its proper place. After which, according to the same prediction, the city, a third time visited, is to be held possession of, or rather, after a long interval, being treacherously destroyed under Hamo de Valoignes the justiciary, and recovered and restored by Meyler". (Giraldus Cambrensis, *Hibernia Expugnata*; Lib. ii., cap. 16,—p. 794, Ed. Camden.)

Speaking elsewhere of the reduction of Erin, the same writer observes [see original in same APPENDIX]:

"For whereas the Irish are reputed to have four prophets—Moling, Braccan [Bearchan?], Patrick, and Colum Kyle (whose books, written in the Irish tongue, are still preserved among the people),—they all, when speaking of this conquest, declare that, through constant encounters and a protracted struggle, it shall sully many future ages with excessive bloodshed. But just on the eve of the Day of Judgment they award to the English people a decisive victory—the subjugation of Ireland from sea

to sea, and the occupation of the island with castles. And, though it may happen first that the English be put to confusion and exhausted while they experience the issues of the martial struggle (for instance, according to the statement of Braccan, nearly all the English will be dislodged from Ireland by a king who is to come from the desert mountains of Patrick, and, on a Sunday night, storm a certain castle in the woods of Ophelania), still, according to their declaration, the English will always maintain an undisturbed possession of the eastern coast of the island". (Ib., cap. 33; pp. 806, 807, Ed. Camden.)

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cies".
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Now, there can be no doubt whatever that Giraldus's account of these prophecies is a fabrication either by himself or by John de Courcy; for, among all the reputed prophecies which have passed through my own hands, and they are not a few, as you have already seen, there is not one that has any reference to the Anglo-Normans in Limerick or Waterford, or that promises the invaders a final permanent footing on the east coast of Ireland, which, according to the scope of Cambrensis' alleged prophecy, was the most they expected at the time.

And as for the "certain man, poor and a beggar, and, as it were, a fugitive from other lands", who, according to St. *Colum Cille*, "would come to Down with a little band, and, without the authority of a superior, would gain possession of the city", there is no such prediction in any of those poems which are ascribed to *Colum Cille*, though there is, indeed, an ecclesiastical pauper promised in St. *Bricin's* ecstatic prophecy, who was to be the last Christian preacher before the approach of the reign of Antichrist; but although the ecclesiastical character would not well become the unscrupulous despoiler John de Courcy, still it would appear that he appropriated the name, and presented himself as the verifier of an old spurious prediction, to a people so debilitated and distracted by internal broils and social jealousies, that this Norman adventurer succeeded, with a handful of men, in marching into the heart of Ulster, where he took the ancient and venerable city of Downpatrick, and fortified it before any effective opposition durst be offered him by the once brave natives of that province.

And as the native Irish, for a long period after De Courcy's time, continued to be influenced by the expectation of the good or evil which these worthless predictions had promised them, so also did the enemy continue with success either to appropriate to their own account older predictions, or to procure new ones to be made for their especial purposes in the native Gaedhlic. Of this latter class, one curious specimen remains among Sir George Carew's papers, now deposited in the Lam-

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George
Carew.)

Sir George Carew was president of Munster at the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and oral and written traditions say that he made the proper use of this stanza (which was certainly made in his own time) to impress the natives with the inevitable doom that had been preordained for them. Of this silly, but vicious production, I took a copy at Lambeth in 1849. It runs thus [see original in APPENDIX, No. CLV.]:

"From Carew's charter you'll surely find
Cause of repentance for your misdeeds;
Many will be the foreigner's shouts
Sent forth on the banks of the *Miathlach*".

(The *Miathlach* is a river in the county of Cork.)

It is a remarkable fact, though some might have supposed a prediction so clumsily coined would have been little likely to gain favour from such a man as Carew, that Carew nevertheless not only made use of it at the time, but gave it a place among the most important records of his baneful presidency of Munster.

Nor can I help remarking how it is that this same spirit of false prophecy, far from ending with Carew and the last ray of the real independence of Erin in the year 1602, has continued even to this day: for even in our own times the same unscrupulous enemy of our race and creed continues to pour forth, with an exultation almost fiendish, predictions of the same character—providentially falsified so far,—of the total annihilation or extirpation of the Gaedhel from the land which he inherits from an ancestry of three thousand years.

A nation that could at any time believe itself foredoomed to degradation and extinction, and especially on such questionable authority as I have laid before you, would deserve to be, and would surely prove to be, so doomed for ever. For a people to maintain or to recover their proper station of national independence and importance in the world, it is not always necessary to have recourse to arms; but there is one condition absolutely necessary, and that is, the possession of a true independence of soul, whether at peace or war, a horror of meanness at all times, and with these a true love for their country and veneration for the history of their race,—a condition which of itself, indeed, would imply the success of such a people in the assertion of their political and religious rights and privileges.

LECTURE XXI.

[Delivered July 22, 1856.]

Recapitulation. No History of Erin yet written. Of the works of Moore, of Keating, of MacGeoghegan, and of Lynch. How the History of Erin is to be undertaken, and the abundant materials for it properly made use of. Sketch of the ancient account of the origin of the Gaedhils of Erin. Of the materials which exist for completing the history of the early period, in which the annals are so meagre. Of the necessity for a preliminary study of the Laws, Customs, Civilization, and mode of Life among the ancient Gaedhils. Of the importance of cultivating the Language, in order to be able to make proper use of the immense mass of materials preserved in the existing collections of MSS. Conclusion.

I HAVE now, at last, brought these Introductory Lectures to a close. I have endeavoured to lay before you some intelligible account of the materials which exist towards the perfect elucidation of our country's history, in the ancient language of that country;—materials not drawn from the prejudiced reports of the enemies of our race, but from ancient Gaedhlic records, of great antiquity, and of the highest authenticity. The task has been one of greater labour than I had at all anticipated; of greater labour, perhaps, than any of you could have imagined from the result. For I was obliged again to consult a vast number of authorities—to search and research through the ancient MSS. themselves, to compare again passages upon which the investigations into the Brehon Laws had thrown new light since last I had studied them, and to verify, by examination of the original authorities themselves, all those notes and results of my study of years, before I could permit myself to express, from this place, a single opinion upon facts, however comparatively trifling, or however certain to myself appeared my recollection of former reading. Besides, the extent of the subject itself seemed greater and greater as I advanced, in throwing into form what I had to say to you; so that the number of Lectures which I have found it necessary to prepare has unavoidably exceeded three times that originally assigned to this Introductory Course.

Even now, I fear that the effort to compress what I had to say will be found to have made the result unsatisfactory enough; for I have all along been forced to give an account of vast masses of the most valuable historical writings only by a few

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short examples of them; and I feel persuaded that I have even yet failed to convey to you any adequate idea of the immense extent of our MS. historical records.

One difficulty, indeed, was always before me,—that no previous attempt had been made to describe them to the public; and I am sorry to say that I believe a very large proportion of them have not been really examined by any other eye than my own in our generation, or, perhaps, for several generations. Yet, strangely enough, we have seen histories and antiquarian treatises published with applause, for a century back, and frequently in our own time, by authors who never took the trouble to learn how to read these MSS., and who, accordingly, passed over without remark those records,—those materials without which the History of Erinn cannot be written, nor the antiquities of Erinn truly investigated,—as if such materials had no existence at all. When, therefore, I opened the business of the chair with which I have been honoured in this our National University by bearing witness to the vast extent of these, I may say, yet unopened materials,—the long-neglected, long-decaying wealth of national records, with which our great libraries and museums are so richly stocked,—I felt that the intelligent public could not but feel surprised at an announcement apparently so extravagant; and I felt then, and I have felt all along, that it must be the work of years (and, so far as I am concerned, of many special series of lectures in detail), to introduce to the world anything like a satisfactory account of our Manuscripts, so as to obtain any general recognition of their true extent and importance.

If, however, I have not succeeded, as I should wish to do, within the too limited scope of these few Lectures, in doing adequate justice to a subject so large and so varied, I may at least congratulate myself upon the increasing interest which that subject appears to have excited, and upon the indulgent attention with which you have so kindly received and encouraged me in the performance of a task so unaccustomed,—a task which I was, in some respects, so reluctant, because so ill-prepared, to undertake. And I shall feel but too glad if, by what I have attempted to do in these Introductory Lectures, I shall even have so introduced the subject to the intelligent notice of my younger friends as to kindle in their minds some interest to prosecute inquiries for themselves in a path in which it has been the lot of my life to act as a sort of pioneer. They will find that path now a far easier one than I did, and they will approach it with advantages which it was not my lot to enjoy. Only let me caution them to pursue their studies among the materials of the History

of their country uninfluenced by the silly but often attractive speculations with which so many ignorant men of the last and of the present generation have deformed their literary and antiquarian researches, if researches they can be called: let me warn them to begin for themselves at the beginning; first, to learn accurately the language itself (a task far easier than my hearers, perhaps, imagine), and then to study patiently and collate carefully the important originals in that language within their reach, before they allow their minds to dream of any theory whatever concerning the race, the history, or the religious or civil customs of our early ancestors. To do this, they must first cast behind them almost all that has yet been printed on the subject: I may indeed say all, save the very few publications which I have taken care to name to you already in these lectures; for the History of ancient Erinn is as yet entirely unwritten, and her antiquities all but unexplored.

I have said that the history of ancient Erinn is yet entirely unwritten; there is, in fact, no history of Ireland, save in name.

Before I take my leave of you on the present occasion, I desire, as shortly as I can, to show you how this is so, by pointing out how the materials which I have analysed for you must be treated, in order that anything like a history of Erinn ever may be written. And first, let me very shortly recapitulate all that we have gone over, lest by chance the length of time which has elapsed since my first Lectures were delivered (now above a year ago) should have caused you to have forgotten some portions of the series of subjects of which I have successively spoken.

In my first two Lectures, after explaining the general object of the course, I told you of the means taken, according to the most ancient laws and customs of our forefathers, to preserve the records of their race; and I laid before you some evidence of the records and literature of the earlier ages of Erinn, before Christianity, together with a list and some description of the chief among the lost books of more remote times, from which much that is preserved in the ancient MSS. still in existence was copied, with or without additions and explanations. I told you what is known of the Books called the *Cuilmén*, the *Cin Droma Sneachta*, the *Senchus Mór*, the Book of *Ua Chongháil*, the *Saltair* of Cashel, the *Saltair* of Tara, the original *Leabhar na h-Uidhré*, and the Book of *Acaill*. And as instances of the contents of some of these great collections, I described to you the story of the *Táin Bo Chuailgne* and the history of *Cormac Mac Airt*, of which copies exist in MSS yet preserved to us.

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In the third Lecture I opened the subject of the various Annals still existing in our MS. collections, their extent and character; and I gave you some account of the early Annalists and professors of history; of *Flann* of Monasterboice; of *Giolla Caemhain*; of *Tighernach*; and of the ancient schools. And with reference to the earliest existing annals, those of *Tighernach*, I related to you the history of the foundation of the Palace of Emania (near Ardmagh); that of the Three Collas; and of the foundation of the Ultonian Dynasty, which *Tighernach*, apparently for very unsatisfactory reasons, assumed as the commencement of the historic period.

In several subsequent Lectures I took up the Annals nearly in the chronological order of their composition, and gave you an account of each in some detail. I described to you the scope and contents of the Annals of *Tighernach*, the Annals of Innisfallen, the Annals of the Island of Saints in *Loch Cé*, improperly called the Annals of Boyle (called by Ware the Annals of Connacht), the Annals of *Senait Mac Maghnusa*, called the Annals of Ulster; and the Annals of *Loch Cé* (improperly called the Annals of Kilronan); and as a specimen of this work, I described to you the account in it of the Battle of *Magh Sleacht* in the year 1252, the place in which stood the celebrated Idol called *Crom Cruach* [or *Ceann Cruach*, as found in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick], prostrated by St. Patrick; then the true "Annals of Connacht"; the "Chronicum Scotorum" of *Duald Mac Firbisigh*; the other works of the Mac Firbises, from the Yellow Book of *Lecain* (in the year 1390) and the Book of *Lecain* (in the year 1416), to *Duald's* own time, in the year 1666; the Annals of *Lecain*; and the Annals of Clonmacnois, of which last I gave you a specimen in the curious story of the Life of Queen *Gormlaidh*.

I concluded my notice of the Annals by devoting one entire lecture to a very inadequate examination of those of the Four Masters; and in the following lecture, having passed from the Annals, I described to you the other great works of the O'Clerys, and particularly the *Réim Rioghraidhé*, or Succession of the Kings, and the *Leabhar Gabhála*, or Book of Invasions.

I next proceeded to give you an account of the chief books of historical MSS. (generally very large collections, embracing, each of them, a vast number of compositions of every kind) which exist in the libraries of Dublin, in Trinity College, and in the Royal Irish Academy, including the *Leabhar na h-Uidhré*, the "Book of Leinster", the "Book of Ballymote", the *Leabhar Buidhe Lecain*, the "Book of *Lecain*", and the "Book of Lismore"; and I shortly noticed the immense collection of Law Tracts about to be published by the Brehon Law Commission.

The following Lecture was devoted to a subject hardly less LECT. XXI.
important than the Annals themselves in a historical point of
view—I mean the great Books of the Genealogies and Peditu-
degrees of the Clanns and Tribes of Erinn, and particularly the
splendid work of Duaid Mac Fírbis. And I explained the
nature and the legal and social importance of these records in
ancient times. Recapitula-
tion.

After describing the Annals and the Books of Genealogies,—records which must ever supply, as in ancient times they always supplied, the foundation and skeleton of our national history,—I next passed to those classes of authentic materials from which the details of that history are to be gathered. And, first, I described to you the few great pieces in which we find that history already almost made to our hands, so far as certain great epochs in the general annals are concerned. I allude to the early compilations called the “Wars of the Danes with the Gaedhils”, the History of the Boromean Tribute, the “Wars of Thomond”, and the “Book of Munster”. And from these I proceeded to describe to you (but too generally, I am afraid), the immense mass of Gaedhlic literature which I have classed under the name of the Historic Tales, beginning with those which record for us the celebrated Battles of *Magh Túireadh Chonga* and *Magh Túireadh na bh-Fómorach*, which took place in the nineteenth century before Christ, according to the chronology adopted by the Four Masters. In the Lectures devoted to these Historic Tales, I gave you lastly a number of examples, the nature and scope of which, in reference to the serious subject of our history, I hope you have not forgotten. I concluded this part of my subject by a similar account of what I termed the purely Imaginative Literature (such as the compositions called Fenian Tales and Poems), because in this class of pieces is to be found such a vast amount of detailed information relative to the manners and customs, residences, dress, ornaments,—the social life, in short,—of the early Gaedhils.

The history of the Christian period, in so far as directly connected with the Church, as well as the purely Ecclesiastical History, I kept by itself; and this formed the subject of the remainder of this preliminary course. In two Lectures last year⁽⁵⁰⁾ I described to you the remains which still exist to testify to the period of (and that immediately following) the introduction of Christianity into Erinn;—I mean the beautifully worked relics, the shrines, the bells, and the croziers, with many of which you are, no doubt, familiar; for an accurate estimate of the ancient times of Erinn is not to be reached by the student of history.

(50) See note at p. 320.

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without acquaintance with these works also, as well as those of another class, the gold, silver, and bronze ornaments of civil life, and the weapons of the ancient warriors. And after describing to you such remains of early piety I proceeded to explain to you the nature of the contents of the ancient lives of the early saints (and particularly that invaluable one called the Tripartite Life of Saint Patrick), and the Manuscript Ecclesiastical Records in general, rich as they are in various entries and allusions of great historical value. In the last few Lectures this year,⁵¹ I resumed this portion of the subject by describing to you the great *Leabhar Mór Dúna Doighré* (now commonly but erroneously termed the *Leabhar Breac*, or “Speckled Book”), and other invaluable ecclesiastical writings, which I had not included in my former account of the general Historical MSS. preserved in Dublin. And after noticing many very early religious and monastic pieces (and particularly the celebrated *Féiliré*, or Martyrology, of *Aengus Céilé Dé*), I brought the whole of my analysis of the MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History to a conclusion by an account of the pieces called Prophecies,—most of which have been attributed to the early Saints, and especially to *Colum Cillé*, but some even to pagan kings, chiefs, and Druids, before the introduction of Christianity,—spurious prophecies, which contain, indeed, much matter of historic interest, but which have been so often used (and even in our own day) with the most mischievous effect, among our people, and in a sense so entirely opposed to the truth of our National History, that I have been induced to devote to them an amount of space perhaps disproportionate to their real importance, in order, if possible, to check the dangerous falsehoods which on this side also threaten to assail the student, and to perplex him in his labours, if not to divert him altogether from the only certain path of candid inquiry.

Such is a recapitulation, as short as I could make it without becoming unintelligible, of the ground we have gone over. I believe it will be impossible for any candid critic to deny that if the Gaedhlic MSS. be such and so extensive as I have described them, it is in these MSS. chiefly, nay, almost exclusively, that the materials for the ancient History of the country are to be sought. I am sure it can need no argument to convince any one who has ever examined, even in the most cursory manner, the books which have hitherto been published under the name of “History of Ireland”, that these materials have never yet been used as they ought and as they easily might have been.

(51) See note at p. 320.

By far the greatest part of these invaluable records and of these most interesting narratives, have not been examined at all. Generally, the writers who have undertaken to become "Historians" of Ireland, have been unable to consult a Gaedhlic MS. at all, for want of acquaintance with the language; and such writers have attempted to conceal their deficiency in this regard by a flippant sneer or an ignorant but positive falsehood. And the very few who, knowing the language, have applied themselves to the task of composing a general history of Erinn, have done so without access to any considerable body of the MSS., and under circumstances which deprived them of the means of effecting that examination and collation of authorities which the necessary critical investigation of history so imperiously requires.

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Perhaps the whole number of writers worthy of mention as having attempted the history of ancient Erinn, may be reduced to three; for, I believe I may pass over the rest in absolute silence. Those three are, Dr. Geoffrey Keating (of whom I had occasion to speak in my Lecture on the Four Masters); the Abbé Mac Geoghegan; and, if only because he is the latest of all, and because his well earned popularity and his character in other respects entitle him to such notice, the late Thomas Moore.

Of the various writers on the History of Erinn.

It is no part of my purpose to criticise the performances of these, or indeed of any modern writers on Irish history; and I only mention them because they are so well known that it may seem strange to omit doing so just after having assured you that there is no history of Ireland. Such of you as have read the works of those three writers, need not be told that by none of them has adequate use been made of any part even of the materials I have described to you. Such of you as have not yet read them may read them (at least Keating and Mac Geoghegan) without mischief, taking with you only the caution which my remarks may imply.

Of Moore's total want of qualification for the task he undertook, you are aware from the anecdote I gave you in a former Lecture. He discovered it too late; but he was candid enough to admit it without qualification. Against his work, then, I should directly warn you. The account he gives of ancient Erinn is nowhere to be relied on; it is taken entirely from English authorities, not merely hostile in feeling but even themselves ignorant of the facts of the case on which they wrote. So that there is, perhaps, no one event of ancient Irish history accurately given in Moore; and there are innumerable passages in which the most important facts are wholly misrepresented in the gross and in detail. I do not accuse the poet of any intention so to write the history of his country—far, far

Of Moore's "History of Ireland".

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Of Moore's
"History of
Ireland".

from it. I believe he intended honestly to tell the truth; but he knew of no authorities but those which I have just alluded to; he did not understand the language, and had not even heard of the existence of our great MSS. books till after his first volume had appeared (the volume in which the early history is treated); and when he did discover his mistake, he was, I have the best reason to believe, heartily sorry that he had ever undertaken a task which was, indeed, it is said, suggested rather by the author's publisher than by his own special tastes or study.

Of Keating's
History.

The history of Dr. Keating was compiled, as I have already told you, among the caves and woods of Tipperary, to which the proscription of Protestant persecution had driven the Catholic priest. Keating had with him some of the old books, such as the Book of Invasions, at the commencement of which are recorded the ancient traditions, not only of the origin of the Milesian race, but of the successive colonizations of Erin by the various waves of the Celtic family which reached this island from the European Continent before the time of *Milidh* or Milesius. And he must have also had with him some collection which contained many of the pieces of the kind I have classified as the Historic Tales. Keating's work consists of nothing more than a compilation of these materials, as many as he had by him in his wanderings; and he seems to have done nothing but abridge, and arrange chronologically, such accounts of historic facts as he found in them, never departing in the least from what he saw before him, and often preserving even the arrangement and style. It is greatly to be regretted that a man so learned as Keating (one who had access, too, at some period of his life, to some valuable and ancient MSS. since lost) should not have had time to apply to his materials the rigid test of that criticism so necessary to the examination of ancient tales and traditions—criticism which his learning and ability so well qualified him to undertake. As it is, however, Keating's book is of great value to the student, so far as it contains at least a fair outline of our ancient History, and so far as regards the language in which it is written, which is regarded as a good specimen of the Gaedhlic of his time.

Of Mac Geoghegan's
History.

The Abbé Mac Geoghegan wrote his history in Paris (in the French language) in the year 1758. He had no access there, of course, to the great books now in Ireland, and most of which were at that time also here; but the Book of *Lecain* was then in Paris, and of that invaluable MS. he made copious use. His other authorities were chiefly Lynch (Cambrensis Eversus), and Colgan, besides the various Anglo-Norman and English writings from Cambrensis down. Mac Geoghegan

made a very excellent attempt, considering his opportunities. LECT. XXI.
His work is, however, very meagre in detail; and that part of it which gives an account of ancient Erinn, seems to consist merely of a very short abridgment of the Annals, or else to have been taken from the Book of Invasions, or, more readily, from one of Lynch's chapters.

I do not speak here of Lynch's book, because it is rather a critical defence against Anglo-Norman misrepresentation, than a history. The "Cambrensis Eversus" is, however, a work of very good authority, and abounds with information most valuable to the student of history. It was published (in three large volumes) a few years ago, by the late Celtic Society, with a translation and notes by my [late lamented] friend, the Rev. Professor Kelly, of Maynooth; and it has lately been again issued by the united Archæological and Celtic Society.

Of "Cambrensis Eversus".

Having shown that up to the present time there has been nothing written which can be called a History of Ireland, and having considered the nature and extent of the materials out of which (after proper preliminary investigation and criticism) a history can be constructed, I may be permitted now to state shortly how, as it occurs to me, these materials may practically be best approached by the future historian; though it is true that the time for undertaking a complete history has not yet arrived, and though I myself dread, perhaps more than any one, such a work being undertaken, before years of labour are first devoted to that critical examination of all our MSS., and of the traditions as well as the records they contain, which must, I am sure, precede any successful effort in this direction. I have frequently alluded to a particular mode of dealing with the Annals, which is, perhaps, obvious enough of itself, and which occurs to me as the readiest in making use of the body of the other materials to illustrate them; and it is this plan which, with your permission, I shall endeavour, by way of conclusion, to develop in the shape of an example of what I mean.

The only valuable, the only complete and rich history, then, the only worthy, the only truly intelligible history of ancient Erinn, must be written upon the basis of the Annals, of which I have given you some account, and, above all, upon the basis of the last and most complete of the Annals, those of the Four Masters. From O'Donovan's richly noted edition of this great work the student can indeed learn almost all the chief part of that history; but, as I before explained to you, even these annals, and especially the earlier portion of them, are extremely

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dry and meagre; so that to arrive at anything like an intelligible history of those early times, we are forced to search elsewhere for assistance. The lights and shades, the details of such a history, the minute circumstances,—not only those which explain historical events, but those equally or even more important descriptions, in which the habits and manners, the social ideas and cultivation, the very life of the actors in those events, are recorded for us,—all these things must be brought out in their proper places in order to transform the meagre skeleton supplied by the mere annals into a full and real history. And it is out of all the other materials which have been spoken of in these Lectures that these details are to be gathered, for the purpose of filling in the outline drawn by the Four Masters.

All these various materials must, however, first be submitted to the closest analysis, to the most careful comparison one with another, and to the most minute critical investigation, assisted by the light supplied by the languages and histories, as well as the antiquities and what is known of the life, of other Celtic nations,—of all the contemporary nations, indeed, with whom our forefathers were ever likely to have come in contact. Such criticism, I need hardly say, does not come within the scope of these Lectures. It is my province here only to introduce to you the various classes of historic materials themselves, and to suggest the use which may be made of them. For such of you as have energy and ambition enough to undertake so important a work, there are many directions from among which to choose a course wide enough and deep enough to exercise your powers, after your classical and critical education shall have been sufficiently completed, in assisting to accomplish this necessary preliminary to the complete investigation of your country's history; and you can easily make yourselves masters of the language as you proceed. I hope some of you will take the hint, for I can imagine no employment in which the best years of a literary life could now be spent more likely to lead to rich results for your country or more honourable to yourselves.

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about a His-
tory of An-
cient Erinn.

For my present purpose, however, let us suppose this critical investigation completed, and the historic truths contained in all the materials of every kind, which I have described, separated clearly by accurate analysis and comparison. We shall then be in a position to fill up the outlines supplied by the annals, and to do this for almost every generation of our ancestors, from a period very long before that of Christianity.

You have already seen that great part of the work of history has been done to our hands, with respect to the long and important periods embraced by the three great compilations I have

described to you—I mean the large tracts called the “History of the Boromean Tribute”, that of the “Wars of the Danes”, and that of the “Wars of Thomond”. And in the similar tract called the “Book of Munster” you have been told that a similarly detailed history is preserved of the principal events relating particularly to that province during several centuries. With these great works, then, the future historian will have to begin his labours of compilation. Of course the basis of the whole will be the Annals of the Four Masters, as at once the most comprehensive and the latest work of authority among the Annals, while the various books of Genealogies and Pedigrees, and especially those of Mac Firbis, will supply the means of tracing the connection between the various provinces and tribes, as well as many details as to the lives and circumstances of the kings and chiefs who figure in the national annals. So much being done, we come at last to the use to be made of the immense mass of miscellaneous historical literature which I have so often called the Historic Tales, and on these we shall chiefly have to depend for that minute illustration of the details of historic life which I have since alluded to.

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tory of An-
cient Erinn.

The chronicles, records, and purely historic narratives upon which we have to rely for illustrating any particular periods in our history, and filling up the outlines furnished by our annalists, appear to have undergone, you will remember, even at a remote time, a wide dispersion, and to have been broken into almost innumerable fragments. To recover and arrange them is now a task of no ordinary difficulty, owing to the numerous and various sources which we must draw upon for information before we can compass any connected view of them. Of these various sources of information I believe I have now laid before you an account intelligible enough, at least, to enable you to understand this difficulty.

Many ways, doubtless, might be proposed, to effect the re-union of these scattered fragments of veritable historic records. That which I propose to adopt appears to me simple and convenient; and in the short example I shall give of it, you are to remember that for my present purpose I shall not adhere to any strict principles of classification in the selection of any particular epochs of our history. I desire that you should take the several fragments of the historic chain of which I have spoken, or shall speak, simply as examples; and I believe that, if space allowed, it would be as easy for me to fill up the spaces which occur between them. I shall then rapidly pass before you a few periods marked in our annals by some important events, and group about these so much of the records, historic tales,

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and other materials of our genuine history (especially those which I have already introduced to your notice in detail), as may serve to indicate how the blanks in the annals are to be filled up; and I shall take for my starting point the early traditional history of the origin of the last great colony of Celts, the race commonly known by the name of the Milesians.

The Milesian
Colony.

The Milesian history is pretty generally known, and has been much canvassed by the writers of the last 150 years. But although several writers have been bold enough not only to question, but even to reject altogether, the fact of this Spanish colonization of Erinn, nevertheless not one has ever ventured upon assigning any other origin to the peculiarly constituted race of the Gaedhel, at least none founded on anything more than mere conjecture, and that of the weakest kind.

It is impossible not to remark that the writers of this class have been chiefly, if not exclusively, Protestant; writers of a party who have ever been singularly ready to lay hold of the most trivial incidents which they can dress up to give colour to their denial that the ancestry and Christianity of ancient Erinn had been derived from Western Europe. It would have been much to the credit of some of these writers, had they confined themselves to fair discussion and a candid examination of such facts and authorities as came before them, and had they decided honestly on the evidences alone which they furnish, particularly as the historic question concerning the coming of the Gaedhils themselves from Spain, and their religion from Rome, is really a matter of no importance whatever in the discussions of the present day, except as regards mere ethnological inquiry and as regards the veracity of our ancient traditions and writings. But for writers and investigators of this class, a single dubious sentence, or a single immaterial contradiction, is enough, if only ingenuity can in any way twist it into a contradiction of the whole scope and tenor of history, spread over one or any number of volumes. It is then magnified into a mountain of truth, and all the rest set at nought, or coolly passed over.

This subject, however, of the authenticity of our ancient traditions, is too large to be discussed here, as it were, accidentally; but it is one that shall not be overlooked or postponed to any indefinite period. At present I shall do no more than lay before you a short sketch of the traditional origin of the Gaedhils of Erinn, as it is recorded in our oldest books; and I shall do so without criticism of any kind, only that you may the better understand what is to follow.

The Milesians, according to the Book of *Drom Sneachta* (a book written before St. Patrick's arrival in Erin), as well as their predecessors in this country, the Firbolgs and the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, are recorded to be descended from the race of Japhet, through his son Magog. They are said to have been originally seated in "Scythia"; and the earliest traditions tell us that a branch of them settled in Egypt in the reign of Pharaoh Cingris; that they returned to Scythia again after some generations; that they subsequently went into Greece, and ultimately to Spain, where, after a long residence, they erected the city and tower of Bragantia, from whence, after some time, a colony of them came into Erin in the year of the world 3500, under the command of the eight sons of *Galamh*, who is commonly called Milesius. The story goes on to say that they landed at the mouth of the river *Sláingé*, or Slaney (in the present county of Wexford), unobserved by the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, and that they marched at once from that place to Tara, the seat of government. The chief rule of the island at this period was conjointly shared by the three sons of *Cermna Milbheóil*, namely, *Ethur*, *Cethur*, and *Fethur*, three personages mythologically known as *Mac Cuill*, *Mac Ceacht*, and *Mac Gréine*. The Milesians immediately summoned these three kings to surrender to them the government of the country in peace, or submit it to the right of battle.

LECT. XXI.
Of the ancient traditions concerning the Milesian Colony.

A very curious instance of early chivalric tradition follows, the critical explanation of which I shall for the present leave to the investigation of the historical inquirer, merely stating here the story in the form in which it has been handed down to us. The answer of the *Tuatha Dé Danann* appears to have been a complaint that they had been taken by surprise; and they proposed to the invaders to return to their ships, to reëmbark, and to go out upon the sea "the distance of nine waves" (as the story runs); and that if they could, after that, effect a landing by force, then that the country should be surrendered to them. To this proposition, it is related, that the Milesian brothers assented; but when the *Tuatha Dé Danann* found them fairly launched on the sea, they raised a furious magical tempest, which entirely dispersed the fleet. One part of it was driven along the east coast of Erin, to the north, under the command of Eremon, the youngest of the Milesian brothers; whilst the remainder, under command of Donn, the eldest of the sons of Milesius, was driven to the south-west of the island.

However, the Milesians were not without their druids too. At first the latter thought the tempest was a natural one; but after some time, suspecting that it was the result of druidical

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Of the ancient traditions concerning the Milesian Colony.

agency, they sent a man to the top-mast of their ship, to know if the wind was blowing at that height over the surface of the sea. The man reported that it was not. This confirmed their suspicions; whereupon they immediately set about laying the storm, by counter arts of magic, in which they soon succeeded, though not before five of the eight brothers were lost. Four, including *Donn*, the eldest, were drowned off the coast of Kerry; and one, *Colpa*, at the mouth of the river Boyne, which from him was called *Inbhear Colpa*; and it was here that *Eremon* landed.

When the storm abated, the surviving brothers of the southern party, *Eber Finn* and *Amergin* (the poet, chronicler, and judge of the expedition) landed, with the shattered remains of their people, on the coast of Kerry, and, after taking a short rest they moved up the country, but they were met at the foot of the mountain called *Sliabh Mis*, by a strong body of *Tuatha Dé Danann*, headed by *Eiré*, the queen of one of the joint kings. Here a battle ensued between them in which the Milesian brothers were victorious, though they lost three hundred of their men, as well as their mother *Scota*, and *Fas*, the wife of one of their chiefs. The *Tuatha Dé Danann* were routed with the loss of a thousand warriors.

The valley in which this battle is recorded to have been fought is still well known, and lies at the foot of *Sliabh Mis*, in the barony of *Trichadh an Aicmé*, in Kerry; it was named *Glenn Faisi* (the Valley of *Fas*), from the lady *Fas*, the first of the Milesians killed in it. The lady *Scota* was buried here too, at the north side of the valley, near the sea, and *Fert Scota* (or *Scota's grave*), is still pointed out in *Gleann Scoithin*, in the present parish of Annagh, in the same barony.

Eber Finn pushed on at once after this battle, and succeeded in fighting his way to the other side of Erin, as far as the mouth of the Boyne, where he found his brother *Eremon*, after which they sent a challenge of battle to the three joint kings at Tara. This challenge was accepted, and the battle of *Taillten* [now Telltown, in Meath] ensued, in which the three kings were defeated and killed, their people subdued and great numbers of them slaughtered, and the power of the *Tuatha Dé Danann* totally overthrown.

The best account of the Battle of *Taillten* that I am acquainted with, although still limited in details, is to be found in an ancient but much-wrecked MS. in Trinity College Library (class H. 4.22), one of those which, for this period, the historian must consult, and of which he will make copious use.

The Milesians having thus become masters of the country,

the brothers *Eber Finn* and *Eremon* divided the island into two parts between them, the former taking all the southern part from the Boyne and the Shannon to Cape Clear, and the latter taking all the part lying to the north of these rivers.

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Each of them then took a moiety of the chiefs and people, who proceeded to settle themselves throughout the country, and who soon erected all those numerous raths, forts, and *Cathairs*, which to this day bear the names of these early invaders.

The brothers *Eber Finn* and *Eremon*, however, did not long remain content in peace; and after a little interval they met to decide their quarrels by battle at *Geisill* (near Tullamore, in the district now called the King's county). The scene of the battle was at a place called *Tochar eter dhá mhagh*, or "the causeway between two plains"; and on the brink of the river *Bri damh*, the river which runs through the town of Tullamore. In this battle *Eber* fell with three of his chief leaders, namely, *Suirghé*, *Sobhaircé*, and *Goisten*. The name of the battle-scene is still preserved in the name of the townland of Ballintogher, in the parish and barony of *Géisill*; and at the time of the composition of the ancient topographical tract called the *Dinnseanchus*, the mounds and graves of the slain were still to be seen on the battle-field. The authenticity of the record of a battle at this place at a period of very remote antiquity, cannot be questioned; in this instance at least, the *Dinnseanchus* can scarcely be sneered at as a "modern" compilation. Of the battle of *Géisill* we have now no detailed account; but as it is recorded in our most ancient books, in the same manner as the battles of the two Moyturas, there can be no rational doubt that, like them, it too had its ancient chronicler in detail.

On the death of *Eber Finn*, the ancient authorities tell us that *Eremon* assumed the sole government of our island; that he left the north, and went to reside to Leinster; and that in the year of the world 3516, after a reign of fifteen years, he died at length at *Ráith Beóthaigh*, in *Argat Ross*, in which he was buried. This ancient rath is still in existence, with the name slightly modified to Rath Beagh. It is situated on the right bank of the river *n-Eóir*, or Nore, and on its immediate brink, about a mile below the present village of Ballyragget, in the county of Kilkenny. It is of an irregular, oblong, and very unusual form, with a deep fosse on one side, and the river on the other; and as the interior surface is above the level of the adjacent field, there is good reason to believe that the floor is hollow, and that probably the tomb of *Eremon* himself still remains in it.

LECT. XXI.

Of the
Cruithneans,
or "Picts".

Of the various events ascribed by our annals and other ancient authorities to the reign of *Eremon*, no recorded details have come down to us, with the exception of the coming of the *Cruithneans*, or Picts, into Erin, their passing hence into Scotland, and their final settlement in that country.

The events of which I have just given you a sketch, are not recorded in the Annals of the Four Masters, but they are to be found in all the ancient copies of the "Book of Invasions", and in the *Dinnseanchus*, which the historian will accordingly consult for them.

The *Cruithneans*, or Picts, it is stated, fled from the oppression of their king in Thrace, and passed into France, where they founded the city of Poitiers, or Pictiers, which is believed to derive its name from them. Here too, however, they were threatened with an act of tyranny, which induced them again to fly; and there is reason to believe that they proceeded first to Britain, and from thence to Erin, and that they landed here on the coast of Wexford. *Crimhthann Sciath-bél*, one of King Eremon's leaders, was at this period chief of this part of the country, and, at the time of the landing of the Picts, he was engaged in extirpating a tribe of Britons, who were settled in the forests of *Fotharta* (now the barony of Forth, in Wexford), a tribe distinguished as having been one that fought with poisoned weapons, and who were known as the *Tuatha Fiodha*, or the Forest Tribes.

On the landing of the Picts, they were well received by *Crimhthann*, the chief, who engaged their assistance to banish the Britons; and the battle of *Ard Leamhnachta* [or "New-milk Hill"] was fought between them, in which the Britons were defeated, chiefly, it is said, by the agency of *Drostan*, the Pictish Druid, who devised an antidote to the poison of the weapons. This antidote is said to have been nothing more than a bath of new milk, over which the Druid's incantations were recited, in which the wounded men were plunged, and out of which they at once came healed and restored.

The record of the battle of *Ard Leamhnachta* is found in the *Dinnseanchus*, but not at great length; and the coming of the Picts at this remote time into Erin to the Scots (or Milesians), is spoken of by Venerable Bede in his Ecclesiastical History (chap. i., b. I.) The whole question of the coming of the Picts has lately been ably and learnedly discussed by the late Mr. Herbert and Dr. Todd, in the edition of the Irish version of the old British historian, Nennius, edited by the Rev. Dr. Todd, for the Irish Archæological Society.

From the time of *Eremon* down to the time of *Ugainé Mór* (or *Ugany* the Great), though our annals and other authorities record numerous events of historic interest and importance, we have no lengthened separate details of them. I shall, however, shortly continue my sketch from that period, still keeping in view the Annals of the Four Masters as the foundation for our historical researches.

LECT. XXI.
Continuation of sketch of the Mésian History.

Ugainé Mór, or the Great, commenced his reign in the year of the world 4567,—or before Christ 633, according to the chronology of the Four Masters. In the catalogue of ancient historic tracts preserved in the Book of Leinster, there is one set down which described an expedition of *Ugainé Mór* to the Continent, and as far as Italy; but of this important piece unfortunately not a vestige now remains; nor would I refer to it, but for the purpose of showing that, although there is no little scarcity of those more remote detailed accounts in the books which still remain to us, still there can be no doubt of their having been abundant within the Christian era. I believe, indeed, that they probably formed a chief part of the lost *Cuilmen* and of the Book of *Drom Sneachta*, mentioned in a former lecture, as well as of numerous other books, of which we have never heard, and many of which were perhaps consigned to neglect and decay by their owners among the druids and other learned men who became converts to Christianity, in their fervour and devotion to the cultivation and propagation of their new creed.

Of the reign of *Ugainé Mór*.

The Annals of the Four Masters record the death of *Ugainé Mór* at the year of the world 4606, in the following words: “At the end of this year *Ugainé Mór*, after having been full forty years Monarch of Erin, and of the whole of the west of Europe as far as the Mediterranean Sea, was slain at *Tealach an Chosgair* (that is, the Hill of the Victory), in *Magh Muirédha* in Bregia. This *Ugainé* it was who obtained from the men of Erin in general the security of all creation, visible and invisible [that is, obtained from them a solemn oath on all created things], that they would never contend for the sovereignty of Erin with his children or his seed”.

Ugainé Mór was succeeded in the sovereignty by his son, *Laeghairé Lore*. *Laeghairé*'s next brother was *Cobhthach Cael*, who resided in the provincial palace of *Dinn Rígh* (or the “Hill of the Kings”), an ancient royal residence founded by the Firbolgs on the brink of the river Barrow, near *Leithghlinn* [Leighlin], in the present county of Carlow). This *Cobhthach*, we are told, became so full of envy of his brother *Laeghairé*, that

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Of the reign
of *Ugainé*
Mór.

he pined away in secret almost to death; nor could anything be found to cure his disease but the death of the king. Having confided this secret (or rather, having disclosed his murderous design) to his Druid, the latter advised him to take to his bed, that *Laeghairé* would surely come to visit him, and that then he could not fail of an opportunity to take his life. *Cobhthach* did accordingly take to his bed, and his brother *Laeghairé* soon came to visit him, and entered the sick chamber alone. When, however, he stooped over his brother to embrace him in his bed, the latter plunged a dagger into his heart. *Laeghairé* had, however, a son, an only son, *Ailill Ainé*, and he again had a son, then a child, whose name was *Maen*. *Cobhthach*, therefore, at once proceeded to take the life of his nephew,—he had that of his brother,—in order to make his way to the throne: and *Ailill Ainé* was murdered immediately after his father. *Maen*, the child, was not, however, put to death; but his granduncle is recorded to have caused him to be fed on such disgusting food as that he became stupid and even speechless, upon which he was considered (according to law) incapable of succeeding to the royal power.

Of the reign
of *Labhraidh*
Loingseach.

No part of these details is to be found in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, where the mere fact is stated, that *Laeghairé Lore*, son of *Ugainé*, after having been two years in the sovereignty of Erin, was killed by *Cobhthach Cael Breagh* at *Carmán* (now Wexford). And, after stating the accession of *Cobhthach*, the next entry is equally meagre, namely, at A.M. 4658 (or 542 B.C.): “*Cobhthach Cael Breagh*, son of *Ugainé*, after having been fifty years in the sovereignty of Erin, fell by *Labhraidh Loingseach*, that is, *Maen*, son of *Ailill Ainé*, with thirty kings about him, at *Dinn Righ*, on the brink of the *Bearbha* [the Barrow]”.

The circumstances which I have just mentioned are taken from an important tract on the Genealogies of the ancient tribes of Leinster, preserved in the *Book of Leinster* itself. The romantic story of *Maen* or *Labhraidh Loingseach*, [the Exile,] is one of those Historic Tales which I selected as an example of them to lay before you a few evenings ago. It is preserved in the *Leabhar Buidhé Lecain*, in the library of Trinity College, one of the most authentic and valuable of our Historic MSS., as you are already aware. By consulting these two pieces,—both of great age and of quite unquestionable authority,—you can easily understand, then, how large a blank may be filled up, and with how much detail respecting the events of Gaedhelic history at these very early periods.

Let us now pass on to another remarkable era in our history, that of the celebrated *Conairé Mór Mac Eiderscéoil*, one of the wisest of the kings of Erin, who flourished about a century before Christ. I purposely confine my examples to showing you the important use which may be made of the pieces I have almost at hazard selected as specimens of the Historic Tales, because the description I already gave you of those pieces enables me to be more concise, since I need not enlarge on the nature and extent of the details with which they supply us in such abundance.

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Of the reign
of *Conairé
Mór*.

The Annals of the Four Masters simply enter the accession of *Conairé* at A.M. 5091 (B.C. 109); and the next entry is A.M. 5160 (B.C. 40), relating his death only, in these words:—“*Conairé*, the son of *Eiderscéil*, after having been seventy years in the sovereignty of Erin, was slain at *Bruighean Dá Dhearga* by insurgents”. For the circumstances of this occurrence the historian will consult the Historic Tale I have described to you as the “Destruction of the Court of *Dá Derga*”, a piece in which he will find abundant illustrations of the history, both social and political, of that age, as well as all the details of the event itself.

The great King of Ulster, *Conor Mac Nessa*, does not make his appearance at all in the compilation of the Four Masters. His life and exploits we must seek in local chronicles, and the historian will find the most copious illustration of his time, as well as facts connected with his extraordinary career, in a great many tracts besides those of the Siege of Howth, and the Death of *Conor*, which I have opened to you. [See APPENDIX, No. CLVI.] *Conor*’s time was less than a century after *Conairé Mór*.

Of *Conor
Mac Nessa*.

The great event which I have called the Revolution of the *Aitheach Tuatha* (known under the inaccurate designation of the *Attacotti* or *Attacots*), is recorded by the Four Masters almost as baldly as the others of which we have spoken. The tract which I so shortly described to you is, nevertheless, a regular history of this period, copious, accurate, and detailed.

Of the Revo-
lution of the
*Aitheach
Tuatha*, or
“*Attacots*”.

At the year of our Lord 123, the Annals, in the driest manner, record the accession of the celebrated *Conn* of the Hundred Battles; and the annalist proceeds to record, in connection with this great king, but one fact, and that only in reference to the name of the great roads discovered, or finished in his time (viz.: *Slighe Asail*, *Slighe Midhluachra*, *Slighe Cualann*, *Slighe Dala*, and *Slighe Mór*), namely, that the *Slighe Mór* was the “*Eiscir Riada*”,

Of the reign
of *Conn*.

LECT. XXI. and the division line of Erinn into two parts, between *Conn* and *Eóghan Mór*. But the historian will find in the remarkable tale called the *Cath Muighê Léana* (Battle of Magh Lena), all the particulars of the contest between the great king and the celebrated founder of the chief Munster families; while in the *Tochmare Moméra* (the Courtship of Moméra), or story of the voyage of *Eóghan* to Spain, and his courtship and marriage there, he will be supplied with numerous details, both historical and social, in illustration of this period.

Of the reign
of *Niall*.

The Four Masters are equally concise in respect of *Niall Naoi Ghiallach*, or *Niall* "of the Nine Hostages", at A.D. 379 and 405. His accession is barely noted, and his death almost in the next line: "Slain by *Eochaidh*, son of *Enna Ceinnsealach*, at *Muir n-Icht* [the 'Ictian Sea', that is, the sea between France and England]". Of this event, and of much else concerning *Niall*, we are minutely informed by the tract called the "Expedition of *Niall* to the Ictian Sea, and the Death of *Niall*".

Of King
Dathi.

The death of *Dathi* is described (at A.D. 428), without even mentioning his accession (he, in fact, succeeded *Niall*): "killed by a flash of lightning at *Sliabh Ealpa*". But of *Dathi* the historian will find many things recorded in the tales in great detail; and the history of his last expedition is given at very full length in the tract I lately described to you under the name of "The Expedition of king *Dathi* to the Alps".

Of the use to
be made of
the Historic
Tales.

I could go on for hours, instead of the few minutes to which I must confine myself, to give you hundreds of examples of the same kind, respecting the mode of using the materials which it has been the object of these lectures to introduce to your notice. But it would be a waste of time to do so, for the few examples I have selected will be sufficient to convey what I mean. I shall for the present only ask you to place confidence in my assertion, when I assure you that there are few important passages of our early history which may not be thus illustrated, and very few distinguished kings and chiefs recorded in our annals, concerning whom considerable details may not be found, by reference to some one or more of the existing historic tales, most of which are precisely of the same nature as those of which I have spoken at length, by way of specimens of this class of our materials. From the Historic Tales, the facts, personal and historical, necessary to complete our early history, may thus be gleaned, for insertion at the proper place in the general narrative. With respect to the Christian period, many important

facts are also to be found in the lives of the early saints, every part of which demands the most attentive study; and the value of these authorities is greatly increased by the circumstance, that they are compositions generally almost cotemporary with the facts recorded in them.

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the Historic
Tales.

But the recital of the facts of history, however detailed, cannot satisfy those who seek in a history properly so called a lively as well as truthful report of the life and character, the thoughts and manners, of their ancestors, as well as a record of their government, and of the heroic achievements of the kings and chieftains among them. History is only really valuable to a people for the lessons it gives them of what their race has succeeded or has failed to do,—for the lesson it gives them in the capacities as well as the faults of the men whose blood is in their own veins to-day, and whose peculiar virtues and vices their descendants have probably inherited, and will perpetuate to the end of time. History is really valuable when it revives and strengthens the bond which connects us with our forefathers,—the bond of sympathy, of respect towards themselves,—of pride in and emulation of their brave deeds and their love of country. We want to know not merely of the existence of the kings of ancient Erinn, but we want also to become acquainted with themselves, to be able to realize in our minds how they and their people lived. To do this, the historian must introduce us to their laws, to their social customs, to their mode of education, and, above all, to so much of their private life as shall exhibit to us the relation in which the stronger and the weaker sex stood to one another; in short, to the nature of the civilization of ancient Erinn in detail.

Of this part of the historian's task I have no need to say more, than to allude to its importance. Long before any considerable amount of research can be applied to the other portions of our historical materials, we may expect the completion of the labours of that commission to which I have already alluded. We may expect then to have before us, with full translations, concordance, and notes upon every part of it, the great body of the laws of ancient Erinn. We shall have, in that vast collection, the most detailed information upon almost every part of ancient Gaedhelic life; and we shall find in it, besides, an immense number of what I may call anecdotes recorded (generally by way of example), which will largely add to the amount of historic facts elsewhere to be found. By the light of this great work we shall also be far better able to understand the descriptions and allusions which, as I have already observed, make the

LECT. XXI. historic tales so valuable to the historian, with respect to this department also of his labours.

Of the use to be made of the Historic Tales,—the monumental remains,—and the Ecclesiastical MSS.

For the same purpose an accurate examination must be made of the various monuments, remains of buildings, of graves, etc., and of the various ornaments, arms, and other works of art and manufacture, which have come down to us, with a view to discover, if possible, the era of each class, and the progress of the development which took place in them in successive ages.

Lastly, as to the Christian period, the various ecclesiastical tracts I have already described to you at so much length, will supply, as you may readily understand, a vast quantity of valuable details of life and manners.

Of other miscellaneous materials for a History of Erinn.

I am sure I need hardly repeat that no part of these, the necessary preliminary labours of the Historian of Erinn, has ever yet been completed, nay, even attempted. Still less has the attention of writers been directed to the equally indispensable investigation of the many sources of information likely to throw light on ancient Gaedhelic history and antiquities which are to be found in the books and MSS. of other countries and in other languages than ours. I allude here not only to the various Anglo-Norman and British accounts of Ireland, from a period even before the twelfth century, but also to the Latin correspondence of many of the Irish saints at home and abroad, and, besides these, to the allusions to this island and her people, which are to be found in the classical writers, and which ought to be completely collected and considered for us as Amadée Thierry dealt with them with respect to some of the most interesting passages in the ancient history of France. I allude also to the valuable illustrations which must needs grow out of a proper investigation into the antiquities and history of all the other Celtic nations, in which so much has been done of late years in France and Germany.

These labours completed, how easy would it not be to write at last a History of Erinn! how easy, even now, to make a commencement of so grand a task, if the historical student were only first acquainted with the Gaedhelic Language, so as to be enabled to apply himself to the study of the MS. materials lying unopened, but in such excellent preservation, in this very city! It is very true that the critical examination of these vast materials must demand much time, much labour, much knowledge, before it can be satisfactorily completed: but at least the materials themselves are not wanting, as I hope I have by this time demonstrated to you; rather they are, perhaps, more abundant than the ancient and cotemporary records of any other European country could supply.

If I have succeeded in showing this much, I have done all I had proposed to myself. I believe there was little idea, not only on the part of the general public, but even among educated literary men, that such a mass of valuable matter as that of which I have endeavoured in these Lectures to describe the nature and extent, existed at all in the long-neglected Gaedhelic tongue. If these Lectures shall have served but to make known to the future student and historian whither he must go for really full and trustworthy information, and to what to apply himself, my object will have been completely accomplished.

Of the various divisions in which I have treated the general subjects of these Introductory Lectures, every one should properly form the subject of a separate course, in order to treat it with anything like justice; and if it please God to permit me sufficient opportunity, I hope on future occasions to develop them, one by one, in more satisfactory detail. In the meantime, let me again assure those who would be students of Irish history, that their first necessity is to make themselves acquainted with the language; for whatever may be done towards the translation and publication of the ancient MS. materials of Irish history, vast as is their extent, it must be perfectly clear that, without the assistance of a National Government (assistance certainly not to be hoped for in the present generation at least), the whole can never be given to the world. One thing only is wanted. We have, with some exceptions, a really good grammar of the Irish, in that of Dr. O'Donovan. We are not yet furnished with an accurate and copious Dictionary. This want, however, there are now some hopes of seeing supplied in the course of a few years; and immediate exertions would have been made upon the subject before now, were it not that the labours of the Brehon Law Commission must throw very great light on the meanings of the words and the structure of the language; and while those labours are in progress, the preparation of an important part of a complete dictionary may be considered as constantly in progress too. A few years ago an influential Committee was appointed by the two Councils of the late Celtic and the Archæological Society, to undertake the preparation of a dictionary, and my lamented friend, the late William Elliott Hudson, subscribed £200⁽⁵²⁾ to that Committee, towards the

LECT. XVI.

Of the necessity for the study of the Gaedhelic Language.

Of the want of a Dictionary.

(52) Mr. Hudson, in fact, subscribed for £500; and, having intended to pay over the amount in cash to the Trustees of the Dictionary Fund (Lord Talbot de Malahide, the Rev. J. H. Todd, and Major-General Larcom), he made no provision for it in his will. He did transfer to the Rev. Dr. Todd a sum of £200 stock, but his sudden death, which, unfortunately, took place a few days afterwards, prevented the completion of his design, and his representatives have not thought it incumbent on them to fulfil his patriotic intentions out of the ample property which came to them by his decease.

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of a Diction-
ary.

accomplishment of this great national object. When the Brehon Law Commission shall have completed its duties, that Committee will lose no time in pressing on the work. The materials for a dictionary already collected are enormous; they will by that time I hope be almost complete; and money alone will be wanted to enable us to bring them into shape, and to publish them to the world. But though the sum required must be very considerable, I have yet but little doubt that Irishmen of wealth, and Irish Institutions especially interested in so great a literary undertaking, will feel it an honour to come forward, in imitation of Mr. Hudson's noble example, to assist in this patriotic enterprise.⁽⁵³⁾

Conclusion.

I have detained you to-night, I fear, too long; but I have now done. I will not attempt to express to you the delight I felt when first I learned the determination of the founders of this University to erect a chair for the cultivation of the history, the archæology, and the language of Ireland; and believe me my satisfaction was far from being merely personal. I expected no less from the Catholic University of Ireland than that it should become the national institution for the education of our country; and I felt that it peculiarly became a *national* University to take the lead in this department of learning above all others. Let me add, that the hope that it will do so, and yet more effectively every year, forms the chief interest which an humble professor feels in the honourable position which he has been selected here to fill.

(⁵³) Even since the above Lecture was put to press, an important addition has been made to the fund commenced by Mr. Hudson's donation. Mr. John Martin, formerly of Loughorne, Newry, has placed at the disposal of the Committee a sum of £200, which had been presented to him by the Irish inhabitants of Melbourne on his leaving Australia, after his release on the occasion of the amnesty accorded to some of the political exiles of 1848. Mr. Martin selected the enterprise undertaken by the Committee as one essentially patriotic, while unconnected with mere politics. He has, however, annexed to his donation the condition that within a limited period the funds at the disposal of the Committee should be raised by other donations to the amount of £1000 in all; and his invitation has already, I believe, produced a further donation of £100 from an Irish Literary Society (the Saint Patrick's) in Melbourne.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX, No. I. [Lect. I., Page 2; (note ⁽²⁾)].

Of the Fíli and Fíliroéct.

The word Fíli is ordinarily translated, and properly, “poet”. But that it was considered by the learned in former times to signify strictly much more than this, will be seen from the following derivations of the word, taken from old MSS. of authority :

1. In Cormac’s Glossary :—

Fíli .i. Fí a naem, ocur lí a molao in Fíli. Fíli om .i. Fíalrai, Fíal Féile.

[Fíli, *i.e.*, poison (Fí) is his satire, and beauty (lí) is his praise. Fí lí, then, *i.e.*, a Fíal-rai, *i.e.*, a Fíal Féile, a professor of generosity or hospitality (from the richness of the gifts of knowledge which he bestows).]

2. In the vellum MS., II. 2. 16. (T.C.D.) :—

Fíli, Spec, a Fílo amatoir, .i. Fíleirio foglomo. No Fíle .i. lí, Fí [i. Fí] Fíola aem. ocur lí Fíolae moltao.

[Fíli, Greek, a *filo* (philo), ‘amator’; *i.e.*, a lover of learning. Or Fíle, *i.e.*, Fí lí, that is Fí (poison) on his satire, and lí (beauty) on his praise.]

3. In the vellum MS., II. 3. 18. 16. (T.C.D.) :—

Fíli .i. Fíalrai .i. Fíal uao; ar aní ir Feal lairín Fílió ir Fíer, nó Fíolceatal irín ngnáthbérla; cona de atá Fealmac, ocur Fealrub, ocur Fíli, ocur Fíliroéct. No Fíli .i. Fí ocur lí .i. Fí a omna [a aemé] Fíal ocur lí a tána.

[Fíli, *i.e.*, a Fíal-rai (or Feal-rai), *i.e.*, a professor of poetry; for what is Feal with the poet is Fíer, or Fíolceatal [knowledge, or instruction], in the common language; so that it is from that comes Fealmac [a son of knowledge or instruction, a pupil]; and Fealrub [a philosopher], and Fíli; and Fíliroéct [the knowledge or profession of the Fíli]. Or Fíli, *i.e.*, Fí and lí, *i.e.*, the poison of his satire upon him, and the beauty of his art [in laudation].

4. In the vellum MS., II. 3. 18. 81. (T.C.D.) :—

Fíle, Spec, a Fílo .i. amore scientiæ. Nó Fíí líí .i. Fí Fíol a aem, ocur lí Fíol a molao. Nó Fíal lí .i. lí uaral na Fect ngnáó Fíli .i. ollam, anrao, clí, cána, uor, mac Fíurmo, Fíochtach.

[Fíli, Greek; a ‘*filo*’, *i.e.*, *amore scientiæ*. Or Fíí-líí, *i.e.*, Fí [poison] on his satire, and lí [beauty] on his praise. Or Fíal-lí, noble beauty

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Of the *Fili*
and *File-*
decht.

[or gloss], *i.e.*, the noble gloss [sheen, or beauty] of the seven orders of the poets, Ollamh, Anradh, Cli, Cana, Dos, Mac-Fuirmidh, Fochlach.

5. In the vellum MS., H. 4. 22. 67. b. (T.C.D.):—

File .i. *fialru* lair i mbiait *felmaic* .i. *ruir*, aia *feal* lair in *file* *reir* no *foiceoal* ari *gnáctberla*, cona *de* a *atá* *felmac*, *ocur* *fellram*; *fil* *ocur* *filroect* .i. no *fallnartar* i *fir* *rech* na *uil*.

[*fil*, *i.e.*, a *fialru* [a professor of knowledge or instruction], with whom there are students; *i.e.*, a *ruir* [professor]; for what is *feal* with the *fil* is *reir* [knowledge] or *foiceoal* [instruction] in the ordinary language; so that it is from that comes *felmac* and *fellram*; *fil* and *filroect*, *i.e.*, he reigns [rules or governs] in knowledge beyond any one else.]

6. In the vellum MS., H. 2. 15. 85. (T.C.D.):—

Cerc, aia *cuith* *oobeyar* *gnáda* *for* *fileo*;

Uin. *Tairbenao* a *reecta* *ro* .i. *ro* *ollamain*, *ocur* *bro* na *reect* *gnádo* *fileo* *occai*, *ocur* *zaibti* in *ru* *ina* *lán* *gnádo* *cucca*, *ocur* *ino* *focla* *ari* in *collam* *ar* a *reectaib* *ocur* *ar* a *annca*, *ocur* *ar* *róna* .i. *róna* *fooluma*, *ocur* *róna* *beóil*, *ocur* *róna* *láime*, *ocur* *lánamnui*, *ocur* *róna* *innracui* *ar* *gait*, *ocur* *brait*, *ocur* *inoli* *gíro*, *ocur* *róna* *cuip* na *roib* *aet* *aen* *hréitiz* *la*, *ar* *so* *balair* *tre* *coibliz* *ciabair*.

[Question: In what form are degrees conferred upon a poet? Answer: He exhibits his compositions to him, that is, to an Ollamh [a Master of the arts of poetry, etc.]; and he has the qualifications of each of the seven orders [of poets]; and the king confirms him in his full degree, and in what the Ollamh reports of him as to his compositions, and as to his innocence and purity; that is to say, purity of learning, and purity of mouth [from abuse or satire], and purity of hand [from bloodshedding], and purity of union [marriage], and purity of honesty [from theft and robbery and unlawfulness], and purity of body—that he have but one wife, for he dies [in dignity] through impure cohabitation.]

7. In the “Book of *Lecain*” (R.I.A.), fol. 155, a. (from an ancient Grammatical tract):—

Fil .i. *fealrai* .i. [*feal*] *fo* *glaim*, *ocur* *rai* *fo* *gluma* *hérim*, *iar* *raní* *bro* *fo* *glaintiz* *aici* *ic* *fo* *glaim* .i. *fealrai*, *nó* *fialrai*. *No* *fi* *aní* *aerai*, *ocur* *li*, *aní* *molur*. *No* *fil* *óní* *ir* *filioropur* .i. *feallram*, *ar* *oli* *gíro* in *fil* *griob* *feallram*.

[*fil*, *i.e.*, *fealrai*, *i.e.* [*feal*], is learning, and he is a doctor of learning, *i.e.*, he is a learned master, or a generous master. Or *fi* is what he satirizes, and *li* is what he praises. Or *fil* is from the word *filiosopus*, *i.e.*, a philosopher, because it is required of the poet that he be a philosopher.]

And O’Flaherty, in his *Ogygia*, adopts the term “philosopher” as

the best translation for *ῥητι*. "All those", he says, "who were instructed in every liberal art, and those who by their wisdom consulted the real advantage of their country, were called *Fíleadha* [*ῥηλεσθα*], i.e.; poets; wherefore *Fíleadh* [*ῥηλεσθ*, or more correctly *ῥητι*] may be considered the same as 'philosopher'. Maximus Tyrius [he flourished in the reign of the emperor Commodus] from the school of Plato, shows that philosophers were comprehended under the name of poets; he says: 'They *who were in fact philosophers, but by appellation poets*, have brought an odious character on that profession, which used to flatter and entertain the people exceedingly'".⁽¹⁾ [O'F., *Ogyg.* (Hely's Translation, vol. 2, p. 72), pt. iii. ch. xxx. "Of the Irish Letters".]

APP. I.

Of the *Fíli*
and *Fíle-*
decht.

APPENDIX No. II. [Lect. I., Page 4.]

Of Writing in Erinn before Saint Patrick's time.

It is perhaps impossible, now, to arrive at any certain conclusion as to the nature of the writing in which the records were kept, and history, poetry, and literature preserved among the Gaedhils of Erinn, in the ages which preceded the coming of Saint Patrick. In the absence of any known remains of the writing of the pre-Christian period, it may, indeed, be reasonably asked what reason there is to think or believe that the Gaedhils were at all acquainted with any form of written characters? Do we find any names still preserved in the Gaedhelic language and ancient writings for a book, parchment, writing, pen, ink, page, line, stave, etc., in use in or having reference to these early ages?

These are important questions, and I must confess that I have not paid so much attention to their consideration as to enable me to give any thing like a full or satisfactory answer to them. At the same time I must observe that I believe the subject to be one which it is now too late to attempt to clear up; so scanty are the remnants, and so widely dispersed, of our very ancient books, or rather of those copies of but a few which have come down to us. Enough, however, in my mind, remains to show (at least I myself feel perfectly satisfied) that the pre-Christian Gaedhils possessed and practised a system of writing and keeping records quite different from and independent of both the Greek and the Roman form and characters, which gained currency in the country after the introduction of

(1) The Latin text of O'Flaherty is as follows:—

"*Fíleadha* .i. Poetæ apud nos olim nominabantur doctrinæ omnis liberalis experti, et qui reip. sapientia sua consulebant unde *Fíleadh* quasi idem, ac philosophus. Philosophos poetarum nomine comprehensos indicat è Platonis schola Maximus Tyrius. (—Commodo Imperat. floruit—): il, inquit, re ipsa philosophi nomine autem poetæ rem invidiosam ad eam artem revocarunt, quæ populum admodum demulceat". [*OGYGLIA: seu Rerum Hibernicarum Chronologia* (etc.): Authore ROBERTO O'FLAHERTY, *Armigero*; Londini, ad insigne Navis, in Cœmeterio D. Pauli, A.D. 1685". (p. 215).]

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Christianity in the first part of the fifth century, if indeed they were not known here even a considerable time before that era.

Of Writing
in Erin
before Saint
Patrick.

It is not my purpose here, however, to offer any opinion as to the characters in which the *Saltair* of Tara, and the *Cin Droma Snechta* were originally written; though I dare say it may have been but the modified Roman character of the time. But I may place before the reader a few references to another mode of writing, to characters which are repeatedly spoken of in all our old historical books, and of which numerous specimens (though in a limited form) have remained to astonish and puzzle the learned, even to this day. I mean the *Oghuim* characters, which are still to be seen in some of our oldest books, as well as on many stone monuments, the remote antiquity of which cannot, I think, be denied. It is not, however, to what is written in these books, or inscribed on these stones, in the *Oghuim* character, that I intend to call attention at present, nor even to all the numerous references to the writing of *Oghuim* to be met with in our most ancient books, that subject being now in the able hands of the Rev. Charles Graves, F.T.C.D.; but in the absence of more direct proofs it has occurred to me to refer the reader to a few passages of authority, by way of example, in which *Oghuim* writing is spoken of as having been employed to record historical events, and even sustained historical or romantic tales, among the Gaedhils, long before the supposed introduction of the Roman letter about the time at which the Gospel of Christ was brought among them by lettered scholars of continental education.

Of the use
of the
Oghuim,

Passing over, then, the frequent mention of the general custom of inscribing monumental stones with *Oghuim* characters and words, I shall briefly note a few instances in which this species of writing is spoken of as having been applied to a different purpose and in a different way.

on stone and
on wood.

First, as regards the material in which or upon which the ante-Christian Gaedhils wrote, besides stone, we find it mentioned under four different names — *τὰ μολύβδα ποίητο*, that is, Staves of the Poets; *τὰ βιβλία ποίητο*, Tablet Staves; *τὰ βιβλία ποίητο*, Tables of the Poets (the same thing, though apparently a more modern form of the first name, evidently modified from the Latin *Tabula*, a word with which, nevertheless, I think, it can be shown the former had originally no connection); and *ῥάβδος ποίητο*, the Wand of the Poet.

In the *Táin*
Bo Chualigne.

In the *τὰν βό χυαίλγνε* (which we have in a part of the *Leabhar na h-Uidhré*, a MS. as old as 1106), we read in more than one instance of Cuchulainn having written or cut an *Oghuim* in hoops or wands, which he had placed in such places as that they should be found by queen Meave [*meōb*] and her army; and that when they were found, they were always carried to Fergus, the other great Ultonian champion, in the camp of the queen, to read and explain them, which he was always able to do.

In the Tale
of *Baile*
Mac Buain.

There is, besides this, another very ancient tale, from which we may learn what was, at least so long ago as in the time of king

Cormac Mac Art, believed to have taken place at a period corresponding to the very commencement of our common era—a romantic tale, indeed, yet even itself so far of authority that it is founded on facts in the main to be taken as true—of the loves and tragical death of *Aillinn*, the daughter of Fergus, and of *Baile*, the son of *Buan* (who was the son of —, the son of *Capha*, the son of *Cinga*, the son of *Ros*, the son of *Rúdhraidhé*, who was monarch of Erin, and died A.M. 4981, that is, about 212 B.C.). This story is shortly as follows:—

Baile “the sweet-spoken” was the favourite lover of *Aillinn*, the daughter of *Lughaidh*, son of Fergus *Fairgé*, king of Leinster. There appears, however, to have been some impediment in the way of their union, and they proposed to hold a private meeting at *Ros-na-Righ*, on the south side of the Boyne. *Baile* set out accordingly from Emania, and proceeded as far as *Dun-Dealgan*, now called Dundalk. While resting himself here he saw a fierce, forbidding looking man approaching from the south; and *Baile* sent to ask him whence he came, and whither he was going. The stranger answered, that he was on his return to the mouth of the Bann from Mount Leinster, and that the only news he had was that the daughter of *Lughaidh* son of Fergus, who had been in love with *Baile Mac Buain*, and was on her way to keep an appointment with him, was overtaken by the men of Leinster and killed, or died in consequence of the violent detention to which she was subjected, in fulfilment of the prophecies of the Druids and wise men, who foretold that they never would meet in life. The stranger then disappeared from them “like a gust of wind”. The moment that *Baile Mac Buain* heard this he fell dead on the spot; and the tale relates that he was honourably buried on the sea shore, whence that place derived its name of “the Strand of *Baile*”, and that a yew tree shortly afterwards sprang up out of his grave, having the form of *Baile’s* head on its top.

In the meantime, as the princess *Aillinn* was sitting in her “sunny chamber”, the same fierce-looking man suddenly entered it and in the same way he told his ‘news’ to the lady: that he saw the Ultonians holding an assembly of lamentation, and raising a Raith, and erecting a flagstone, and writing on it the name of *Baile Mac Buain*, who died there when going to visit a favourite lover of his; for it was their fate never to see or meet each other in life. The man ‘sprang away’ then, and the lady *Aillinn* fell dead on the spot. She also was buried in the usual way, like her lover, and an apple tree, says the story, immediately sprang from her grave, and became a large tree in seven years, with the form of *Aillinn’s* head on its top.

At the end of seven years the poets and prophets and seers of Ulster cut down the yew tree which was over the grave of *Baile*, and made it into a *Taball Fúidh*, or Poets’ Tablet, “and they wrote”, we are told, “the Visions, and the Espousals, and the Loves, and the Courtships of Ulster in it”. The same was also done to the apple tree

APP. II. over the grave of *Aillinn*, and the Courtships, Loves, etc., of *Leinster* were written in it.

Tale of
ailé
Mac Buain.

Now, a long time afterwards, when Art, the son of Conn of the Hundred Battles, was monarch of Erin (in A.D. 166), on the occasion of the great periodical feast of *Samhuin*, or November Eve, the poets and the professors of all arts came, as was the custom, and brought their tablets with them, and, among the rest, the tablets above mentioned; and the two tablets were brought to Art, and he had them in his hands face to face. Suddenly, then, says this singular story, each tablet of them sprang upon the other, so that they became bound together in the same way as the woodbine to the green twig, and it was found impossible to separate them. And they were thenceforth always preserved, we are informed, like all the other jewels, in the treasury at Tara, until the palace was burned by Dunlaing, the son of Enna, king of Leinster, at the time that the maidens were killed by him at Tara. (This happened in the year 241, when Cormac the son of Art was monarch.)

Inscribed
tablets
before the
time of Art
(A.D. 166).

This singular legend of the growing together of the two tablets was most probably a poetical account of some inscribed tablets of the time of King Art, which had at that early period become obliterated or inextricably clung together, very much as so many ancient leaves now in existence which belong to a period above a thousand years before our own. The value of the story for the purpose for which I cite it lies, of course, in the evidence it supplies of the existence in Art's time of what was then believed to have been a very anciently written book, and, of course, of the existence in and before Art's time, at least, of letters (which some perhaps will say could not well have been *Oghuin*), among the pagan Gaedhils. [The Tale itself is altogether so curious, that as it is very short, I have thought it advisable to add the text of it, as well as a literal translation, at the end of this Note (see pp. 472-474).]

Ancient
allusions to
the Tale
of *Bailé*
Mac Buain.

As the genuine antiquity of the history of the lovers alluded to in the tale must, of course, be a matter of the last importance to the value of the evidence supplied by it, I may give here from the conclusion of the two copies of it which I have met, short quotations which they preserve from ancient poems containing allusions to the tragic fate of *Bailé Mac Buain* and *Aillinn*:—

“The apple tree of noble *Aillinn*,
The yew of *Bailé*,—small inheritance,—
Although they are introduced into poems,
They are not understood by unlearned people.

“And [*Ailbhé*] the daughter of Cormac, the grandson of Conn, said:—

“What I liken *Aluime* to,
Is to the yew of *Ráith Bailé*;
What I liken the other to,
Is to the apple tree of *Aillinn*.

“Flann Mac Lonan dixit :—

“Let Cormac decide with proper sense,
So that he be envied by the hosts;
Let him remember,—the illustrious saint,—
The tree of the strand of *Bailé Mac Buain*.

“There grew up a tree under which companies could sport,
With the form of his face set out on it's clustering top;
When he was betrayed, truth was betrayed,—
It is in that same way they betray Cormac.

“Cormac dixit :—

Here was entombed the son of White *Buan*”.

* * * * *

The first two stanzas of these quotations in the Tale (as given in H. 3. 18) are taken from a most ancient and singular poem, preserved in the Book of Leinster (H. 2.18. T.C.D.), known indeed from the context there to have been written by *Ailbhé*, the second daughter of king Cormac Mac Art, but directly ascribed to her in the MS. in the British Museum, from which I have taken these extracts. (Harleian, 5280, p. 75, and H. 3.18. T.C.D., p. 47 ;—but *Ailbhé* is not mentioned by name in the latter.)

The poem in the “Book of Leinster” consists of nine stanzas; and in the absence of any direct historical reference to the occasion of its composition, I am inclined to believe, from the allusions in it, that it was written on the occasion of the elopement of King Cormac's elder daughter, *Grainné*, with one of the lieutenants of *Finn Mac Cumhail*, Dermot *O'Duibhné*, the famous Adonis of the Fenian Tales. The fate of Dermot was tragical on account of this elopement; but if these stanzas have reference to him, they were written before that event, and while he was yet with his fair one traversing the country to escape the vengeance of his offended commander. [I have thought it right to insert this curious poem also, with a literal translation, at the end of this Note (see pp. 476, 477).]

The verses quoted from Mac Lonan (chief poet of Erin, who died A.D. 918), are exceedingly curious, as they appear to have been addressed to the Holy *Cormac MacCuilemnáin*, King and Archbishop of Cashel, who was slain in the battle of *Magh Ailbhé* in the year 903. The allusion in Mac Lonan's verses to the betrayed of *Bailé Mac Buain* could not possibly bear on any event in King Cormac's life but that of his betrothal to, and subsequent repudiation of, the celebrated princess *Gormlaith*, daughter of *Flann Sionna*, the Monarch of Erin, and his entering into holy orders and becoming Archbishop of Cashel afterwards. Whether Cormac's breaking off the match with the monarch's daughter was occasioned by any malignant slanders, by motives of policy, or, as it is stated in a poem ascribed to himself, by a simple desire to enter the Church, I am not in a position to say; but Mac Lonan's allusions certainly lead us to believe that such events did not occur without some deep intrigues, of which, however, no precise accounts have been hitherto dis-

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Of the ancient Use of the *Oghuim*, as referred to by *Cormac Mac Cuilennáin*.

Cormac Mac Cuilennáin versed in *Oghuim*.

covered. It will have been seen that *Cormac* wrote some verses, in answer, I should suppose, to *Mac Lonan*; but of these, unfortunately, only one line remains, and that only in the copy of the tract preserved in the MS. H. 3.18. T.C.D.

That King *Cormac Mac Cuilennáin* was versed in the knowledge of the *Oghuim* writings, as well as in that of the current literature of his day, may be gathered from an allusion in a poem, written by the same *Mac Lonan*, where, in paying compliments to many of the kings and chiefs of *Erinn*, his contemporaries, he devotes the following stanza to *Cormac*:

“*Cormac* of *Cashel* with his champions,
Munster is his, may he long enjoy it;
 Around the king of *Raith Bichi*, are cultivated
 The LETTERS and the TREES”.⁽²⁾

The “Letters” here signify, of course, our present *Gaedhelic* alphabet and writings; but the “Trees” can only signify the *Oghuim* letters, which were named after certain trees indigenous to the country.

Cormac himself, in his Glossary, often speaks of the *Oghuim* writing, as having been in use among the older pagan, as well as the latter Christian *Gaedhils*; as at the word *Fe*, which he explains to mean a pole or rod with which bodies and graves were measured, and which he says was always left in the cemetery, and in which the people “wrote in *Oghuim* whatever was hateful or detestable to them”.

Tale of the ‘Exile of the sons of *Duìl Dermait*’. (circa A.D. 1)

Another early example of the use of *Oghuim* occurs in an ancient Tale, called *Loinges Mac nDuìl nDermait*, or the “Exile of the Sons of *Duìl Dermait*”; an *Ulster* story of the time of *Concobhar Mac Nessa* (who flourished at the time of the Incarnation). In this tale we are told that three personages mentioned in it disappeared mysteriously, and that *Cuchulainn* was enjoined to discover them. It is stated that he accordingly went from the palace of *Emania* to his own town of *Dun-Dealgan* (or *Dundalk*), and that, while taking counsel with himself there, he observed a boat coming to land in the harbour. This boat, it seems, contained the son of the king of *Albain* (Scotland), and a party, who came with presents of purple, and silk, and drinking cups for king *Conor*. *Cuchulainn*, however, was at the moment in an angry mood, so that he entered the boat and slew all the crew till he came to the prince himself. The tale then proceeds:—

Anmáin innanmáin a Cuçulainn, ír naç átaoçenamaí, oírré. In fetar cío iuc tñi maccu Duìl Dermait ar a tñi, or Cuçulainn. Níconfetar ol in tócloeç, açt atá mup-inveíl lím ocuř focíçertar veitřiu, ocuř iotbía in cuřaç, ocuř ní řoicbea anřuř de. Do beřt Cuçulainn a řleisřín ró, ocuř do řořne oçum nínó.

⁽²⁾ *Cormac Cairil* cona çupu,
 leir mumu, cor mela;
 třağaro im řuğ Raça Bichi,
 na lřtñi ír na řeaça.

“Grant me life for life, O *Cuchulainn*! you do not know me’, said he [the prince]. ‘Do you know what carried the three sons of *Duil Dermait* out of their country?’ said *Cuchulainn*. ‘I do not know it’, said the youth; ‘but I have a sea-charm, and I will set it for you, and you shall have the boat, and you shall not act in ignorance by it’. *Cuchulainn* then handed him his little spear, and he (the prince) INSCRIBED AN OGUM IN IT”.

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Tale of the
‘Exile of the
sons of *Duil
Dermait*’.
(circa A.D. 1.)

Cuchulainn then, according to the story, went out upon the sea, and his talisman directed him unerringly to the island, in which the objects of his search were detained. This tale is preserved in no less a MS. than H. 2. 16. T.C.D.

In the Book of Leinster (fol. 206), we find another instance of the use of the *Oghuim* in the story of *Core*, the son of *Lughaidh*, king of Munster, who was driven into exile by his father about A.D. 400. We learn that when forced to fly to the court of *Feradach*, king of Scotland, not knowing what reception he might find from that king, he hid himself and his few attendants in a grove near the court, to consider what course to take; and that there he was soon discovered and recognized by *Gruibné*, the king’s poet, who had known him at his own father’s court, in Munster, where he had often visited previously. The poet, we are informed, addressed the prince, and learned his history, and, while examining his shield, detected an *Oghuim* inscription on it. “Who was it that befriended you with the *Oghuim* which is on your shield? it was not good luck he designed for you”, said the poet. “What does it contain?” said *Core*. “What it contains”, said the poet, “is, that if it was by day you arrived at the court of *Feradach*, your head should be cut off before evening; and if it was at night, that your head should be off then before morning”. Here, then, was a regular letter of a very serious character written in *Oghuim* many years before St. Patrick’s coming; but what is strange in the story is, that the young prince and future king should not be able to read and understand it himself. It appears, however, from all we know, that the *Oghuim* writing had often, if not at all times, a secret and complicated character, and required a special education to read and understand it.

Tale of *Core*,
son of
Lughaidh;
(A.D. 400).

The learned *Rudhraidhé* (Rory or Roderick) O’Flaherty, in his *Ogygia*, devotes a chapter to the discussion of pre-Christian writing in Ireland, from which the following extract will be sufficient for my present purpose:⁽³⁾

“There are five peculiarities belonging to the Irish language, in each of which it differs from the language of any other country; that is, the Name, Order, Number, Character, and Power. And be-

O’Flaherty
on the use
of Letters
in ancient
Erinn.

(3) Ifely’s translation not being always either full or correct, it may be well to extract the passage from the original of O’Flaherty:—

“Scotticis literis quinque accidunt, in quorum singulis ab aliarum gentium literis discrepant; nimirum Nomen, Ordo, Numerus, Character, et Potestas. Et quia imperiti literarum in charta, aliave ulla materia ad memoriam pingendarum harum rerum ignarus incaute effutiit Bollandus, de materia aliquid prefabor. Ea ante pergameneæ usum tabulæ erant e betulla arbore complanatæ, quas *Orain* et *Taibhle Fíleadh* i. Tabulas Philosophicas dicebant. Ex his aliquas inter antiquitatum monumenta apud se superfuisset, ut et diversas characterum

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cause Bolland says 'they were ignorant of writing on paper or any other material', as he was himself totally unacquainted with these matters, I shall premise something concerning their writing materials. They were made of the birch-tree before the invention of parchment, which they called *Orainn* [qu. *Crainn*, trees], and *Taibhlé Fileadh*, that is, philosophical tables. Not long since, Duaid Fírbíss, the only pillar and guardian of Irish antiquities while he lived, and whose death was an irreparable loss to any further improvement in them, wrote me an account of his being in possession of some of these, and of the different forms of some of their characters, which he sums up to the number of one hundred and fifty, and of Craobh-ogham, *i.e.*, virgean characters; Mr. Ware says as follows in his *Irish Antiquities*, cap. 2: 'Besides the common characters, the ancient Irish used various occult or artificial methods of writing called *Ogum*, in which they wrote their secret and mysterious affairs. I have an old book filled with them. The letters themselves were anciently called *Feadha*, *i.e.*, woods'. [*Ogygia*, part iii., cap. xxx. (page 99 of Hely's translation).]

The most curious and important part of this quotation is the reference it contains to the fact, for such it has been believed since O'Flaherty's time, that Duaid Mac Fírbíss had in his possession some of the ancient writing tablets of the Gael, with the characters inscribed on them to the number of one hundred and fifty, *besides* some in the *Craobh-ogham*, or virgean characters. To me, however, it appears that O'Flaherty must have mistaken Mac Fírbíss, and that, instead of Tablets, he ought to have understood him as meaning *Alphabets*, or Tables of Alphabets, such as are preserved in the "Book of Ballymote". At all events, O'Flaherty's words are of little value, as he does not enable us to form any idea of the forms and particulars of those supposed tablets, as to what was their shape, how written on, whether it was with a stylus or a knife, whether they were waxed tablets (like those found in the bog in the north of Ireland and now preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy), etc. To say that Mac Fírbíss had ancient tablets, written in an hundred and fifty different *Oghum* alphabets, or characters, as O'Flaherty calls them, is what no well-grounded Gaedhelic scholar will readily believe.

Now, with respect to the name *Taibhlí Fileadh* [Tablets of the Poets], it appears clearly enough to be a Hibernicism of the Latin "*Tabellæ*", and the plural of the word *Tabhall*, or *Tabella*. But this form of the Gaedhelic name, though ancient, is not the most ancient or the best description of the Gaedhelic Tablet of the Poets. The ancient Gaedhelic Tablet took, I believe, more the form

Of the
ancient
Gaedhelic
Tablets.
(*Taibhlí
Fileadh*.)

formulas, quas ter quinquagenas à Fenisii usque ætate numero, et Craobh-ogham *i.e.* virgeos characteres nomine recenset, non ita pridem ad me scripsit Duaidus Fírbíssus rei antiquariæ Hibernorum unicum, dum vixit, columnen, et extinctus detrimentum. De his virgeis notis ita habet Dominus Waræus Antiquit. Hib. cap. 2. *Præter characteres vulgares utebantur etiam veteres Hiberni variis occultis Scribendi formulis, seu artificijs Ogum dictis, quibus secreta sua scribebant. His refertum habeo libellum membranæum antiquum. Ipsæ literæ Feadha i.e. Sylvæ antiquitus dictæ sunt*. [*Ogygia*; Ed. 1685; p. 233.]

of a fan than of a table,—a fan which, when closed, took the shape of a staff, and which indeed actually served as such to the poet and the historian. In a very ancient article in the Brehon Laws, which prescribes the sort of weapon of defence which the different classes of society were allowed to carry on ordinary occasions to defend them against dogs, etc., in their usual walks, a passage occurs which throws some light on this subject. The article belongs to the Christian times, I should tell you, in its present form, as it prescribes a slender lath or a graceful crook for a priest, while it assigns to the poet a *T'abhall-lorg*, or Tablet-Staff, in accordance with the privileges of his order, etc.

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The name of *Tabhall-lorg*, or Tablet-Staff, appears however to be, though ancient, yet a still modernized or Latin-Gaedhelic form of a much older name for the same thing, as may be seen in the following extract from the curious old tract known as the *Agallamh na Seanórach* or ["Dialogue of the Ancient Men"], preserved in an ancient vellum MS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and in the copy of the Book of Lismore in the Royal Irish Academy. The passage occurs in one of those pretended conversations, which are said to have been held between *Oisín* (or "Ossian", as his name is mis-spelt in modern English) and *Caeilté*, the two ancient Fenian warriors, and Saint Patrick. In the present story, *Caeilté* gives a list of the officers of the Fenian army to *Diarmait Mac Fergusa Cerrbheoil* in a pretty long poem, after which: "May you have victory and blessing, O *Caeilté*", said *Diarmait Mac Fergusa Cerrbheoil*; "and where are the seniors and antiquarians of Erin? Let this be written in *Tamhlorgaibh Fileadh* [Headless Staffs of Poets], and after the manner of professors, and in the language of the *Ollamh*; so that every one may take his copy [or share] with him to his own territory and land, of all the knowledge, and all the history, and all the topography, and all the deeds of bravery and valour, that *Caeilté* and *Oisín* have related". "*And it was done accordingly*".

This word *Tamhlorg* or "Headless Staff", is beyond any doubt the more ancient, the original name of the writing tablets, or rather squared staves of the Gaedhils; on the angles and lines of which they wrote or carved in the *Beithé Luis Nin*, that is, in the Birch-Alder Letter (*Nin* being the ancient name or word for any letter of the *Oghuim*, as well as for the particular letter *n* itself). [See *Uraicept*, p. 19 of copy in my possession.] For this kind of writing neither pen nor ink was required; and the person learned in the art need never be at a loss for writing materials as long as he carried a square staff in his hand and a knife in his pocket.

It is not repugnant to my argument that the period to which the pretended dialogue between *Caeilté* and *Diarmait* is referred, comes within our Christian era; it only shows that even within that period the old system of record was still in use, or believed to be so; and this, for various reasons, may have continued to be the case for a long time afterwards. But if there be any reason to doubt the au-

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Of Writing
in Erinn
before Saint
Patrick.

thenticity of this account of the Tablets, or "Headless Staffs" of the poets, there can scarcely be any reasonable ground for doubting what is stated in the Preface to the Brehon Law compilation, known as the "Book of *Acaill*", described in these Lectures.

In that Preface we are told that *Cennfaeladh*, during his illness, had listened to and committed to memory the lectures, or instructions, which were delivered in the College of *Tuaim Dreacain* during the day, *all of which he wrote in slates and in Tabhlibh at night, and this he put again into a "charta-book"*.

In what characters *Cennfaeladh* marked his notes in slates and tablets it is not in our power to say; but it is pretty clear that they must have been characters capable of much contraction and condensation.

So far, then, for our accounts of the possession of an independent alphabet and mode of writing from the most ancient times by the pre-Christian Gaedhil or Scots of Erinn (and the Britons appear to have had a similar mode of writing, at least until they lost it, as well as their native literature itself, under the Saxon rule); but whether the books of Erinn were written in this alphabet,—whether the *Cuilmenn*, the *Saltair of Teamhair*, and the Book of *Drom Snechta*, were written in it,—is quite a different question. My own opinion is, that they probably were not, but that they were written in the popular Roman characters of the time, modified, perhaps, as at present; and that these characters were first brought in by the druids and poets who from time to time travelled in pursuit of their studies to the continent, or attended the many distant foreign expeditions which took place from this country, even previously to the period of the Incarnation.

It is, at all events, however, quite certain that the Irish druids and poets had written books before the coming of St. Patrick in 432; since we find the statement in the ancient Gaedhelic Tripartite Life of the Saint, as well as in the "Annotations of *Tírechán*", preserved in the Book of Armagh, which were taken by him from the lips and books of his tutor, St. Mochta, who was the pupil and disciple of St. Patrick himself.

[Original of the Story of BAILE MAC BUAIN, from the M.S., H. 3. 18. T.C.D., p. 47 (see *ante*, p. 466).]

baile binnbérlac mac buain.

Tale of
Baile
Mac Buain.

Trí huí Capa, mic Cingá, mic Rora, mic Rúðraige
.i. Monač, ocur Baile, [.i. buan] ocur Fericorib, a quibur
Dail mbuain, ocur Dail Cuirib, ocur Monaiğ Arad.

Don mac buain, baile, ba rainreic reom ri Aillinn
ingen lugoac mic Fergura fairge. No ríngin eóğain mic
Dači, ocur ba rainreic do gach don docró, ocur do cluneó,
eoiri fíru ocur mná ar a uirgélais, corió dailret cóiri coinve
as Ror na Ríğ, occ lann Maoltuib, ar brú boinne bpeğ.

Tainic in fep atuaiğ dia corraçtain o Emain Maca tar

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Tale of
Baile
Mac Buain.

Σὺ δὲ φῦλον, τὰν Μυρτεμμε κο Τρίαις μβαίλε. Ῥο τυρναίτ
α καρπατ, πο κυρτ ἀνειὲ φορὶ ἐπὶ ἰνγελτ, ὅο ζνιρετ ἀινερ οκυ
αὶβνερ.

Ambatani ann conaccatani elpait uathmani éntaine cucta antep, ba tian a céim ocup a cuaro imteet, meite lair na matéo in talmain amail pige péis vi aill, no gaot vi glar munu. A clé fpu tíu.

Δια cinco, δι βαίλε, κοιτασπαίξε το cinco το καναρ
ταίμικ, το cinco παίτ ε τιννεννιη.

Oí Tuas Inbeir teigim ariar uoúais anora o Shliab Suíoe
 Laiġen, ocur ni fuil do rġélaib lium aét ingen Luġoaé mic
 Feigura tue ġiáó oí Baile mac Buain, ocur tainic dia
 coinve, co iucrat óis Laiġen fuili, ocur maibait in iio for-
 tao, amail iio gellrat oíaióe, ocur deġfáíoe uóib, na com-
 maicoir ambeúais, ocur conuicraoir iari na mbár, ocur naé
 pceproair tina biéu. Iriat rin mo pcéla. Ocur murtéíoe
 uaiib, mari iġe ġaíte tari ġlar muiri, ocur, niptari cuimġeé a
 portao.

Ot cuala baile annpin vo fuit maib cin anmain, ocur
 clarótepi a peit, ocur a Ráit, ocur raitepi a lia, ocur oigní-
 thepi a donach gúba la hultu. Acup apaig lphupi tqua na
 lige comba peit fuaé, ocur oelb cmo baile fopi a bappi,
 unoe tquáig mbaile.

Iapum mupla buðer in þer ceona co hapiu a mbi an
ingen, Ailðenn, ocur uicuz ipin þuanan. Can tic in ti nat-
genumap, ap in ingen. A tuarcept lete Epienn, o Tuar
Inberi ocur reaço reo co Sliap Surðe Laißen. Sgêla let ap
in ingen. Ni fuilet rgêla ap cainte punna, æt Atconnapic
Ulltu aḡ aonað šuba, ocur ac claiðeð Ráta, ocur ic paḡað
lia, ocur aḡ rgubað a anma Baile mic Buain, Riḡoamna
Ulað vo taob Trágha Baile [noð vo éḡ], ipé aḡ topaætain
Lennáin ocur miná þeipce via tuc šráð, ap ni fuil anðán
vóib co iurtaip a mbeðaig, no neð vob vfaicpin viaiaile ma
mbiú. Uiling amac iap minvill in mipeóil. Vo fuit
Ailenn maip cin annuin, ocur claiter a þerit, ocur apaile.
Ocur ápað apall tpa na lige, ocur ba šerḡa mói i cinn
reæt mbliaðan, ocur veb cinn Ailenne for a uaætari.

1 cinn peët mbliadân tercarô filio ocup faroe ocup firio
in tibus bôî of baile, ocup murgniit Taball filio de,
ocup rghuboit fire ocup fere ocup repica ocup toëmarica
Ulaô mti. Fon piú cetna rghubtai toëmarica laiseo mti.

Oia puact in tSamom iayruithe ocur vo gmithep a peir
la hadit mac Cuinn. Tancatari pilro ocur aor gaça vana
pon peir pin amail ba beir, [ocur vo matrat a taibli leó,]⁹⁰

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Tale of
Bailé
Mac Buain.

ocur tiasatrum, ocur dur cí Ait, ocur ót connaic mur-
comaic, ocur tucav cuige in dá taboib co mbatar ina
lámaib aḡaib fpu haḡaib. Imurling in taboib for aiaile
uib, cupi imnaiceo amail feiclinn im uprlait, ocur nri
cumgeaó a nimpḡaiaó. Ocur batari amail caé réo arin
[ir an] tairceo hi Temiais cupor loire Dunlang mac
Enoa .i. diai orit in ningeniaio i Temiais:

Ut dicatur:

Abail Aillinn aia,
Ibar baile bec forba,
Cia de beiait i Laiḡib,
Nri tuicit doeine borba.

Ocur atbeit ingen Cormaic hui Cuino [.i. Ailbe⁽⁴⁾]:

Ir fpu ramlaim Aluime,
Fpu hibu Ráca baile,
Fpu conbaraim aiaile,
Fpu in Abail a Aille.

Flano Mac Lonain dixit:

Deiro Cormac um ceil cóir,
Conro fpu format in trluais,
Tabiaó dia aie, naom nari,
In éiaob do Thiais baile buain
For buiri bile, buioib reb,
Rolla a delb, trumib tori,
Diai celḡaó, no celḡait fpu,
Amlaio rin no celḡait Cori.

Cormac dixit:

Sunn do claoeó mac buain báin.

* * * *

[TRANSLATION.]

Bailé the Sweet-Spoken, son of *Buan*.

The three grandsons of *Capha*, son of *Cinga*, son of *Ros*, son of *Rudhraighe*,⁽⁵⁾ were—*Monach*, and *Bailé* [recte *Buan*], and *Fercorb*, a quibus *Dál mBuain* and *Dál Cuirb*, and the *Monachs* of *Aradh*.⁽⁶⁾

Buan's only son was *Bailé*; he was the specially beloved of *Aillinn*, the daughter of *Lughaidh*, son of *Fergus Fairḡé*⁽⁷⁾ (or [as some say] the daughter of *Eoghan*, the son of *Dathi*); and he was the specially beloved of every one who saw or heard him, both men and women, on account of his novel stories. And they [himself and *Aillinn*] made an appointment to meet at *Ros na Righ*, at *Lann Maolduibh*, on the [south] brink of the *Boinn* [Boyne] in *Bregia*.

The man [*Bailé*] came from the north to meet her, from *Emain Macha*, over *Sliabh Fuaid*,⁽⁸⁾ over *Muirtheimhné*⁽⁹⁾ to *Tráigh mBailé* [Dundalk]. Here

(5) *Rudhraighe*.—He was monarch of Erin, and died A.M. 4981, according to the Annals of the Four Masters.

(6) *Dál mBuain*, *Dál Cuirb*, and the *Monach*, were the tribes descended from the three grandsons of *Capha*, and the territories which bore their names were situated in the present county of Down.

(7) *Fergus Fairḡé*.—He was the son of *Nuadhat Necht*, monarch of Erin, who was slain A.M. 5090 [Four Masters], or one hundred and three years before the Christian era.

they yoked their chariots, sent their horses out to graze, and turned themselves to pleasure and happiness.

While there, they saw a horrible spectral personage coming towards them from the south. Vehement was his step and his rapid progress. The manner in which he sped over the earth might be compared to the darting of a hawk down a cliff, or to wind from off the green sea. His left was towards the land [he was coming from the south along the shore].

Let him be met, said *Bailé*, to ask him where he goes, and where he comes from, and what is the cause of his haste.

To *Tuagh Inbher* [the Mouth of the River Bann] I go back, to the north, now, from *Sliabh Suidhé Laighen* [now "Mount Leinster"]; and I have no news but of the daughter of *Lughaidh*, son of *Fergus*, who had fallen in love with *Bailé Mac Buain*, and was coming to meet him, until the youths of Leinster overtook her, and she was killed by the forcible detention [*i.e.*, lost her life for having been detained]; as it was promised [foretold] by druids and good prophets for them, that they would not meet in life, and that they would meet after their deaths, and that they would not part for ever after. This is my news. And he darted away from them like a blast of wind over the green sea, and they were not able to detain him.

When *Bailé* heard this, he fell dead without life, and his tomb was raised and his *Ráith*; and his tombstone was set up, and his fair of lamentation [assembly for games, etc., in honour of a deceased personage] was held by the Ultonians. And a yew grew up through his grave, and the form and shape of *Bailé's* head was visible on the top of it, unde *Tráigh mBailé*.

Afterwards the same man went to the south to where the maiden *Aillinn* was, and went into the *grianán* [sunny chamber]. Whence comes the man that we do not know? said the maiden. From the northern half of Erin, from *Tuagh Inbher*, and [I go] past this place to *Sliabh Suidhé Laighen*. Have you news? said the maiden. I have not news worth relating now, but that I have seen the Ultonians holding a fair of lamentation, and raising a *Ráith*, and erecting a stone, and writing his name, to *Bailé Mac Buain*, the *Rígh-dhamhna* [royal heir] of Ulster, by the side of *Tráigh Bhaile*, [who died] whilst he was coming to meet a favourite and beloved woman to whom he had given love; for it is not destined for them that they should reach each other alive, or that one of them should see the other alive. He darted out after telling the evil news. *Aillinn* fell dead without life, and her tomb was raised, etc. [as before in the case of *Bailé*]. And an apple-tree grew through her grave, and became a great tree at the end of seven years, and the shape of *Aillinn's* head upon its top [that is, the top, as in *Bailé's* case, took the shape of *Aillinn's* head and face.]

At the end of seven years, poets and prophets and visioners cut down the yew which was over the grave of *Bailé*, and they made a poet's tablet [*Taball Fílidh*] of it, and they wrote the visions, and the espousals, and the loves, and the courtships of Ulster in it. [The apple-tree which grew over *Aillinn* was also cut down and] in the same way the courtships of Leinster were written in it.

When the November-eve (*Samhain*) had arrived, (long) afterwards, and its festival was made by Art, the son of Conn, the poets and the professors of every art came to that feast, as it was their custom, and they brought their tablets with them. And these Tablets also came there; and Art saw them, and when he saw them he asked for them; and the two tablets were brought, and he held them in his hands face to face. Suddenly the one tablet of them sprang upon the other, and they became united the same as woodbine around a twig, and it was not possible to separate them. And they were preserved like every other jewel in the treasury at Tara, until it was burned by *Dánlang*, the son of *Enna*, namely, at the time that he burned the princesses at Tara.

Ut dicitur:

"The apple tree of noble *Aillinn*" (etc., as *supra*, p. 466).

(8) *Sliabh Fuaid*.—Fuad's Mountain, a mountain near Newtownhamilton, in the county of Armagh.

(9) *Muirtheimhne*, or *Magh Muirtheimhne*, an ancient plain which extended from Drogheda to Dundalk and Carlingford.

APP. II.

Poem by
Ailbhé,
daughter
of Cormac
Mac Airt.
(circa A.D.
260.)

[*Original of the Poem of AILBHÉ, daughter of CORMAC MAC AIRT, from the 'Book of Leinster', (MS. H. 2. 18., T.C.D.) fol. 105. a.b. (see ante, p. 467).]*

Ailbe ingen Chormaic mic Airt, cecinit.

Uair in lár do lumlaine
illeit leinne icaige áin,
ir uair cío d'ingín u Chuinn,
foilceir a moing⁽¹⁰⁾ alloing lán.

ir fíur ramlaim lomlaine
fíu íbair ráta baile
fíutotramlón a thečna,
fíur in abail a hale.*

Abail Alinni Aíroa
íbair baile bec noibba, ⁽¹⁰⁾
ce do beirtair illaíoe,
nír tucat dáine boibba.

ir fíur ramlaim lomlaine
fíu dam dubairtac d'ingíne,
fíutotramlón a thečna,
fíu eilte d'iomma d'ingíne.

ir fíur ramlam lomlaine
fíu slattaib fínócuill áille,
ir fíur ramlaimpe tečna
fíu scaitib uáctair báinne.

a lumlaine in panacair
collie dabearc ac spuib brian,
ranacur fíerta magen
ra surde lógen anair.

a lumlaine nacamlúaro,
nacamtároleo mearcain muaro,
manibetir leca lúgoecl úr,
eóin bic baile potbetir.

Críofearc mo meanman míne
ingen ius Tempa tuaoe,
Ocur críofearc manman
Sillanrao Alman uaire. u.

a lumlaine nacamlúaro
a gráin gaile, a gréin íluais,
ma popramlao reo ar ret
fóduirpe ar nēc in cacl uair. Uair.

* .i. a haleinn.

(10) The *n* in both these words ought to be dotted; but we are unfortunately not in possession of the necessary type to express a dotted *n*.

[TRANSLATION.]

APP. II.

Ailbhé, the daughter of *Cormac Mac Airt*, cecinit.

A cold day for *Lumluiné*⁽¹¹⁾
 In half a cloak pursuing pleasure,
 It is cold, too, for the daughter of *O'Cuinn*,
 Who washes her hair in a full basin.
 It is what I liken *Lomlaine*⁽¹¹⁾ to,
 To the Yew of *Ráith Bailé*,
 To what I liken his *Tethna*
 Is to the Apple-tree from *Alé*.^{*}
 The apple-tree of high *Ailinn*,
 The Yew of *Bailé* of little land,
 Though they are put into poems,
 Ignorant people do not understand them.
 It is what I liken *Lomlaine*⁽¹¹⁾ to,
 To the dark-shaded Buck of *Drigrend*,
 What I liken his *Tethna*⁽¹²⁾ to
 Is to the does of *Dromm Drignend*.⁽¹³⁾
 It is what I liken *Lomlaine* to,
 To beautiful White-hazle rods,
 What I liken *Tethna*⁽¹²⁾ to
 Is to the shadows of the top of milk.
 O! *Lumluiné*⁽¹¹⁾ hast thou reached
 To *Lec dá Bhearg*⁽¹⁴⁾ at *Srubh Brain*?⁽¹⁵⁾
 I have reached *Ferta Maghen*⁽¹⁶⁾
 By *Suidhe Laghen*,⁽¹⁷⁾ on the east.

* i. e. from *Ailinn*.

(11) I have to express my regret that I am quite unable to trace either the history or allusions of this singular poem. There is an explanatory note in the margin of the old book, but, most unfortunately, the ink is so decayed and injured by friction that it is illegible for any satisfactory purpose. Who the person called *Lumluiné*, *Lunchainé*, or *Lomluiné*, was, I am at a total loss to know. The name appears to have been a familiar one, or descriptive, compounded of *lum*, or *lom* (bare), and *luiné*, or *lainé* (pleasure, merriment); so that the name would signify the bare and cheerful man, an appellation somewhat borne out by the line which follows, which represents him as pursuing his sports in 'half a cloak'. This, I admit, is but taking the component parts of the name at their ordinary value; and such a process does not at all, in every case, apply to the better understanding of the real name of an unknown personage. It is singular, however, that there really was such a family name in Ireland as *O' Lumluiné*, as will be seen from the following entries in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the following years:—

A.D. 1170. "*Corbmac Ua Luimluinn*, the chief professor [or master] of *Cluain Ferta Brenainn* [Clonfert], the sole remains of the professors [i. e., the last of the great scholars] of Erin in his time, died".

A.D. 1259. "*Corbmac Ua Luimluinn*, Bishop of *Cluain Ferta Brenainn* [Clonfert], and high sage of Erin, died; a saintly senior of long age". (It may be presumed that the bishop was son to the professor, and that the family was a literary one.)

(12) *Tethna*—Whether this is a real personal name, or a name only descriptive or figurative, I confess myself unable to determine. It must be a proper name, or else an abstract noun substantive expressing some property or quality of *Lumluiné* himself. In the second and fourth stanzas, by placing the possessive pronoun 'a' (his) before '*Tethna*', the word is made to signify some appendage, or beloved object, of *Lumluiné*; but in the fifth stanza, this pronoun is left out, and the emphatic suffix (*sá*) inserted to fill up the measure; thus leaving the word *Tethna* an independent noun, and apparently a proper name. No such name, however, has, to my recollection, come under my notice before.

(13) *Dromm Drignend*—The mountain ridge of *Drignend*; a place unknown to me.

(14) *Lec* (or *Leac*) *Dá Bhearg*, near, or at *Srubh Brain*; its situation is unknown to me.

(15) *Srubh Brain*, or Bran's Stream.—There were two places of this name in Erin; one in the west of Kerry, and one in the north of Ulster. It is to the latter that our poetess refers; and the following note, furnished by Dr. John O'Donovan to the late Rev. Dr. Matthew Kelly's translation of *Cambrensis Eboracensis*, shows that the name and situation are still known:—"Srubh Brain, now Shruve-Brin, or Stroove-Brin. It is the name of a well-known place in the north-east extremity of the barony of Inishawen, in the county of Donegal. Water oozes from the bank, and forms a well, near high water mark"—*Camb. Ec.*, vol. ii., p. 786, note 20. According to Dr. Keating, who quotes from the ancient Book of *Cluain Eboracensis*, the diocese of *Rath Eboeth* (Raphoe) extended from *Eas Ruaidh* (Ballyshannon) north and east, along the sea, to *Srubh Brain*, and from *Carrn Glas* (Green Mound) to *Srubh Brain*. And Dr. John O'Donovan, in a note to the Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 1417, p. 832, says:—

Poem by
Ailbhé,
 daughter
 of *Cormac*
Mac Airt.
 circa A.D.
 250)

APP. II.

Poem by
Ailbhé,
daughter
of Cormac
Mac Airt.
(circa A.D.
260.)

O! *Lumlainé*, urge me not onwards,
That I be not touched by a *Meschoin Muird*,⁽¹⁸⁾
Were it not for *Leca Lugdach Lis*,⁽¹⁸⁾
Eóin Bic Bailé⁽¹⁸⁾ would be in existence.
The heart-love of my softest desire,
The daughter of Tara's king, in the North;
And the beloved of my soul are
The young warriors of cold *Almhain*.⁽¹⁹⁾

"It is quite evident that it (*Carn Glas*) is the hill now called the Tops, which is situated on the boundary of the diocese of Derry and Raphoe, and between Raphoe and Donoghmore. Donoghmore Church stands to the right of the road, as you go from Stranorlar to Castlefin, within one mile of the latter". Struve Point is marked on Beaufort's Ecclesiastical Map, inside Inishowen Head, on the bay which forms the entrance to *Loch Feabhail* (Lough Foyle). (This *Loch Feabhail* itself derives its name from *Feabhail*, the son of *Lodan*, the father of *Bran*, one of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*.)

(16) *Ferta Maighen*.—This name would signify the Graves of the Field, that is, of some particular field, or place. In our ancient laws, *Maighin dighona* signified an inviolable enclosure surrounding a man's house.

(17) *Suidhe Laighen*,—now Mount Leinster, in the county of Wexford, on the east side of which *Ferta Maighen* must have been situated, according to our text. *Suidhe Laighen* is believed to signify the Seat, or Sitting-place, of the people of Leinster, at some of their great meetings. There can be no doubt, I think, that this mountain was the same as the *Slíabh Suidhé Chonchorb* (fol. 24 of the Book of Leinster), or, more properly, *Slíabh Uighé Chonchorb*, that is, the Mountain of *Cuchorb's* Fate, or Death, as it is called also in the same Book, at fol. 241. [See Note on *Cuchorb*, and *Meadhbh's* Elegy, at the end of this Appendix (p. 480).]

(18) *Meschoin Muaid*.—*Leca Lugdach Lis*.—*Eóin Bic Bailé*. Although these words are all intelligible in their direct and ordinary signification, yet it would be totally impossible for any one to discover, without some explanation, what connection they could have with the present text. This explanation has come to light, in whole or in part, very unexpectedly, in several distinct places, none of them in direct connection with the poem, though one of them has reference to it. The first place in which the explanation is found is in the ancient vellum MS. chiefly consisting of Laws, (class H. 3. 18. T.C.D.), a volume which has been already so often referred to in the course of these Lectures. At page 4 of this volume, in the lower margin, and apart, of course, from any connection with the laws, is to be found this very stanza of our poem which requires the explanation, with some curious variations of the text, and an interlined gloss, which, however, is not affected by the difference of text. The verse runs as follows:—

α ρλαινολινε ναδαντλουαρό,
ηαο ποτβερεσσ μερκοιν (a)
μουαρό (b)
μαινβαο λεακα λυγοαχ λιρρ (c)
εοιν βικκ βαϊλε (d) ποτβειτιρ.

O *Flann of Line*, urge me not onwards,
That I be not deluded by a *Meschoin* (a)
Muaidh (b)
Were it not for *Leca Lugdach Liss* (c)
Eóin Bic Baile (d) would be in existence.

The gloss (on the preceding words) is as follows:—

(a) μερκοιν .ι. οϊβραι
(b) μουαρό .ι. ρερ έταρο
(c) λεακα λυγοαχ λιρρ .ι. ρυιει οσυρ
αιτιρ
(d) εοιν βικκ βαϊλε .ι. ροικ, οσυρ
μειρπορεε.

(a) barren, [impotent.]
(b) a jealous man.
(c) blushes and disgrace.
(d) a kiss, and a strumpet.

Literally and ordinarily, a *Meschu* (oblique, *Meschoin*) signifies a lap-dog; *Leca Lugdach Liss* signifies literally, the Flag-stones of *Lugaidh's* Fort, or Palace. *Eóin Bic Bailé*, signifies literally "Birds of little good"; but it would signify also "Little Bailé's birds". [In the *Dinnsenchus* it is stated that '*Eóin Bailé*', were Four Kisses of *Aengus* of *Brugh na Boinné* (son of the *Dughda Mór*, the great necromancer and king of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*), which were converted by him into 'birds which haunted the youths of Erin'. This allusion requires more investigation than I have yet been able to bestow on the passage.] The words in the text, however, probably derive their poetic significance from some acts of persons of the names of *Lugaidh* and *Bailé*. Of any person of the latter name we know nothing except the hero of the preceding tragedy; but of the name of *Lugaidh*, there are many remarkable men to be found in our ancient history. There was *Lugh*, or *Lughaidh*, *Mac Eithlenn*, the famous philosopher, and king of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, who holds so distinguished a place in the Second Battle of *Mugh Tuireadh*; he was the founder of *Naas*, in the county of *Kildare*, and hence that ancient city was called *Lis Logha*, and *Lis Luighdhech*, or *Lugaidh's* Palace. He was also the founder of the ancient *Tailltin*, in *Meath*, and one of the primitive courts, or forts, there was called after him, *Raith Luighdhach*, or *Lis Luighdhach*.

I should have little hesitation in referring the words of our text to either of these ancient courts, but that the following more appropriate application of them is made to what appears to me to be a different *Lis Luighdhach*. The words occur in the interlined Gloss to a poem

O! *Lumluine*⁽¹¹⁾ urge me not onward,
Thou Victory of Valour, thou Sun of Hosts,
If it is like this our path shall be,
It shall cause our death every time [some time].

APP. II.

Poem by
Ailbhé,
daughter
of *Conmac*
Mac Airt
(circa A.D.
260.)

written by *Cinaeth O'Hartagain* (who died A.D. 975), on the Manner of Death, and Place of Sepulture of several of the most distinguished Kings and Warriors of ancient Erin, of the Milesian race. My copy of this poem, with the Gloss, I made myself some years ago from a vellum MS. belonging to Mr. William Monk Mason; and there is another copy of it in the Book of Leinster, but without the Gloss. The poem consists of thirty-eight stanzas, and begins:—

fianna batap in Emain
1 Raic Cruachan, in Temair,
1 Luachair luathep curatō,
in Ailinn, in Iar Mumhain.

Warriors that were in *Emain*,
In *Raith Cruachan*, in *Temair*,
In *Luachair*, where champions trod,
In *Ailinn*, in West *Mumhain*.

The tenth stanza of this poem is that with which we are now concerned, and the following are the two first lines of it:—

leēt Conruī hī Sliabh Mis,
leēt Luigōeē pō leccaib lirr.

Conruī's grave in *Sliabh Mis*.
Lughaidh's grave under the flags of his fort.

The Gloss on this last line runs thus:—

Teópa lecca lirr Luigōeē .i. gheir,
ocur ruicci, ocur mebul.

The three flags of *Lughaidh's* fort were, Mur-
der, and Disgrace, and Treachery.

There can be no doubt but that the *Lughaidh* mentioned here was *Lughaidh-mac-na-tri Con*, that is, "son of the three Cons (or Cú's)"; that is, of *Curoi Mac Dairé*; *Cuchulainn*; and *Conall Cearnach*. He was called Son of the three Cons (or Cú's) because it was believed that his mother, *Blathnait*, the wife of *Curoi*, had had connection with the two other Cú's, as well as with her husband. It was this *Lughaidh* that killed *Cuchulainn*, one of his reputed fathers, at the great fight of *Muirthemne*; but he was followed home by his other reputed father, *Conall Cearnach*, who overtook and killed him in turn at *Coirthe Lughaidh* (or *Lughaidh's* Rock), in *Airget-Ros* (a district lying on the west side of the River Nore, below the present town of Ballyragget, in the present county Kilkenny). *Lughaidh* was buried here, as will be seen from the following lines of the thirteenth stanza of the poem:—

ata leēt Luigōeē ce toir,
fon carann hī muig Argatros.

Lughaidh's grave is, though silent,
Under the *Carann*, in the plain of *Argatros*.

Whether the alleged circumstance of *Lughaidh's* paternity, and that of slaying treacherously *Cuchulainn*, one of his reputed fathers, be the most prominent of the three disgraces which formed his grave in place of flags, it would be useless to inquire farther: but that the allusion in *Ailbhé's* poem refers to him and them, cannot, I think, be well doubted. Farther speculation, however, would be fruitless, and I must leave the elucidation of the curious metaphorical words in the text to some more profound or more fortunate investigator.

The third allusion, by inference only, to this stanza is found in the MS. so often referred to, Harleian, 5280, fol. 127, British Museum. The following words only appear in the lower margin of the page:—

Coín baíli .i. bét ocur mebul, no
poc ocur púóair.

"The Birds of *Baithi*, i. e., sin and shame; or
a kiss and sorrow".

Several other singular figurative expressions occur in our ancient MSS., such as:—

"Dí mgin baíri .i. ópúir ocur
toairli".

"The two daughters of Folly, Lust and Evil
Counsel".

"póc dá bponaig .i. poc Eva ocur
adam".

"The kiss of the two sorrowful persons, i. e.,
the kiss of Eve and Adam", etc.

I may mention one other remarkable instance of allusion to this *Leca Lughdach Lis*, in a poem given in the "Wars of the Danes". The first verse of this poem is as follows:—

Δ ουβραδ πib ουl ποσεαρ,—
υπlαm λειp,—ac λuigeαδ λir
Do uebapo pe teglac Tál:
Da puaet ó Tempaig Fál pír.

You were desired to go to the South,—
Ready, too,—at *Lughaidh's* *Lis*
To battle with the house of *Tal*:
From *Temair* of *Fál* comes the message.

The poem is introduced thus:—When *Brian Boróimhé* demanded *Maelsechlainn's* abdication, the latter sent the chief poet of *Uladh* (*Gillacompall O'Sebhain*), to *Aedh O'Neil*, king of *Ulster*, to induce him to come with his forces to the threatened monarch's relief. The poet arrives at *O'Neil's* court, and addresses him in a long poem, of which this is the first stanza. The *Lughadh Lis* (or *Lis Lughdach*) here means *Tara*, so named from the same *Lugh Mac Eithlinn* before mentioned. The house of *Tal* means the *Dalcassian* house; so called from an ancestor of *Brian*, who had the surname of *Mac Tail* (literally, "Son of the Adze").

APP. II. [OF CUCHORB; with the original (and translation) of a Poem on his Death, by MEADHBH, the Daughter of CONAN; from the Book of Leinster (MS. H. 2. 18. T.C.D., fol. 24 b. b.).]

Poem by
Meadhbh,
daughter
of Conan.
(B.C. 1.)

(See ante, Note (17) to APP. II.; ante, page 478.)

[*Sliabh Suidhe Chonchorb*.—This *Cuchorb* (in the gen. case, '*Chonchorb*') was the son of *Mogh Corb*, who was the son of *Conchobhar Abradhruadh*, who was Monarch of Érin for one year only, when he was killed, A.M. 5192, the year before the birth of Christ. *Cuchorb* had to his wife the celebrated *Meadhbh Leith-dherg*, or 'Meave, the Half-red', daughter of *Conan of Cualann*, but she eloped from him with the man who slew him. *Cuchorb* was killed in a battle (of which our annals preserve no account) by *Feidhlimidh Reachtmhar*, father of *Conn* of the Hundred Battles, somewhere in Leinster,—probably at this mountain, where he was buried. His former wife, Meave, it appears, was present at his interment, and pronounced an elegy over him in a poem of eight quatrains. This poem is so curious, and one copy of it so ancient, and so interesting in a philological point of view, that I am induced to give it a place here. The poem is introduced by a short sketch of the queen herself:—

Ró buó mór tra, nept ocuṛ cu-
maṛta Meiróbe irin, for riru Érenn;
airirí na léigeo ní a Temair gan a
beir fein aige na mnai. Ocuṛ ir
lé conpotaṛt inrígnaít for taeḃ
Temra .i. Ráit Meiróbe. Ocuṛ do
pome ní tpeḃ éogaíoe irin ráit rin,
imbitir nuga, ocuṛ ollamuin gáca
dána. Ocuṛ irí in meóḃ rin do
pome in mapnaíoh do Coincōrb
intan po moṛbaḃ hé. As raíuḃ
na cloici píl for ligi Concōrb ic
Sléib thíoe Concōrb irann do pome
meóḃ in mapnaíoh oṛpōaic.

The strength and power of this
Meadhbh [Meave] was great over the
men of Érin; for it was she that
would not permit any king in *Temair*
[Tara] without his having herself as
wife. And it was by her was erected
the royal *Ráith* by the side of *Temair*,
namely, *Ráith Meidhbhe* (20) [Meave's
Ráith]. And she built a choice house
within that *Ráith*, in which kings,
and the chief masters (*Ollamhs*) of
every art used to assemble. And it
was that Meave that composed the
death song for *Cuchorb* when he was
killed. At setting up the stone which
is upon the grave of *Cuchorb* at *Sliabh*
Uidhe Chonchorb it was that Meave
composed the admirable death-song:—

* * * * *

macc mogacōrbḃ celar clú,
cunpepar crú oapa gáib,
aíl uapa ligi ba liaḃ,
ḃaplaíoe éliaḃ oap Clú Máil.

Moghcōrb's son conceals renown,
Well sheds he blood by his spears;
A stone over his grave,—'tis a
pity,—
Who carried battle over *Clú*
Máil.⁽²¹⁾

because his foster-father was a carpenter. The *Fál* mentioned here was the *Lia Fáil*, the ancient stone on which the monarchs were crowned at *Temair* (incorrectly supposed, as my readers are aware, to have been afterwards taken from Érin to Scone, in Scotland, and thence into England; incorrectly, for the stone so long in Westminster Abbey, upon which the English kings are crowned, whatever stone it may have been in ancient times, is now known for certain *not* to have been the celebrated *Lia Fáil*).

(19) *Almhain*.—Now the Hill of Allen, in the county of Kildare, the ancient residence and patrimony of *Finn Mac Cumhaill*; and the warm allusion to it in the text may, perhaps, be taken to give some countenance to the idea that Finn, or some one of his warriors, was implicated in the adventure, whatever it was, with King Cormac's daughter.

(20) *Ráith Meidhbhé*.—This great old rath or fort remains still a conspicuous object, on an eminence a little south by east of the Hill of Tara.

(21) *Clú Máil*.—*Clú* was an ancient district in the barony of Coslea, in the county of Limerick. It received the addition of *Mael* from *Mael*, the son of the monarch *Ugaine Mór* having been slain there.

(22) *Ath Finn Fáil*.—"The fair (or white) Ford of *Fál*". This place is not known to me; but it must, I think, have been situated in Leinster, and probably near the shore, or island of *Beg Érin* (which was anciently called *Inis Fáil*), in the bay of Wexford.

μορίς άν, ní pánoo zóe
 ba oerb a broe in ceð naire;
 Dubroir nī bran a bnae,
 zémeir a gae nī hailt.

Σίλιοι α ένεργη ηα ηαελ,
 άρύν ηο contiaimai άρ αε,
 άηροσιτίη α ρειάτ ηι ρεάλ,
 Σιτίτιη α λάμ ηι λαε.

Ρορε* ηι ηερενο ερογναιβ ερίατ,
 ηα έουναη ρειάτ ηι αα ρεό,†
 ερκα‡ βρεε§ βιαταιη οια βιη||
 ηαταη άρ ηιη in ααε gleó,

Seét caeta na láe ma éir,
 imrae oib map cae hailt;
 Ca cae oib, ingnao in bet,
 nae oingbae cét in cae airc.

Τηι αατα αατα ημο ηάιλ,
 αατ αατα in Scáil barcae naen;
 αατ πορτα¶ βα πορπαε μάο**
 πορεη ηα ετιαε†† Μαηγε μαεη.

αατ glairre ériche ηα clóe,
 nite [recte inite] oiambae breta
 άρ báig;
 αατ Depmair‡‡ nabert in cú,
 Raetaibir a chlú éú pagáib.

* .i. gobal ηι ηυγαιβ ηερενο έ.

† .i. cangin.

‡ .i. imao.

§ .i. mac time.

|| .i. gae.

¶ .i. porpuo oα goire.

** .i. ερεηεη.

†† .i. ηι.

‡‡ .i. ubi laiger Reta Mór.

My noble king, he spoke not falsehood;

His success was certain in every danger;

As black as a raven was his brow;
 As sharp was his spear as a razor.

As white was his skin as the lime;
 Together we used to go upon refectations.

As high was his shield as a champion,

As long was his arm as an oar.

The fork* against the kings of Erin,
 sons of chiefs,

He maintained his shield in every cause;†

Countless‡ wolves§ fed he with his spear,||

At the heels of our man in every battle.

Seven battles fought he for his land,—
 He swept over them like any razor;

What battle of them—admirable the deed!—

In which he warded not off an hundred in every danger?

The three battles of *Ath Finn Fáil*,⁽²²⁾
 The battle of *Ath an Scáil*⁽²³⁾ of

bloody field;
 The battle of *Fossud*,¶— 'twas the

puissance of a hero,**—
 Was fought by the Chief †† of *Magh*

Macin.⁽²⁴⁾

The battle of *Glaisé Criché*⁽²⁵⁾ he
 broke [gained.]—

The man who had the deciding of battles;

The battle of *Bernas*‡‡⁽²⁶⁾ the
 Hound⁽²⁷⁾ fought,—

His valour brought blood upon his spears.

* *i. e.*, he was the sustaining forked column (or prop) of his country against the kings of Erin.

† *i. e.*, cause.

‡ *i. e.*, much, many.

§ *i. e.*, a wolf.

|| *i. e.*, a spear [so in second copy.]

¶ *i. e.*, the Camp (or residence) of the Two Fields.

** *i. e.*, Knight, or Champion.

†† *i. e.*, King.

‡‡ *i. e.*, ubi *Laighes Reta Mór*.

(22) *Ath in Scáil*.—"The Ford of the Champion". Not known to me.

(24) *Magh Macin*.—"The Plain of Maen". It happens, singularly enough, that the situation of this ancient plain can still be traced with sufficient if not perfect accuracy. By an Inquisition taken at New Ross, on the 9th of April, 1628, it was found that one William Furlonge had been seized of the manor of Horetown, otherwise Carnrosse, and the castle and

APP. II.

Poem by
Móuthbh,
daughter
of *Conan*.
(B.C. 1.)

Ra chorrain da arm a fíu,
Dair marb iug nap bo lac;
Coprnam Galian signir fích,
Da dhippan oit ar in mac. m.

He defended by his arms his land,
When he killed kings who were not
weak;
To conquer *Gailian*⁽²⁸⁾ he raised a
contest;
Alas, that destruction has come on
the son. [The son, etc.]

APPENDIX, No. III. [Lect. I., Page 5, note ⁽⁶⁾].

Three Poems
of *Dubhthach*
Ua Lugair;
(A.D. 430.)

*Three Poems by Dubtác Ua Lugair, Chief Poet of the Monarch
Laegaire (who flourished A.D. 432), on the triumphs of
Enna Cenrelac and his son Ciumtann, kings of Leinster
(from the Book of Leinster [H. 2. 18., T.C.D.], fol. 25).*

I.

oubhthach .h. lugair. cc.

I.

DUBHTHACH THE SON OF LUGAIR
CECINIT.

anoru immarbáis n laguib,
lácúr feras,
labraio longreé nomarb chob-
tác,
1 tuaim tenba.

It is difficult to contend with Lein-
stermen,
In many actions.
Labhraidh Loingsech⁽²⁹⁾ it was that
killed *Cobhthach*
At *Tuaim Tenba*.

village and lands of Horetown, as well as many other lands that we meet with, not set forth in this note; and also, of one corn mill, and fulling mill, called Fouck's mill, and the advowson and right of presentation to the church and rectory of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of Horetown, otherwise *Maghmaine*. It was found in another Inquisition, taken at Wexford, the 17th of August, 1641, that Mat. Fitz-Harris, late of *Mackmayne*, in the county of Wexford, and Anstace, his wife, had been seized, during the term of their lives, of the village and lands of *Mackmayne*. And again, on the 16th of April, 1641, in the same place, it was found that Mat. Fitz Harris had been seized in his lifetime of the manor of *Maghmayne*, and of the village and land of *Maghmayne*. (Horetown, I may state, is now, or was lately, the seat of William Goff, Esq.; it is situated on the old road leading from New Ross to Wexford, and about three miles south-west of Taghmon. See *Lewis' Topographical Dictionary*.)

(25) *Glaissé Criché*, literally, "the boundary stream".—This stream was situated in the county of Kildare, and formed the eastern boundary of an ancient territory which extended from it to a place called *Uada*, in *Laighis* (Leix), in the present Queen's County. (*Book of Lecain*, fol. 93, 109.)

(26) *Bernas* (*ubi Laighes Reta Mór*).—*Bernas* means, literally, a Gap in a Hill. *Laighis* is the present district of Leix, in the Queen's County; and *Reta Mór*, Great *Reta*, or *Magh Reta*, was the name of an ancient plain in that county. The name is still preserved under the Anglicized form of 'Morieh', and is a manor in the barony of Portmahinch, adjoining the great Heath of Maryborough, in the Queen's County. (See O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.M. 3529, note 9.)

(27) *Hound*.—*Cú* signifies a Hound; *Corb* (or, more properly *Corp*) signifies Body; hence, *Cú-chorp*, Hound's body. *Corbmac Mac Cuilennáin* gives a different meaning to *Corb*: that of "corrupt", or "chariot"; but neither of these could well be compounded with *Cú*.

(28) *Gailian*; an ancient name of Leinster.

(29) *Labhraidh Loingsech*.—He killed the monarch *Cobhthach Cael*, his own grand-uncle, A.M. 4658, and assumed the sovereignty himself. *Labhraidh* was born in Leinster. *Tuaim Tenba*, where this occurrence took place, is the place long known as *Dinn Righ*. It is situated in the townland of Ballyknockan, a quarter of a mile to the south of *Leithghlinn* Bridge, on the west bank of the river Barrow, county of Carlow.

(30) *Eochu Censelach*.—His surname of *Censelach* (literally foul-laugh, according to our old etymologists) was applied to *Eochu's* father, *Enna Censelach*, and not to himself. His father was king of Leinster; and, to secure his fealty, the monarch Niall, when come to the supreme throne in A.D. 379, insisted on having the young prince *Eochu* placed in his hands as a hostage. The prince, however, soon escaped to his own country; and years afterwards, when Niall made his last expedition to the continent, he was followed in disguise by this *Eochu*, who found an opportunity of killing him with a dart, with which he shot him, across the river Loire, in the year 405.

Eochu Censelach mac Ennai,
Da ní pathach,
Ar ngaimleó gíall marbartaí
máil
mac Echach.

Ireio Nuadu Necht mac Sétnai,
Saéir a bunao,
Romairb Eterscéil mac Eogain,
Aronig muman.

Ireio Ferghur mac Róig ói Ultaib,
Nangur ngalmar,
Ailill mac Rora Ruadh,
Fúair tó marbao.

Na trí Ruad-éinó baóí lagmib,
Láéda inprobang,
Marbairt lugair* ocuf Conaire,
Ocuf Conall.

Erc mac Cairpri cloéirí hEreuo,
Cona éuraino,
Teno mbairpíno bentair a éno
De Comcúlainn.

* i. marbtoeris.

Eochu Censelach ⁽³⁰⁾ the son of *Enna*,
Was a prosperous king;
After [*Niall*] having bound hostages,
he [*Eochu*] killed *Niall*
The son of *Echaidh*.

And *Nuadhu Necht*, ⁽³¹⁾ also, the son
of *Setna*,
Noble his origin,
He killed *Eterscel*, the son of *Eo-*
ghan
The high king of Munster.

And *Ferghus Mac Róigh*, ⁽³²⁾ also, of
the Ultonians
Of the gallant deeds,
It was *Ailill*, the son of *Ros Ruadh*,
He found to kill him.

The three Red-heads ⁽³³⁾ were of Lein-
ster,
A valiant cluster:
They killed *Lughaidh*,* and *Conaire*
And *Conall*.

Erc, the son of *Cairpri*, ⁽³⁴⁾ famed king
of *Erinn*,
With his multitude.
Stoutly the Fair-haired one cut his
head
Off *Cuchulainn*.

* i.e., [*Lughaidh*], the redstreaked.

(31) *Nuadhu Necht*.—He was the son of *Setna Sithbhaic*, king of Leinster, and slew the monarch *Eterscel* at *Ailinn* (near Killeullen, in the present county of Kildare), A.M. 5083, when he assumed the monarchy himself.

(32) *Ferghus Mac Roigh*.—He was son to *Ros Ruadh*, and grandson of *Rudhrailhe*, monarch of Erin, who died A.M. 4981. Fergus was one of the most celebrated of the Knights of the Royal Branch of Ulster; but, after the treacherous death of the sons of *Uisneach* for whose safety he was guarantee, he passed in disgust into Connacht, where he was well received by Queen *Meadhbh* (Meave) and her husband, *Ailill*, who was the second son of another *Ros Ruadh*, the king of Leinster. He was subsequently slain, at the request of *Ailill*, by *Lughaidh*, that prince's brother, through jealousy. He was called *Ferghus Mac Roigh* from his mother, *Roigh*.

(33) *The three Red-heads*.—Although these "Red-heads" are set down here as Leinstermen, it is stated, in an ancient account of the death of *Conall Cernach*, that they were of the Erneans of Munster. *Lughaidh Riabh-nderg*, monarch of Erin, died, A.M. 5191, of grief for the death of his wife, *Derbhfhorgaill*, daughter of the king of *Luchlaina* (according to the Annals of Clonmacnois and other authorities). I have never read anywhere but here that he fell by "the three Red-heads". Neither is it mentioned in the very ancient account of the death of the monarch *Conaire Mór* (a tale known as *Bruighen Da Derga*), that he fell by the Red-heads, although they are introduced into the story as messengers of ill omen to him. *Conaire* met his death at the place now called *Bolhar na Bruighne*, near *Tanchlacht* (or *Tal-lacht*) in the present county of Dublin, at the hands of British and Irish outlaws, A.M. 5160. *Conall Cernach*, one of the celebrated Knights of the Royal Branch of Ulster, retired in his advanced age to the court of *Ailill* and *Meadhbh* (Meave), at *Cruachain*, in Connacht. Here he was well received, until the queen, in a moment of jealousy, incited him to avenge her wrongs on her husband, *Ailill*. The old warrior threw a spear at the king, which inflicted upon him a mortal wound. *Conall* fled then, but was pursued by the three "Red-heads", who, at this time, were in the pay of *Ailill*. They soon overtook and beheaded him, after which they carried his head into West Munster, in revenge for the death of *Cúeí Mac Dairé*, king of that country, who had been shortly before slain by *Cuchulainn* and the Ulstermen.

(34) *Erc* the son of *Cairpri*.—*Cairpri Niafer* was king of Erin for a short time, at or about the Incarnation; but he is not counted among the Monarchs. It was his son *Erc* that beheaded *Cuchulainn* after the great slaughter of *Muirtheimhne*, and it was in revenge of this act that his own head was cut off afterwards by *Conall Cernach*, as will be seen in the note on *Acaill*, near *Tara* [APPENDIX, No. XXVIII].

(35) *The son of Nafrach*.—This was *Aengus*, the son of *Nafrach*, king of Munster, who was the first person baptized by St. Patrick in that country. *Eilias Uathach* ("the detestable"), daughter to the *Crimthan*, king of Leinster, mentioned in the next stanza, was his wife. They were both killed in the battle of *Cill-Sasach*, or *Cill Csmach*, near *Lislioghane*, in the present county of Carlow, A.D. 489. Of *Degha*, who slew the queen, we have no further account.

APP. III. Cio mac naofraic Oengus Muman,
Cona fairinn
Three Poems of *Dubhthach Ua Lugair*;
(A.D. 430.)
ic Sossad Chell barfácaib a deno
la Ailill.
Dorochair anó eithe uatad,
ainm daitreba,
Spáin congairge, bá do laguib
Cairpri mac Degea.
Cio Ailill molt cocat Ocha,
ba ní ratach,
Co trídait éet dorriat méc
Crimthan catad.
Torepatar suno uairle hepeno
marra haorao,
iré anóil centimblas
na níg raglan.

anoru.

II.

1nem Dubhthach cecinit.

Crimthan clotri cóicro hepen
hectar elgga,*
Dumne dor milib molta,
bpuromi berga.
briatar piren ua breail beolais
mic fiaad,
in báir parbrunmib mibreg mibra-
tad,
in reál reiatad.
in reál reailro báiro baioz banba
pán mibie mbrigaad,
in breir beirad, in breo bagad,
in gleo gnimad.
in gnúir álaino ár lagneaib
liri lepgmóir,
in rial porcail, arceé rintóir,
in rliab oerpgóir.

* (i. hepeno).

Even the son of *Natfraech*,⁽³⁵⁾ *Oenghus*
of Munster,
With his forces,
At *Sossad-Chell*, he left his head
With *Ailill*.
There fell there *Eithné Uathach*,
A name beyond tribes,
(A barbarous deed!) Of the Lein-
stermen
[Was] *Cairpri*, son of *Degha*.
Even *Ailill*⁽³⁶⁾ *Molt*, till the battle of
Ocha,
Was a prosperous king;
With thirty hundred, he was hurled
to death
By *Crimthan* of battles.
There fell there the nobles of Erin,
As was foretold;⁽³⁷⁾
That was their fate, without dis-
grace,
The kings most noble.
It is difficult [etc.].

II.

IDEM DUBTHACH CECINIT.

Crimthan, the famous king of [the]
province of Erin,
The Hector of Elgga;*
The topping chief of a thousand lau-
dations,
Of bristling mansions;
A righteous word, the grandson of
Bresal Beolach,
Son of *Fiacha*;
The vigilant chief on the border of
Bregia;
The shielded hero.
The fame which is proclaimed by the
boastful bards of *Banba*
Throughout the great world;
The puissant king, the battle-torch;
The [man of] deedful conflicts.
The splendid countenance above the
Leinstermen
Of the broad-bordered Liffey;
The munificent prevailer in every fair
succour;
The mountain of red gold.

* (i.e., Erin).

(36) *Ailill Molt*.—*Ailill* (or *Oilioll*) *Molt* was son to the celebrated King *Dathi*, and succeeded King *Laeghairé* in the monarchy in A.D. 458. He was killed in the battle of *Ocha* (qu., *Ochain*, near Tara?), A.D. 478. *Crimthann*, the son of *Enna Censelach*, king of Leinster, for whom this poem was written, took part in this battle against the monarch; but this is the only place in which I have found it stated that the monarch fell by him, except in a marginal note on *O'Duinn's* poem on the Triumphs of the Kings of Leinster, (at folio 24 of the Book of Leinster.) [See O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 478.]

(37) *As was foretold*.—See stanza 22 of the next poem, where it is stated that St. Patrick foretold this victory for *Crimthann* four years previously.

1n doff díctner d'ronga Domnann,
Don élaip éatbat,
1n maróm for m'roi, múaro m'ppeé
1n naróm naépaé.

1n nept nantreno, na caemnacaip
clóto na corrao,
Cruaro aóercol, Cyméan com-
búaro,
Ireo corcop.

Caé na Samáipe ar Samain,

1ré porforraig,
Da tuc in maróm ac Raíé b'péail,
Ar maig Mopraio.

The tree which wards the Domnann⁽³⁸⁾
multitudes

Off the death-battle plain;
The defeat of Meath, mad, terrified;
The serpent's knot.

The intolerable strength that cannot
be

Subdued or checked;
Hard his battle, *Crimthan* with vic-
tory

And with trophies.
The battle of the *Samair*,⁽³⁹⁾ at *Sam-
hain*,

It was he that sustained,
When he gave the overthrow at
Ráith-Breasail,⁽⁴⁰⁾
Upon *Magh Mossaid*!⁽⁴¹⁾

APP. III.

THREE POEMS
OF *Dubhthach*
Ua Lúachair;
(A.D. 456.)

(38) *The Domnann multitudes*. These were the men of Meath, poetically styled here the Domnann multitudes, from *Inbher Domnainn*, now the river and bay of Malahide, in the county of Dublin, so called from a party of the *Fir-bholg*, the *Domnann* section of them, under their leader *Sengand*, having landed there. This *Inbher Domnainn* is mentioned in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, where it is stated that he sailed from *Inbher Dea* (now Wicklow) to *Inbher Domnainn*, and from that to *Inis Patraic* (the island of Holme Patrick), and so on to Ulster. Other evidences could be adduced in support of this identification. Indeed a singular evidence of it remains on the spot itself; for, even to this day, the current and eddy below the present bridge is by the inhabitants called "Moll Downey", which cannot possibly be anything else than a corruption of *Maéil Domnainn*, *Maéil* being an ancient name on the east coast of Erin for an eddying or whirling current.

(39) *Samhair*.—This is the river now corruptly called the *Canhair*, and, therefore, translated into the "Morning Star". It rises at the western extremity of the chain of the *Gaiúte*, or *Galtee*, Mountains; runs through the town of Bruff; and passes into the Maigue a little below Bruree in the county Limerick.

(40) *Ráith Breasail*.—It was at *Ráith Breasail* that the great convention of the clergy and laity of Ireland was held under the auspices of the illustrious *Muircheartach* O'Brien, king of Munster (and indeed of all Ireland), in the year 1110. The situation of the place has not, I believe, been known or identified in modern times. Finding it set down in this poem, as in the route of the valiant *Crimthan*, and in connection with the *Sáir* (the river Suir), and in *Magh Mossaid*, leaves, I think, no further doubt of the district and province in which it was situated. *Magh Mossaid* itself has not been, I think, identified by any writer of modern times; indeed I have never seen the name of this place in print at all, nor have I met with any one that ever heard of it before. I have, however, myself been fortunate enough to meet with two more references to *Magh Mossaid* besides the reference in the poem, and these are of so clear a character as to leave no uncertainty whatever of the actual situation of this plain.

There is a very old story preserved in our ancient manuscripts, which gives an account of the first discovery, in the forest, of the place in which now stands the celebrated city of Cashel of the Kings. The discovery was made by two swineherds, one belonging to the king of *Eile* and the other to the king of *Muscraigh*, both territories lying to the north of Cashel. When *Corc*, son of *Lughaidh*, king of Munster, whose residence was situated farther to the south, heard of the discovery of this subsequently celebrated spot, he took immediate possession of it, and forthwith built a palace there, with the intention of making it his future residence. *Conall*, the king of *Eile*, having heard of this, was much angered. "And then Conall, king of *Eile*, said: 'Why is it that he has taken possession there? for the place which he has taken is ours'. And he ordered his people to go past *Magh Mossaid* southwards to *Airechtal* that night. And certain news reached them there next morning, namely, that a great feast had been prepared by *Corc*, son of *Lughaidh*, in *Caisel*'. And when Conall heard this, he countermanded the march, and went himself forward in a spirit of amity to honour the housewarming of his friend by his presence (H. 3. 17., T.C.D., fol. 675).

There is some reason to think, from passages in the Irish Life of St. *Mochaemhóg* (or *Pulcherius*), that the king of *Eile*'s palace was situated somewhere near the ancient church of *Líath Mór Mochaemhóg*, now called *Leamekevoige*, in the parish of Two-Mile Burris, barony of *Eliogarty* (*Eile Uí Fhogartaigh*), and county of Tipperary. This valuable Life, however, contains another reference to *Magh Mossaid*, which will enable us to fix its southern boundary with precision. At the time that St. *Mochaemhóg* settled at *Líath Mór*, *Faílthé Flann* (who reigned A.D. 622–633) was king of Munster, and residing at Cashel of the Kings. The king took a fancy to a meadow belonging to the saint, and had his horses turned into it to graze. St. *Mochaemhóg* having heard of this act, went and had the horses turned out of the meadow. When the king heard of this, he was very angry, and he commanded soldiers to arrest the king of *Eile* and his children, and to kill them if they would not expel the saint out of that land. The saint gained intelligence of this, and he went straight to Cashel, where the king was. After some sharp conduct on both sides, the parties made peace, and the saint returned quietly to his church.

APP. III.

Three Poems
of *Dubhthach*
Ua Lugair;
(A.D. 430.)

mac Ennai Cenorelais, comláin,
Cono fono fine,
Barril Siuir oar glún aghaige,
Seé Dún Síge.

Cornamair hepeno uile,
Ectac áne,
Atóerr miodaí maige fine
Seé Err máge.

morfimo merneé, ocur marten,
Ocur mugna,
Mearo co bpát nanóerna
Ac át mic lugna.

The son of perfect *Enna Cendselach*,
Head of an original family;
The *Siuir*-(42) flowed over the knees of
his horses

Passing by *Dún-Sighe*.-(43)
The conqueror of Erin all;
The victor of [*Cnoc*] *Ané*;(44)
The hero of *Magh Fine*-(45) was seen
Passing over *Ess-Maighe*.-(46)

The great fair-man of *Mesnech*,-(47)
and of *Masten*,-(48)
And of *Múghna*;
For ever shall live, what he did
At *Ath-Mic Lúghna*.-(49)

Some nights after this the king had a vision. A comely Old Man, with a beaming countenance, came to him, and taking him by the hand, led him from his chamber to the battlement of the walls of Cashel on the south side, from which he saw the whole of *Magh Feimhen* full of a host of white saints in flowery forms. The king asked the Old Man what noble host they were. The Old Man answered, that they were St. Patrick and the saints of Erin, who had come to the relief of St. *Mochaemhóg*; and he further told the king, that if he did not make terms with the saint, he would soon die. The king slept then, and he saw again that the Old Man took him by the hand and led him to the battlement on the north side, and he showed him a vision similar to the first, namely, *Magh Mossaid*, filled with a flowery host, all clothed in bright white garments. And it appeared to the king that they stopped at the point of contact of the two bordering territories, namely, between *Magh Femhin* and *Magh Mossaid*. These were St. *Brigid* of Kildare, and St. *Ité* of *Cluain Credhail* (now Killeedy, in the county of Limerick), accompanied by all the holy virgins of Erin, who had come to the relief of St. *Mochaemhóg*, who was the nephew and pupil of St. *Ité*.

I need not say more now than that *Magh Mossaid*, at least its southern part, must have been that part of the present barony of Eliogarty which adjoins the northern boundary of the ancient *Corca Eathrach*, now the barony of Middle Third, in which the city of Cashel is situated.

Of *Ráith Breasail*, which, according to our poem, was situated in the plain of *Mosad*, I can give no farther account. Even our profound ecclesiastical historian, Dr. Lanigan, had no conception of the situation of *Ráith Breasail*, as will be seen from the following passage: "Our writers do not tell us where *Rath Breasail* was situated, but, if we are to judge from the name, I should think it was in the district anciently *Hy-Breasail*, now *Clanbrassil*, in the county of Armagh; or in the other *Hy Bresail*, that formed part of *Hy-Falgia* [*Uí Failghe*] (the ancient Offaly) in Leinster"—Lanigan's "Irish Ecclesiastical History", vol. iv., p. 37.

(41) *Magh Mossaid*.—See last note (40), on *Ráith Breasail*.

(42) *Siuir*.—The river Suir.

(43) *Dún Sighe*.—Not known to me; but it must have been situated to the west of the river Suir, and in the direction of *Cnoc Aine* (now called Knockany), county Limerick.

(44) *Ainé*.—*Cnoc Ainé*, now Knockany, near Bruff, in the county Limerick.

(45) *Magh Fine*.—The Plain of *Finé*, probably some place in Leinster, but unknown to me.

(46) *Ess Maighe*.—That is, the cataract of the *Maigh*, now the waterfall of *Cathair Essa* (Caherass), the noble seat of Sir David Roche, in the county of Limerick.

(47) *Mesnech*.—This must have been the name of a place bordering on the north side of the territory which the poet received in reward of the poem. (See below, note 59.)

(48) *Masten*—genitive of *Maistin*.—This was the well-known *Mullach Maisten* (Mullagh-mast), in the county of Kildare.

(49) *Ath Mic Lúghna*.—The Ford of the son of *Lúghna*. Of this son of *Lughna* I have not been able to obtain any account, and it is only by an inference (amounting, however, to certainty) that I have been able to fix the locality in which the Ford was situated. The Book of Leinster in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and the MS. classed Harleian, 5280, in the British Museum, both contain an ancient tale, entitled *Seól Muicé Mic Dáthó*, or the Story of the Pig of Dathó's Son. The true name of *Mac Dáthó* was *Mesroeda*, and he was called *Mac Dáthó*, [*dá thó*] or the son of the two silent persons, because his father and mother were deaf and dumb. *Mac Dáthó* was king of Leinster, and brother to *Mesgedhra*, king of Leinster, the same with whose brain formed into a dried ball *Concobhar Mac Nessa*, the king of Ulster, was struck in the head by *Ceat*, the son of *Magach*, of Connacht. [See APPENDIX, No. CLVI.] *Mac Dáthó* reared a famous hound, whose fame spread all over Erin; and messengers came to him from *Ailill* and *Meadhbh*, the king and queen of Connacht, begging a present of this hound from him. Other messengers arrived at the same time on the same errand from *Concobhar Mac Nessa*, king of Ulster. *Mac Dáthó* saw in this coincidence a chance of drawing the two northern provinces into a battle, or perhaps a war, which would weaken the power of both; for the weakness of the restless northerners was the strength of the southern. *Mac Dáthó* told the messengers of the two kings respectively that he had already promised the hound to the master of the other, and that he saw no way of getting out of the difficulty but by both kings, with their nobles and choicest warriors, coming to his court at an appointed time, to partake of a feast which he intended to prepare for them, and where he

lagin im Chrimthano mac Ennai
 neptait calmai,
 áet muntir nini manóúlem,
 nímhá ramlá.

iré Criméano éinne apcáð,
 Co páð fuileð,
 iré oenfeir ippeir do píð,
 Saetel ngumeð.

iré Criméann cinne apcáð,
 Cétaib puathar,
 Roéparó críða clemna abrátar,
 meóba cruacán.

iré roépeiri do patrair,
 Cen óur noligro,
 nor gab danmearait áio éreóail,
 Oc ráit bílig.

The Leinstermen around *Crimthan*
 son of Enna,
 Strong and valiant,
 Except the hosts of Heaven with their
 Creator,

There is none to equal.
 It is *Crimthan* that excels every one
 In the bloody cause;
 He is the one man, the best of the
 seed

Of the wounding Gaedhils.
 It is *Crimthan* that excels every one
 In hundreds of expeditions;
 He has tortured the lands of his
 cousin's allies,

[That] of *Medhbh* [Méave] of
Cruachain.⁽⁵⁰⁾

It is he that believed Patrick ⁽⁵¹⁾
 Without hard conditions;
 He received him as a chaste holy
 soul's friend,
 At *Ráih Biligh*.⁽⁵²⁾

APP. III.

Three Poems
 of *Dubhthach*
Ua Leneir;
 (A.D. 450.)

might probably so arrange between them as to extricate himself from his difficulty. The appointed time came, and the northern kings, with a selection of their nobles and champions, arrived in due time at *Mac Dáthó's* court, which appears to have been situated in the southern extremity of the present county of Carlow (*Ceatharlach*). The generous host had killed for the occasion his famous pig (for some account of which see *Battle of Magh Léna*, published by the Celtic Society, page 14, note n). The company having sat down to the feast, a difficulty arose as to which of the northern provinces should have the cutting up and distribution of the great pig. After a sharp contest, in a comparison of the relative military merits of the two provinces, carried on chiefly by *Ceat Mac Mugach* of Connacht, and *Conall Cearnach*, the famous Ulster champion, the cutting was conceded to the latter. Conall sat at the pig's tail, and distributed it liberally to his own countrymen; but when he thought at last of his neighbours of Connacht, he found that he had nothing remaining but the pig's two fore legs, and these he threw to them disdainfully, and with a sneer which hinted that they were emblematic of the speed with which the Connachtmen fled before the Ulstermen. A fierce conflict ensued, blood was spilled in abundance, and the Connachtmen retreated northwards. The hound, which had been let loose by *Mac Dáthó*, joined the Ulstermen, and, coming up to the chariot in which *Ailill* and *Meadhbh* were on their retreat, sprang upon it; the charioteer struck it in the neck with his sword, so that the head fell into the chariot, and the body to the ground. The hound's name was *Ailbhé*, and it was believed that it was from it that *Magh Ailbhé* (*Ailbhe's plain*) where it was killed, derived its name. This plain is believed to have been on the borders of the present counties of Carlow and Kildare, but within the border of the latter, and a short distance north of the present town of Carlow. The king and queen pursued their course northwards still, to *Belach Mughna* of old *Roiríam* (now Ballaghmoon, in the county of Kildare, where *Cormac Mac Cuilennáin*, King and Archbishop of Cashel, was killed in A.D. 908), over *Ath Midhbhlinni* (a locality not now known), to *Meistin* (now the celebrated *Mullach Maisten*, or Mullenmast, in the county of Kildare), past *Druim Crioigh* (called *Cill Dara*, Kildare, at this day), past *Ráith Imghain* (Rathangan), to *Fidh n-Gaithhí* (the wood of the *Gabhal*, or fork of the two rivers, which met near Clonsost, in the north-east corner of ancient *Ui Failghe* or Offaly, and of the present King's County, north-west of Rathangan); to *Ath Míe Lúghna* (the Ford of the Son of Lughna); this ford must have been upon the north-east branch of the *Gabhal*; past *Druim dá Mhaighe* (the Hill of the Two Plains), now Drumcaw, in the parish of Ballynakill, barony of Coolestown, in the north-east corner of the King's County [see O'Donovan's *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 1556, p. 1543, note m.]; over *Droichet Chairpri*.—(Carpri's Bridge: not known to me, but probably it was the same as *Tochar Chairpri*, [Carpri's Causeway], a place lying south of Clonard, [*Chuin Inaid*], along which the boundary line of Meath and Leinster passed to *Geisill*, near Tullamore, in the King's County.—[See Keting in the divisions and boundaries of the five provinces of Erin.]—Carpri's Bridge was over the Boyne, in the present barony of Carbury, in the northern corner of the county of Kildare; to *Ath Chinn Chon* (the ford of the hound's head), in *Fera Bile* (now barony of Farbill, in Westmeath). It was here he (the charioteer) cast the hound's head out of the chariot. And hence the name of this *Ath Chinn Chon*, or the ford of the hound's head, now very probably Kinnegad.

I have designedly followed the chariot of king *Ailill* and Queen *Meadhbh* thus far, to the end, that the authority of so ancient a tract as the story of *Mac Dáthó's* Pig should bear evidence to the antiquity of the above several topographical names, as well as to the accuracy with which they have been identified by Dr. O'Donovan in his learned notes to the *Annals of the Four Masters*.

(50) *Medhbh* of *Cruachain*.—This was the *Meadhbh* mentioned in the preceding note. Her

APP. III.

Three Poems
of *Dubhthach*
Ua Lugair;
(A.D. 430.)

inbennadtu doinat noconupéranu,
ar meill collí,
ar mullac Dathí,
irpor Chrimthann. C.

Dubthac murr mac do Lugair,
lairec lantraic,
mé ruc mibneic etir loegair
Ocur patrúic.*

mé porrairir irporporgail,
fáe cen oibour,
mé ruc mneic nafarguo ró,
Ocur oílguo.

Lemra cétna baclar oiréac,
ir cpor éloce,
irre mo éiméac raboi im Chrimthann
icac Oche.

mo líreac iairn, mo réiac uma,
moenir mo éarac,
baroccalr féin, fep, na nairéac,
irreo ponanaét.

Durran flait rial porra poemio,
Réim atconnac,
ailill molt mci farinnimmar,
ba rí Connacét.

Seét céet déc cenerbaro noenfir,
niran poéngó,
Romarb Crimthann icac Oche,
sin rin oénló.

* Ar nuadat noeris mac neill romarb othan ára patrúic rucac in mibneithreo .i. a marbad ocur nem ró iaircain. [It was upon *Nuadat Derg*, the son of *Niall* [and brother of *Laeghairé*], who killed Patrick's charioteer, this judgment was given; i.e., to kill him, and give him Heaven afterwards.]

consort, *Ailill*, was son to *Ross Ruadh*, the king of Leinster, and consequently a far back relative of *Crimthann*.

(51) *It is he that believed Patrick*.—It was Patrick himself that baptized *Crimthann*, according to the Tripartite Life; but my copy of that important tract gives no farther detail.

(52) *Ráith Bileigh*.—This is the well-known Ravilly in the present county of Carlow.

(53) *Mell*.—She was the wife of *Crimthann* and daughter of *Ernbrann*, king of the *Deisé*, (now the Decies in the county of Waterford). See Book of *Lecain*, fol. 101, b.b.

(54) *Upon Dathi's Head*.—This *Dathi*, who received the special benediction of St. Patrick on his head, and we may presume baptism at the same time, was the direct ancestor of the *O'Riain* family, of *Ui Dróna* (now Idrone, county of Carlow), and of the *O'Cuileamhain* family of the ancient district of *Sil Mella* (that is, of the descendants of Queen Mell, to distinguish them from *Crimthann's* sons by other wives), of whom the brave Colonel Richard *O'Cuileamhain*, or Cullen, Lieutenant-General of the "Catholic Army" of Leinster in 1643, was descended, as well as the present worthy *Comarba* of St. *Lorcán O'Tuathail*, the learned and Most Rev. Paul *O'Cuileamhain*, Archbishop of Dublin.

(55) *Oche*, or *Ocha*.—This battle was fought A.D. 478, and although *Ocha*, where it was fought, somewhere near Tara, was the spot (*Ochain*) in which, I believe, *Niall* of the Nine Hostages was buried, it is remarkable that all remembrance of its precise situation should be lost in modern times, although it (*Ochain*, or *Ochun*) is mentioned in the *Táin Bo Chuailgne* as situated between the river *Dubh* and Slane, on the North of the Boyne.

The blessing which he gave never
decays,

Upon beautiful *Mell*,⁽⁵³⁾

Upon *Dathi's* head,⁽⁵⁴⁾

And upon *Crimthann*.

Dubthach am I, son to *Lugaid*, [sic]

Poetic, fully subtle;

It was I that gave the judgment
between *Laeghairé*

And Patrick.*

It was I that examined and that sen-
tenced--

A cause without extinction;—

It was I that gave him revenge for
his violation,

And forgiveness.

It was by me an oratory was first
built,

And a stone cross;

It was my cloak that was upon *Crim-*
thann,

In the battle of *Oché*.⁽⁵⁵⁾

My lorica of iron, my shield of bronze,
My side, my friend,—

He admitted himself, the chief of
the chiefs,

That 't was it that saved him.

Pity the munificent king who was
defeated,

Whose career I witnessed;

Ailill Molt,⁽⁵⁶⁾ the man who was sub-
dued,

Was the king of Connacht.

Seventeen hundred, without the want
of one man,

It is no sweeping falsehood,

Crimthann killed in the battle of
Oché,—

That number in the one day.

Ceṭmṭ bliathna ṡurincāṭmṭ,
cennac̃ turleṭo,
Roṭairngeṭe pāṭraic do Cṡum-
thano
ṡṡe ṡorṡurpeṭo.

Doṡurp Enna dā ṡṡimēac̃ tōc,
Dalcṭṭ ṡulṭ,
Ar ṡib nēill ba ṡairm ṡan caṡe,
Ammarōm ṡulṭ.

Doṡurp Cṡumthano ceṭmṭ caṭa
ṡāoṭo ṡelbaim,
ṡar ṡeṡṡṡ mṭ Meill nimgil nimgṡmṭo,
ṡngṡn Cṡumbṡano.

Doṡaic dāmpa eṭ mall mongac̃
naṭṡaṡ ṡilṡo,
Arṡoomṡalla mallṭ ṡomēlanna,
ṡṡomēṡilṡo.

Coṡaṡ ṡōm coṡeṡṡeṭo dōmain,
Dūar mo dūane,
Coṡop eṭ bar ṡalam ṡipe,
Alao ṡane.

ṡul ṡurṡoṡa araṡeṭnaṡ,
ṡṡeṭhnaṡ ṡolṡmall,
TORCHAIR* nṭ ṡonōmaeṭ ṡurṡom-
ṡim,
ṡORMAEL, ṡORDRUIM.†

Acṡbull oc ṡana bṡeṭṡuaro,
Ra halo naṡṡoṡe,
ṡeṭo acṡeṡmṡmṭ, a ṡeṭo
A cṡeṡmṡmṭ na ṡaṡṡe.

ṡintar ṡib ṡeṭeṭ na cṡiṡe,
ṡoṡṡangebam,
O ṡṡair maṡcail ṡurṡoalam
Co mṡṡ ṡeṡao.

Seṡa ṡair na ṡaṡ mṡeṡneṭ,
Co [mṡṡ milac̃?].
Ar ṡoṡeṡṡ i ṡeṡṡ ṡeṡōlla
Co heṡṡ nṡimma.

* nomen loci.

† nomina locorum.

Four years before that battle,
Without any default,
Patrick prophesied for Crimthann
That it was he that would break
[gain] it.

Enna broke [gained] twelve prime
battles,
In which blood was shed,
Upon the *Uibh Neill*; ⁽⁵⁷⁾ it was a
distinction without a reproach,
Was the whole defeat.

Crimthann broke four battles,
Twice, I assert,
After espousing *Mell*, ⁽⁵⁸⁾ smooth-
white, soft-pleasant,
The daughter of *Ernbrann*.

He bestowed upon me a slow hairy
steed,
Which seeks not to stale,
Because I was deprived of the other
on which I had been set,
And which to me had been ap-
pointed.

That it may be under me to the end
of the world,
The reward of my poem,
That it is a horse of land and country,
Speckled, green.

There are three humps upon his body,
Sea-bound, slow-waved;
TORCHAIR, ⁽⁵⁹⁾ it is not a soft wave
that threatens it,
FORMAEL, ⁽⁵⁹⁾ FORDRUIM. ⁽⁵⁹⁾

His tail is at BANA, ⁽⁵⁹⁾ the red-mixed,
Against a high cliff:
Stiff his noisy wave, his head
In the noisy wave of the sea. ⁽⁵⁹⁾

Would you know the breadth of the
land
Upon which we shall settle,
From GLAIS-IN-ASCAIL, ⁽⁵⁹⁾ with which
we meet, [mere]
To MAGH SERAD. ⁽⁵⁹⁾

Pass it eastwards, seek not MEIS-
NECH, ⁽⁵⁹⁾
To [the fishy sea?]
From it southwards by rapid motion,
To the cataract of DIMMA. ⁽⁵⁹⁾

(Nomen loci.)

(Nomina locorum.)

APP. III.

Three Poems
of *Dubhthach*
Ua Lugair;
(A.D. 450.)

(56) *Ailill Molt* (or *Gilioli Molt*).—He was the son of the famous king *Dathi*, and succeeded his relative *Loaghair*, the son of *Niall*, in the monarchy, in A.D. 458.

(57) *Uibh Neill*.—These were the men of Ulster and Meath, descendants of *Niall* of the Nine Hostages.

(58) *Mell*, daughter of *Ernbrann*.—See note (53) above.

(59) *Torchair*.—*Formael*.—*Fordrum*.—*Bana*.—*The sea*.—*Glais in Ascail*.—*Magh Seradh*.—*Meisnech*.—*Et Dimma* (the cataract of *Dimma*).—These were the bounds, and a few of the

APP. III. AND AΘEPT OATHÍ MAC CRIMTH-
ANN,

Three Poems
of *Dubhthach*
Ua Lugair;
(A.D. 430.)

IN FONO FOIRAIR,
UNOPEO COLLUAÉ OOTBIA,
IN TUAÉ PAÓGADAIR.

There, said *Dathi*, son of *Crimthann*,
The residing land
To thee quickly shall be given,
The territory thou hast chosen.

topographical features, of the lands which had been bestowed on the poet, *Dubhthach*, author of the present poem; and it could scarcely be expected, that after such an interval of time—about 1400 years—any one of the landmarks of so small a territory could be identified. From the above description it appears that the territory extended in length from the river *Bana* to the sea eastwards; and in breadth from *Glais in Ascail* (which must have been a stream), to the plain of *Magh Seradh*, southwards and westwards, by which the boundary passed on to the east, without touching *Meisnech*, and continued then southward (and, I think, eastward still) to *Es* or *Eas Dimma*, or the cataract of *Dimma*. This being laid down as the outline boundary, we find farther that there were three remarkable hills or mountains on the land, *Torchair*, *Formael*, and *Fordruim*; and it will be sufficient for our purpose of identification if we can, without exact local knowledge, fix within sufficiently narrow limits the localities in which, two hundred years ago at all events, two of these very mountains were known with certainty to have been situated, if, indeed, I may not say that their identity is preserved even to this day in local names still in use.

This fact will be well understood from the following grant of the fifteenth year of King James the First of England, that is the year 1618: "Grant from the King to Sir Laurence Esmond, Knt. Wexford Co. In Kinshelagh Territory: The towns and lands of Limenagh, otherwise Limericke, Ballychoan, Rossballyvonny, and the mountain of *Ballycahirvally*—*Fermoyle* or *Formoyle*, 40 acres; Clonglose and Rabindrohurly, 60 acres; Killenerin, 80 acres; Larahin, 55 acres; Cooletagard, 100 acres; Ballyknockan, 20 acres; Kilbegnet, 41 acres; Ballymackaw, 37 acres; Tenecarigy, 12 acres; Tenecurra, 62 acres; Agher and Cronaltan, 169 acres; Ballycollitan, 27 acres; Cronedaroge, 37 acres; Kilkavan, 142 acres; Ballymagilleboy, 68 acres; Ballyehin, 89 acres; Ballyliam, 9 acres; Ballylasy, 85 acres; Tomnehely and Ballynesraghbegg, 107 acres; Coolenoge, 130 acres; Mochoille, 186 acres; Baroge, 56 acres; Morgoros, 14 acres; one-sixth part of Kilbeggs or Killebiggs, Cowlernegawny, Ballyvoran, and Ballyskeagh, 54 acres; together with all mountain, bog, etc., belonging to the premises, except 20 acres in Agher and Cronaltan, next the church of *Kilgorman*, assigned for the glebe thereof; and except 20 acres in Kilkavan, next the church of Kilkavan, assigned for the glebe thereof; half of the entire fishing in the river *Owengorman* near the said lands, viz., from the main sea to the lands of Pallas; and the entire fishing in the sea, bays, and creeks there", etc.—[4 Feby., 15th Jac. I.]

I have given this grant verbatim to very near its end, in order that the position of the mountain "*Fermoyle*" or "*Formoyle*", the *Formael* of our poem, should be clearly and without any doubt established, as far at least as regards the district in which it was situated. All the places mentioned in this grant are or were situated in the barony of Gorey, in the parishes, I believe, of *Kilgorman* and *Kilkevan*, a few miles north of the town of Gorey; and, as the charter says, in the Kinshelagh territory, which lay to the north of the river "*Owenvarra*", now the river "*Owenamorroghé*", which runs from the south and falls into the sea about three miles south-east of Gorey.

Again, in a grant from the same king to Sir Edward Fisher, Knt., of lands situated in the same Kinshelagh's Territory, we find the following lands enumerated: *Kilmurry*, 205 acres; five-twelfths of *Ballinglan*, *Monecheale*, *Barnefuicke*, next to *Ballineskertan*, and to the mountain of *Torchill*, 77 acres; together with all barren mountain, bog, etc., belonging to the premises; the advowson of the rectory of *Kiltynell*; half of the fishing in the river *Owenvarra*, near said land, from the main sea to *Ballycale*; and the entire fishing in the sea, bays, and creeks there", etc. [17th January, 15 Jac. I., Patent Rolls, p. 358.]

From these two grants we may gather that a great part, if not the whole of the lands granted to Sir Laurence Esmond, lay south of the river *Owengorman*, since we find that he was entitled to half the fishing in that river, and that must have been the southern half. It would appear from the second grant, that made to Sir Edward Fisher, that his boundary commenced on the north where Sir Laurence Esmond's ended on the south, and that his territory extended southwards to the river *Owenavarra*, the southern boundary of the parish of *Kiltennill* (or *Courtown*) mentioned in his grant. And as we find, with certainty, another of the hills or humps of *Dubhthach*'s territory, namely, *Torchill* (the *Torchair* of the poem), in this parish, we may with good reason conclude that the whole territory extended from *Owengorman* on the north to *Owenavarra* on the south, and from the river *Bana* on the west, in some part of it, to the sea on the east. I believe that the river now passing under the comparatively modern name of *Owengorman*, or *Gorman's* river, was the ancient *Glais in Ascail*, or "*Stream of the Roar*", or thunder; and that the name is still in part preserved in "*Glasgorman*", the present name of the sandbank which runs parallel with the shore at a short distance from the mouth of this river; it is probable, too, that it was from the loud noise of the waves breaking over this shallow bank that the stream first received its descriptive name. If these inferences be right, as indeed I can't but think they are, then the *Es Dimma*, or Cataract of *Dimma*, must have been the mouth, or some place near it, of the *Owenavarra*. And thus we have the actual length and breadth of the splendid gift to *Dubhthach O'Lugair*, which, according to my measurement on Beaufort's Map, was six Irish miles long from west to east, at its northern boundary, at least; and five miles broad from north to south; but I believe it narrowed considerably towards the sea as it approached the southern boundary.

Should any objection be raised to the assumption, that the name of the mountain *Torchill* is identical with *Torchair*, it can be easily answered by reference to the well-known tendency

noí ngrao nmi ocuꝝ inoeémas,
 gráo talman tiléais,
 iꝛiac uilꝛi lúagí lemméair,
 Uáam Crimthain. C.

mílliuo míoe, móꝛao lagen,
 lém oap luléac,
 ní éámic ní baó éommarth i cꝛí
 Rí Crimthain.

III.

ITEM DE EODEM.

Caé tucaꝛtaꝛ Crimthain*
 oó laegaire linmar,
 Roꝛé meac áꝛo ágmaꝛ,
 iꝛoꝛéair in rꝛgrao.

Caé tucaꝛtaꝛ Crimthain
 oó Chuꝛc tꝛén poꝛtaꝛꝛis,
 Roꝛé meac ꝛaꝛꝛ roéair,
 iꝛoꝛchaꝛ ꝛlúag Caꝛl.

Caé tucaꝛtaꝛ Crimthain,
 oó Uáꝛe naꝛ uobaó,
 Roꝛé meac cꝛuaꝛo claꝛoeb,
 oap ꝛlaꝛoeb ꝛlúag Mumán.

Caé tucaꝛtaꝛ Crimthain
 ꝛꝛi áilill naꝛo nuacémaꝛ,
 níꝛi bé ingléo cen ꝛaétaꝛ,
 Uiaꝛi éꝛoethao ní Cꝛuaéan.

* (i. mac Ennai).

The nine orders of Heaven, and the
 tenth, the order⁽⁶⁰⁾

Of the mountainous Earth:
 They are the securities of the price
 vouchsafed

For *Crimthann's* poem. C.
 Destruction of Meath, magnifying of
 Leinster,

Leap over *Lulcach*:⁽⁶¹⁾
 There came not a king so good into
 body
 As *Crimthann*.

III.

ITEM DE EODEM.

A battle which *Crimthann** gave
 To *Laeghaire* of numbers,—
 It was the noble, lucky battle.
 In which the kings were killed.

A battle which *Crimthann* gave
 To brave *Corc*,⁽⁶²⁾ whom he tamed:
 It was the noble, prosperous battle,
 In which fell the hosts of *Caisel*.

A battle which *Crimthann* gave
 To *Dairé*,⁽⁶³⁾ who was not black-
 ened,—
 It was the hard battle of swords,
 By which were cut down the hosts
 of Munster.

A battle which *Crimthann* gave
 Against *Ailill*,⁽⁶⁴⁾ the high, ter-
 rible,—
 It was not a conflict without labour,
 In which was subdued the king of
Cruachain.⁽⁶⁵⁾

* (i.e., son of Enna).

of the people of the east and south east of Ireland to modify topographical names which end in *ar*, *atr*, and *inn*, to *ail*, *ill*, and so on: as *Loch Aininn* in Westmeath, now called *Loch "Ennill"*; *Loch Uair*, in the same county, now called *Loch Uail*, or "Owel". So *Sruthair* (a stream) is pronounced in the south, as well as in the east, "Shrule", "Shrewill", or "Shrowle"; and I am strongly of opinion that the present "Owen Avarra", which could not have been a really old name, was more anciently called *Sruthair Guaire*. It is remarkable that there actually was a townland in this very locality bearing the name of "Shrowle", as will be seen from an inquisition taken at Wexford on the 8th of April, 1631 (the sixth year of the reign of king Charles the First of England), which found that "Onora Keavanagh" was in her lifetime seized of the villages and lands of Clantefin, Kiltriske, Knockdanke, Banogeroe, Tuilibeg, Knockedille, Coolrundell, Corandonall, Mongan, *Shrowle*, etc. Of these lands Kiltriske is still the name of a parish in the barony of Balleaghkeen, lying between the above river "Owenvarra" and the sea, on the south side; and what is more remarkable still, the parish of Donoghmore, which lies between the parish of Kiltriske, to the north, and the mouth of the same river, contains a townland which still bears the name of "Shrule".

(60) *The tenth order*.—This is, of course, the Church Militant on Earth.

(61) *Lulcach*.—I am at a total loss to know what this is; whether it is the name of any river or mountain, or of any place on the borders between Leinster and Munster or Meath.

(62) *Corc of Caisel* [Cashel].—This *Corc*, the elder son of *Lughaidh*, king of Munster, was one of the three kings who formed the Council of Nine, who revised the ancient laws of Ireland, and compiled the *Senchas Mór*. St. Patrick and our poet *Dubhthach* himself were of the number.

(63) *Dairé*.—This was *Dairé Cerba*, the younger brother of the above *Corc*, and chief of *Uí Fidhgenté* in the present county of Limerick.

APP. III.

Three Poems
 of *Dubhthach*
Ua Lugair;
 (A.D. 439)

APP. III.

Three Poems
of *Dubhthach*
Ua Lugair;
(A.D. 430.)

Cat tucartar Crimthan,
ic Eppuaro barulao,
Rapé mcat cruaro clairob,
Dap rlaideo rluais ulao.

Cro móir dopat Crimthan,
Do éataib impótu,
Da mó dopat Enna
Do éataib pí hócu.

Robur Enna† Ailenn
Dá cat d'éc cen doúainz,
For tuatmaiz na Tempa,
For rluaz Cerna cproúainz.

Deid ríis nomarb Enna,
Do pinopizaib funio,
Aeo Enna, mall ailig,
Flano† Tempa ratuim.

Lugaro ir Lorc Lunniz,
Óengus§ as píi dála;
Maelduin ba rátairgne,
Ailill, Cairpri, Caba.

Enna mac Néill nárais,
Rapé in pí conglaine,
Irano ruairi aéiugba,
Larin nEnna naile.

Enna mac Néill nárais
Raba pí caemciaila,
Ra hEnna na bága,
Rabit icat Liamna.

Cro Liamain palotar,
Lagin tarri i Tarbga,
Do lorcuro na Tempa
La Enna narpó namra.

† (i. Cenrelais).

‡ (i. mac Concobar).

§ (i. mac Dunlaing).

(64) *Ailill*.—This must have been *Ailill* [or *Oilill*] *Molt*, son of king *Dathi*, who had been forty years king of Connacht before his accession to the monarchy in A.D. 458.

(65) *Cruachain*.—The Royal Palace of the kings of Connacht.

(66) *Esruaidh*.—Now the cataract of Ballyshannon in the county of Donegal.

(67) *Ailenn* or *Ailinn*.—This was one of the ancient palaces of the kings of Leinster. Its remains are situated on a hill a short distance to the north of Old Kilcullen, in the county of Kildare. (See *Circuit of Ireland*, published by the Archaeological Society, p. 37, note 67; and see the Story of *Bailé Mac Buain* and the princess *Ailinn* [ante, p. 472, APPENDIX, No. II.] from whom the place took its name, according to the *Dinnseanchus*, Bk. of Ballymote, fol. 193. a. b.)

(68) *Cerna*.—This was the name of a hill not now identified. It was situated in the south-east of Meath, somewhere near the present Garistown, and north of Lusk in the county of Dublin. (See the ancient unpublished Tale of *Tochmarc Emeré*.—The Courtship of *Emir* and *Cuchulainn*.)

(69) *Fuinedh*.—This was an ancient name for Ireland, signifying the western end, or sunset.

(70) *Aedh of Emhain*, etc.—It would be difficult, if not impossible, now to identify with certainty the personages here named among their numerous contemporaries of the same names.

(71) *Liamhain*.—Now called Dunlavin, in the county of Wicklow, an ancient seat of the kings of Leinster.

(72) *Tarbgha*.—Some place between Dunlavin and Tara (but in Meath, I think), and not known to me. There was a *Cnoc Tarbgha* near *Cruachain* in Connacht, which could not of course be the place referred to in the text.

A battle which *Crimthan* gave
At *Esruaidh*,⁽⁶⁶⁾ where he went,—
It was the hard battle of swords,
By which were cut down the host
of Ulster.

Tho' many did *Crimthann* give
Of battles about roads,
Much more did Enna give
Of battles against warriors.

Enna† of *Ailinn*⁽⁶⁷⁾ broke
Twelve battles, without difficulty,
Upon the plain-land of Tara,
Upon the host of brave *Cerna*.⁽⁶⁸⁾

Ten kings did Enna kill
Of the fair kings of *Funedh*:⁽⁶⁹⁾
Aedh of *Emhain*,⁽⁷⁰⁾ *Niall* of *Ailech*,
Flann of Tara‡ to be counted.

Lughaidh, and *Lorc* of Limerick;
Óengus,§ victorious in assemblies;
Maelduin, which was cause of
plunders;
Ailill, *Cairpri*, *Caba*.

Enna, the son of valiant Niall—
He was the king of purity;
It was whence he met his last end
Was from the other Enna.

Enna, the son of valiant Niall,
Was a beautiful, sensible king;
By Enna of the battles
He was killed in the battle of *Liam-*
hain.⁽⁷¹⁾

Even *Liamhain* they went past—
The Leinstermen past it into *Tarb-*
gha,—⁽⁷²⁾

To the burning of Tara,
With Enna the high renowned.

† (i.e., Censelach).

‡ (i.e., the son of Concobar).

§ (i.e., the son of Dunlaing).

Amra in céim na luro,
Do lorcúo na Cruachna,
Ar mura na hemna,
Ba gním feòda fuactoa.

Fuactoa lotar lagin,
Dár áé úine úogair.
Ba lepitir lagin.
Lipitir da rcoraib.

Rarcuirret a neoú,
Dár múi Caril cliaraig,
Rucpat giall caé nonbair,
Leó co Martin maozlaim.

Ba maoaé in muntir,
Robátar oc Enna,
Roppat lipi antála,
Roppat láma tréna.

Roppat láma tréna,
Nít reéla cen bunao,
Ra leé Cuint na claoib,
Ra mópthuathair Mumain.

Cáin tucao do Enna,
Alleiré Chuint na cupi,
Screpall caéa tigi,
Do findruini uili.

Cáin tucao do Enna,
A Mumain fúí gneirru,
Ungi sóir ceé lipru
Ippin bliadain ba neirru.

Roppat maí lagin,
Fúí lino Ennai inglain,
Roboi ith italmann,
Roboi meir iprobair.

Rabítir a tigi,
I tiléaib canaithbí,
Ní beptir da pótaib
Ar uamain a caéim.

Rabítir a tigi,
A tiléaib na céitib,
Rucpat giall caé cóicir,
Sabpat iat ar éim.

Famous the march he went
To the burning of *Cruachain*,⁽⁷³⁾
After demolishing *Emhain*; ⁽⁷⁴⁾
It was a valiant, contentious deed.

Contentiously the Leinstermen went
Over the ford of *Dun Doghair*; ⁽⁷⁵⁾
Numerous were the Leinstermen,
As numerous were their steeds.

They unyoked their steeds
Upon the rampart of clerical *Caisel*;
They brought a hostage every nine
men
With them to *Mastin* of pure
honour.

Honourable were the people
Whom Enna had;
Numerous were their assemblies;
Brave were they of hands.

Brave were they of hands—
It is not a report without founda-
tion—

Against *Leth Chuinn* of the swords—
Against the great tribes of *Mumh-
ain*.

The tribute which was given to Enna
From *Leth Chuinn* of the feasts,—
A screpall from every house,
Of *findruini* ⁽⁷⁶⁾ the whole.

The tribute which was paid to Enna
From *Mumhain* [was] with slay-
ings,

An *uingé* ⁽⁷⁷⁾ of gold from every man-
sion,

In the year that was next.
Good were the Leinstermen
In the time of Enna the pure;
There was corn in the land,
There were fruits in the woods.

Their houses used to be
Upon hills without decrease;
They removed them not from the
roads

For fear of being expended.
Their houses used to be
Upon hills and upon fair-greens;
They took the hostages of every pro-
vince;
They took them by force.

APP. III.

Three Poems
of *Dubhthach*
Ua Lugair;
(A.D. 420.)

(73) *Cruachain*.—The Royal Palace of Connacht.

(74) *Emhain*.—The Royal Palace of Ulster.

(75) *Ath Dúne Doghair*.—The Ford of Dun Doghair. Not known to me.

(76) *Findruini*—Although this metal appears in several places in our ancient writings to signify some precious kind of White Bronze, it certainly appears in other places to mean ca. ved, or ornamented Silver, which in the present instance, and sometimes elsewhere, would imply some standard piece of silver money. The Screpall of silver was the value of three *pingins*, or pence.

(77) *Uingé*.—An *uingé* (ounce?) was twenty-four Screpalls; a Screpall was three *Pingins*.

APP. V.

Labhairt bheirteal bélaic,
 Fiachu mac na flatha;
 uatib naem Enna,
 ní péla co taáa.

Labhráidh, (78) Bresal Bélach,
Fiachu, the son of the king:
From them descended Enna;—
It is not a story to be contested.
 [A Battle.]

Cat.

APPENDIX, No. IV. [Lect. I., Page 8.]

The *Cuilmenn*.

Original of passage concerning the Cuilmenn, from the Book of Leinster (the MS. classed H. 2. 18., T.C.D.), fol. 183. a.

Concomgartha tía, ríio h-Énenn do Shenchán Torpeirt, dúr in ba mebor leo Táin bó Cualnge inna ógi; ocur arbertatar naor fatar oi aét bloza nammá. Arbert iarum Senchán ma dalta dúr cia oib no masao ama ben-naét i tiae léta do foglaím na Tána beirta in ruí rair daréir in Chulmenn. Dolluio Emine .h. Ninene ocur Múirgen mac Sencháin do theét rair.

APPENDIX, No. V. [Lect. I., Page 9, and note ⁽⁸⁾ (also Lect. II., p. 31).]

The "Seven Orders of Wisdom".

Original (with Translation) of a passage in an ancient Law Glossary, compiled by Dubhaltac Mac Fínbhirg, explaining the "Seven Orders of Wisdom", from the MS. classed H. 5. 30. T.C.D. (under the word Caozoad).

Caozoad .i. ainm zhiáir, tiae marí canur na trí caozada palm; foglaímtríoe, Dertgibal, Staruiríoe, Foirceavolaríoe, Saoi Canóine, Druimclí.

Aggrin na reáct ngráiríoe eazna.

Foglaímtríoe .i. fear ag a mbí eóluir i nveic leabhairíoe o'fooiríoe aige, uime rin zoihtear de fear tiaétana fooiríoe.

Dertgibal .i. fear ag a mbí fooiríoe uile .i. oa leabairíoe déag na fooiríoe.

Staruiríoe .i. fear ag a mbí tmuca o'áiceaétairíoe naomta ina foglaím.

Foirceavolaríoe .i. fear ag a mbí zhamavac, cioran, ocur riollaba, ocur pime, ocur reata zhiéne, ocur eiza.

Saoi Canóine .i. fear ag a mbí eóluir Canóine, ocur

(or pennies); and a *Pinginn* was the weight of eight [or as it is said in another place twenty-four] grains of wheat, grown in good land. (See Book of Ballymote, fol. 181, b. b., etc.) This was the value and weight of silver.

(78) *Labhráidh* was the son of *Bresal Belach*, who was the son of *Fiacha Baicidha*, son of *Cathair Mór*, monarch of Ireland, who was slain A.D. 122.

éanar Sgéla Iora .i. bhréitear n-Dé (irín inao glan i mbí) .i. eacna Caolaic Canóine.

APP. V.

The "Seven Orders of Wisdom".

Druimclí .i. fear aza mbí eóluir iomlán na h-eagha, ón leabhar ar mó dá n-ghoiúear cuilmean gur in leabhar ar lúga dá n-ghoiúear deic bhréiti, ina n-aeáctmaidítear .i. i n-aeáctóidítear an tiomna maic do pinne Dia do Maolru.

[TRANSLATION.]

[*Caogdach*, *i.e.*, the name of a grade (or man of degree), because that he chants the three times fifty Psalms; student, disciple, historian, lecturer, doctor of the canon, *druimclí*.

These are the seven grades [or orders] of wisdom.

Foghlaintidh [a student], *i.e.*, a man who has knowledge of ten books of science, and hence he is called a man who is acquiring science.

Desgibal [disciple], *i.e.*, a man who has knowledge of the whole of science, *i.e.*, the twelve books of science.

Staruidhe [historian], *i.e.*, a man who has thirty holy lessons in his course of learning.

Foirceadhlaidhe [lecturer, tutor, or teacher], *i.e.*, a man who has [professes] grammar, criticism, and orthography, and enumeration, and the courses of the year, and the courses of the sun and moon.

Saol Canóine [doctor of the canons], *i.e.*, a man who has knowledge of the canon, and who relates the *Gospel* [story] of Jesus; *i.e.*, the word of God (in the pure place in which it is to be found); *i.e.*, catholic, canonical wisdom.

Druimclí, *i.e.*, a man who has perfect knowledge of Wisdom, from the greatest book, which is called *CUILMEX*, to the smallest book, which is called *Ten Words*, in which are well arranged the good Testament which God made unto Moses.]

The *Druimclí* was the *Ferleighinn*, or *Ollamh*, in universal learning. These were the graduated professors in the collegiate educational course, whether lay or ecclesiastical, whether attached to a church or ecclesiastical establishment, or in an *achadh* (or field).

The following very curious memorandum is found on an unpagged vellum slip, between pp. 73, 74, of the MS. classed H. 4. 22., T.C.D.,—a MS. of *circa* A.D. 1450. It professes to give, quaintly enough, a sort of philosophical 'pedigree' of Scholarship, and is valuable as distinctly referring to the degrees of learning described by Mac Firbis in the foregoing extract:—

Scolaire, mac léiginn, mic caoicéar, mic foghlanta, mic deircepuil, mic ruad liri, mic ruad Canóine, mic druimclai, mic Dé bí.

[TRANSLATION.]

[School-boy, son of Lesson; son of *Caogdach*; son of *Foghlain-*

APP. VII. *tidh*; son of Disciple; son of Professor of [profane] Letters; son of Professor of the Canons; son of *Druimclai*; son of the Living God.]

The "Seven Orders of Wisdom".

The *Staruidhe*, or Historian, it will be observed, is not counted as a Graduate in this curious pedigree.

APPENDIX, No. VI. [Lect. I., Page 10.]

The *Saltair* of Tara.

Original of passage from the opening of the poem of Cuan ua Lochain on Tara, containing a reference to the Saltair; from the Book of Ballymote (fol. 89, a. a.).

cuan o lochain cecinir.

Temair toga na tulað,
 fota Eriu inoraðac,
 Anraðair Chormaic mic Airt,
 Mic Cuinn Ceoathair comhair.

Cormac ba cunraíl a maið,
 ba rai, ba rili, ba flair,
 ba riri breitein fer fene,
 ba caia ba coigéle.

Cormac na clai caegair cað,
 [Do r] ilair Saltair Tempach,
 Ir in tSaltair rin atá,
 Anur dech runn rencura.

Ir in tSaltair rin adber,
 Secht n-airri Eireno inbiri;
 Cois rís na cóigeo doirgí,
 Rí Eirenn ir a hoirrí.

Ir inti atá de gac leir
 Ina nolið cað ri coigro;
 Ina nolið ri Tempa air
 Do Rís gac cúigro ceólair.

Coimgneo comairerao cað,
 Ceð ri dia maile doiraith,
 Críeo ceð cóicrò f [ocruaich],
 Ota triair co thom tuair.

APPENDIX, No. VII. [Lect. I., Page 11.]

The *Saltair* of Tara.

Original of passage concerning the Saltair of Tara, quoted from the Book of the ua Chongbail, in the Book of Ballymote (fol. 145, a. a.), and in the Leabhar burío Lecain (MS. classed H. 2. 16., T.C.D.; col. 889).

Do rigneo rin, gnim naðamra la Cormac, eðon Saltair

Chorumaic do éinól, eóon do éinóilic rin ocur reanáao Éienn, im fínótan mac mBoépa, ocur im fícal fíli; copo reuibao coimgneóda, ocur cpaéba coibniura, méimio a iug ocur a iuipeaé; ocur a caéa, ocur a compuigéti, ocur a nap-ranta anall ó éopaé doimain conici rin: Conio rí, uin, Sal-tairi Teampac ar iem, ocur ar bunao, ocur ar topuri do reancaisib Éienn órin cur aniu. * * * * * Leabair na hUacong bhála cecinir.

APP. VII.

APPENDIX, No. VIII. [Lect. I., Page 12.]

Original of passage referring to the Saltair of Tara in the Preface to Dr. Keating's History of Érinn.

The Saltair of Tara.

Agur ir tré beic cúmta a meapadóacé dána do garéaoi Saltairi na Teampac don pprimleabair do bioó ar uplámar Ollamain Rioé Eimonn féin, agur Saltairi Cairil do Chioinic Chorumaic Mic Cuilionnám, agur Saltairi na Rann do Chioinic Aengura Céile Dé; oiri mari ir ionann ppal'm agur uan no dái, mari rin ir ionann ppal'tairi no ppal'te-pium agur Duanaire.

APPENDIX, No. IX. [Lect. I., Page 13.]

Original of passage concerning the Cin Droma Sneéta, from the Book of Ballymote (fol. 12 a.) and Book of Lecain (fol. 271 b.), both in the R.I.A.

The Cin Droma Sneéta.

A Cin Droma Sneéta in beco conuigi Cefairi.

APPENDIX, No. X. [Lect. I., Page 13.]

Original of a second passage in the Book of Lecain (fol. 77 b., col. 2), R.I.A., referring to the Cin Droma Sneéta.

The Cin Droma Sneéta.

Do thinoilream tra, in genealaépa Ua n'Diarmada a cior-nicib na nGaerdel, agur a Saltairi Chorumaic hi Cairil, agur a Leabair Duine Dá Leathglar, ocur a leabrais flaino Mainir-treach, ocur a Cin Droma Sneéta, ocur a hanóalaib ocur a lebraib aipirin, copo thegloimrem co haen maó.

APPENDIX, No. XI. [Lect. I., Page 14.]

Original of a third reference to the Cin Droma Sneéta in the Leabair Lecain (fol. 123 a.), in the R.I.A.

The Cin Droma Sneéta.

Atbeir Cin Droma Sneéta comao amlao bod coir.

APP. XII.

APPENDIX, No. XII. [Lect. I., Page 14.]

The *Cin Droma Snechta*.

Original of passage in Dr. Keating's History of Erin referring to the Cin Droma Snechta.

Cuirpíom ríor annro cīaob̄r̄gaol̄leaō íleaōta mhaḡoḡ do
p̄eip̄ an leabair̄ ḡabala da nḡoir̄c̄i Cin Droma Sneāōta,
aḡur r̄ul t̄áin̄iḡ ḡaor̄uḡiḡ a n̄eip̄unn̄ do b̄i an t-úḡōar̄ r̄in
ann.

APPENDIX, No. XIII. [Lect. I., Page 14.]

The *Cin Droma Snechta*.

Original of passage in the Book of Leinster (the MS. classed H. 2. 18., T.C.D.), concerning the Cin Droma Snechta; (a memorandum written on lower margin of fol. 230 b.)

[Eḡn̄ín mac] Duach, mac r̄iḡ Connāōt, ollam oc̄ur̄ r̄ar̄o,
oc̄ur̄ r̄ui r̄encharr̄a, oc̄ur̄ r̄ui ec̄nai; íre mo t̄hinol̄ ḡenel̄aḡe
ḡaēvel in oen lebor̄, eōon, Cin Droma
Snechta.

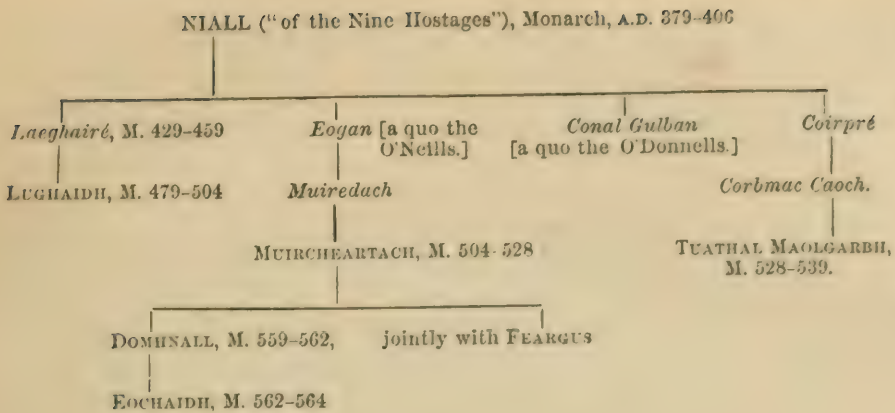
APPENDIX, No. XIV. [Lect. I., Pages 15, 16; note ⁽¹³⁾.]

Pedigree
of *Duach Galach*.

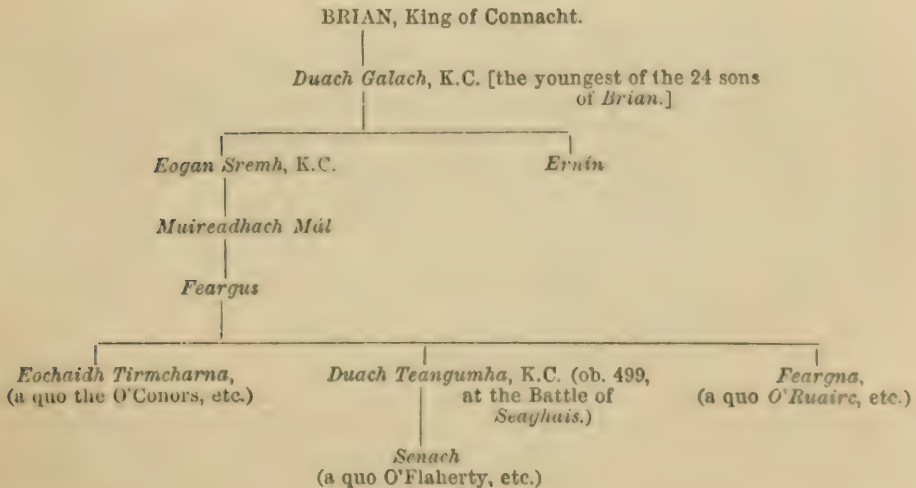
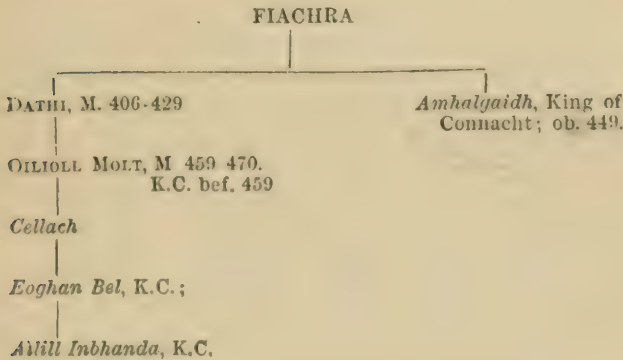
The Pedigree of Duach Galach, King of Connacht in the early part of the Fifth Century.

There is considerable difficulty in attempting to fix to a year the date of the reign of *Duach Galach*; but his Pedigree is accurately preserved. He was the grandson of *Eochaidh Muighmheadhoin*, who was Monarch of all Erin, A.D. 359–379, according to the Four Masters; and this *Eochaidh* was father of the celebrated Monarch, *Niall* “of the Nine Hostages”, whose eldest son, *Laeghairé*, was Monarch at the time of the coming of Saint Patrick. *Duach Galach* was, therefore, first cousin of King *Laeghairé*, as well as of his predecessor, *Dathí*, the last pagan Monarch of Erin.

Eochaidh Muighmheadhoin, Monarch of Erin, died A.D. 379 (according to the Four Masters); he left Five Sons, of whom *Brian* became Lord, or King, of Connacht, and who was the common ancestor of the O’Conors, the O’Flahertys, and other great families of that province. *Eochaidh* was succeeded on the throne of all Erin by *Crimthann Mór* (of the Eberian race), who, after a reign of seventeen years, was succeeded in his turn by the youngest son of *Eochaidh*, the celebrated *Niall* “of the Nine Hostages”. Another of the sons of *Eochaidh*, *Fiachra*, was the father of the Monarch *Dathí*, who succeeded his uncle, *Niall*, on the throne. The immediate descendants of *Niall*, *Fiachra*, and *Brian*, were as follows:—



Pedigree
of *Duach*
Galach.



[In the foregoing Genealogical Tables, it will be understood that "M" signifies Monarch of all Erin, and "K.C." King of Connacht. The dates of the obits mentioned are from the Annals of the Four Masters.]

In a prose tract in the Book of Ballymote (fol. 54), on the Names and Reigns of the Kings of Connacht, within the Christian era, or rather, from about the time of the coming of St. Patrick,

APP. XIV.

Pedigree
of *Duach*
Galach.

the number of years during which each reigned is shortly stated, and the above named Kings are recorded in the following order:—*Amalgaidh*, 20 years; *Oilioll* (or *Ailill*) *Molt*, 11 years; *Duach Galach*, 20 years; *Eogan Bel*, 37 years; *Eogan Sremh*, 27 years; *Ailill Inbhanda*, 11 years; *Duach Teangumha*, 7 years. But neither the number of years nor the order appears to have been exactly stated there; as in both respects the record, though exact enough as to names, is unintelligible when compared with the Annals of the Four Masters, and other authorities. In the present state of our critical knowledge in the department of Irish Chronology, it is unfortunately impossible to reconcile the apparent contradictions of such authorities in such cases as those of which the above is but one among many instances. Perhaps, if we could ascertain with certainty the order of succession in which the princes above named followed one another on the provincial throne of Connacht, we might be able to make some approximation to the exact date of the accession of each. Of *Oilioll Molt* we know that he resigned the throne of Connacht for that of all Erin in 459; and as his uncle and predecessor, *Amhalgaidh*, died in 449, it may be correct to state that *Oilioll* reigned 11 years in Connacht. Perhaps, also, it may be accurately stated, that *Amhalgaidh* had reigned 20 years. But from the very clear and formal assertion of *Gilla-na-naomh O'Duinn*, it would seem to be undoubtedly certain that the reign of *Duach Galach* must have been before that of his cousin, *Amhalgaidh*, instead of subsequent to the promotion of *Oilioll Molt* to the throne of Erin.

The prose tract in the Book of Ballymote, above mentioned, is immediately followed, in that venerable MS., by a Poem of seventy-four stanzas or quatrains, on the same subject, written about A.D. 1150, by *Gilla-na-naomh O'Duinn*; and in this poem it is stated, as a known historic fact, that from the death of *Duach Galach* to the date of the Battle of *Seaghais*, 79 years elapsed. The date of this battle is pretty well known; it was the battle in which *Duach's* descendant and namesake, *Duach Teangumha* (also King of Connacht), is recorded to have been killed. It is stated by the Four Masters to have been A.D. 499; but according to *O'Duinn*, five years later, or A.D. 504. This record, therefore, would fix the date of the death of *Duach Galach* at A.D. 420, or at latest, at A.D. 425; and an examination of the above Genealogical Tables, with reference to the probable period at which he flourished—grandson as he was of the Monarch *Eochaidh*, who died A.D. 379, and first cousin of the Monarch *Dathí*, who ascended the throne A.D. 406—must, I think, suggest the strong probability of the truth of *O'Duinn's* statement. It is right to observe, however, that in a tract on the Pedigrees of the Connacht families of this race, in the Book of Ballymote (fol. 54, a. a.), *Duach Galach* is spoken of as having survived to come in contact with Saint Patrick, to whom he is said to have personally made submission.

APPENDIX, No. XV. [Lect. I., Page 15.]

APP. XV.

Original of a second reference in Dr. Keating's History of The Cin
Erinn to the Cin Dromma Snechta, (in the Early History of Droma
the Milesians.) Snechta.

Cuimhor Fenuir rḡola 'na ruidē me múnas na níl bérlaō,
 ar Mairḡ Seanairi, 'ran ḡcaḡairḡ ḡa ngairimionn Cin Dromma
 Sneachta EOTHENA amail aḡeir an rīle.

[Thus in the ancient grammatical Tract (or *Uraichecht*) in the Books of Ballymote and *Lecain*:—

Fenuir Farrairḡ trā, mac Eogain, ocuḡ iar mac Nema,
 ocuḡ Gaedel mac Eḡiur, na tḡi rair ḡo meirpreas na beḡ-
 lura et apud Eóteiream civitatem aḡichte.

Fenius Farrsaigh [or Fenius the Antiquary], son of *Eoghan*, and *Iar*, the son of *Nema*, and *Gaedhel*, the son of *Ethiur*, the three Professors [*Saidh*], it was that invented these dialects, et apud Eoteream civitatem, they invented them.—(Book of *Lecain*, fol. 152, a.)

APPENDIX, No. XVI. [Lect. I., Page 15.]

Original of a second passage in the Book of Leinster (H. 2. 18., The Cin
T.C.D.; fol. 149 b.), referring to the authority of the Cin Snechta.
 Dromma Snechta.

A CIN DROMMA SNECHTA SO SIS.

Arbeirac rēncaroe, boi longer ingen vebhīb ar cinto mic
 mīro in hēre, vōrpāla anpud mapā ḡrīn nocian ḡo muiḡ
 tīpīén, conḡarpialatar in hējunn. batari mé in hējunn mé
 maccaib mīleo. Arbeiratar iapum, rḡi meic mīro, ba
 toḡu vōib a tḡi rēin, ocuḡ ní trēicpīr cen tīrḡeḡa rḡu
 ar ḡairpōeḡ vōib. IS vō at rḡi cḡenḡa mná in hēre, co
 bhāḡ, ar [rḡi] imcḡenait la na mná ḡrīn vōman olchena.

APPENDIX, No. XVII. [Lect. I., Page 17.]

Original of a Verse of the Felipe Aenguir (the Stanza for of the
September 3), with its Gloss, referring to the Library of Longared
Longared, in the time of Saint Colum Cille. (vi. Cen-
tury).

COLMAN DROMA FERTA,
 LONGARAD ḡRIAN ALAIB,
 MAC NISSE CO MÍLB
 O CHONDERIB MARAIB.

Longared cōppīn amuḡ thuathat i tuaircīe Orpaise
 .i. in lib Fōirchellain .i. i Mairḡ ḡarad, a nDīrīpīe ḡarad

APP. XVII.

Of the
Library of
Longarad
(vi. Cen-
tury).

rainoim, ocur i Cill Gabra i Sleib Maige, a leir longarad. Coirpint .i. pinorad geal, mori tre na chorrab; no glefinna a corra. Suir leigin, ocur renchar, ocur brethemnar, ocur filiochtai hé. IS chuige doiala Colum Cille for aigioecht, cori cheil a liubra fair, ocur facbair Colum Cille brethir for a lebraibriub .i. conarbat gnemai doot éir, olré inní ima noenaró oiochenech. Ocur ipreo ón po comailleo, ar marait na liubair beor ocur ní légaro nach fer eat.

Intan sin, ba marb Longarad ipreo innirit eolais, tiaga leabair Erienn doctuitim in aiocheirín. No iriat na tiaga irabatar liubair cech dānai irin aracuī iraibe Colum Cille rothuitret and. Ocur maētnaigro Colum Cille ocur cach bui irin tig rin, ocur roētair uile fir thairmchirith na lebari, conro and atberit Colum Cille: Longaró, olre, in Orraigib .i. rai caē dānai, atbath innoira. Fotai coa firenugao rin, ol baithin. Amairre ar fir hinaro inro, ar Colum Cille, ocur roixit Colum Cille:—

IS marb Lon [ir marb Lon],
Do Chill Gabra móir noon,
oEirinn conilar attreab,
It roith leigin ocur rcol
Atbath Lon [atbath Lon],
I Cill Gabra mori in don,
Ir roith leigin ocur rcol
Inoiri Erienn dāri a hoir.

APPENDIX, No. XVIII. [Lect. II., Page 29.]

Of Letha, the ancient name for Italy in the Gaedhelic.

Letha the
ancient Irish
name for
Italy.

That *Letha* was the ancient name applied by the Gaedhil to Italy (and particularly to that part of Italy in which Rome is situated), appears to be certain, from many old authorities. It is, however, true that the same word was also used in reference to *Letavia* or *Armorica*, that is, Brittany, in France. It is so used in the Translation of Nennius, in the Book of Ballymote, and the MS. H. 3. 17, (T.C.D.) (See p. 69 of the “Irish Version of the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius”, edited by the Rev. Dr. Todd, S.F.T.C.D., for the Irish Archæological Society, in 1848; and see a somewhat pertinent note (Note XI.) at p. 19 of the Appendix to that volume, by the late Hon. A. Herbert). See also Note H, on “The Ancient Leatha”, from which Mr. Herbert might have learned to be a little less authoritative in the tone of his remarks, in the “Tribes and

Customs of *Hy-Fiachrach*", edited by Dr. O'Donovan for the same Society, 1844 (p. 411). Dr. O'Donovan refers (*ubi supra*) to the fifth, sixth, and ninth quatrains of St. Fiach's Hymn to St. Patrick, as applying the word *Lethu* or *Leatha* to *Latium* in Italy, and quotes Mr. Patrick Lynch's statement, on the other side, that this is an error (see Lynch's *Life of St. Patrick*; Dublin, Haydock, 1828; pp. 74, 75, 77, etc., and Note, p. 320). He refers also to the gloss on the *Feliré Aenguis* (at 27th June), and to a very ancient Irish stanza quoted in the same work, as showing that the word was intended primarily for Italy; he quotes, to the same effect, a passage in Duald Mac Firbis' *Genealogies*; and he refers to two additional authorities in the *Book of Lismore* and the *Book of Feenagh*.

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Letha the ancient Irish name for Italy.

The following passages (including those referred to by Dr. O'Donovan in the *Feliré*) will be found, I think, conclusive on the subject. The people called the "Britons of *Letha*" were the people of Armorica or Brittany; but the word *Letha* is translated "*Latium*", or "*Italy*". Of the former use of the word we have examples in that passage from the Irish Translation of Nennius (in the *Book of Ballymote*, and in H. 3. 17):—

Ocup ir iao rin breatain leata,
etc.

"And these are the Britons of
Leatha", etc.

And in the following passage in the MS. H. 2. 16 (T.C.D.), col. 781:—

O scátaig buanain, ingin art
gemme, do breatain leta, forog-
laim cuéulaim na clepa.

"It was from *Scáthach* of *Buanaim*, the daughter of *Art Gemme*, of the Britons of *Letha* [*Letavia*] that *Cuchulainn* learned the feats of arms".

And in this passage in the Tale of *Fraech Mac Fidhnaigh*, in the *Book of Fermoy* (at present in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Todd, S.F.T.C.D.):—

Robur toémarc tar loeg mbeó
rin, ar Donn. ni h-eag, ar Midir,
oir do marb Conall fhae cona
ceitirinn a longbardaib leta, ag
imraige co h-éirpa.

"That would be courting over a living calf" [*i. e.*, courting a woman whose husband was living], said *Donn*. "It is not", said *Midir*, "for *Conall* has killed *Fraech* [the husband] with his hand, in [among] the Longbards of *Letha*, while going to the Alps".

This *Letha* was probably *Letavia*, or *Brittany*.

The following authorities, however, all specifically record the exact meaning of the word *Letha*:—

The gloss on *Fiach's Hymn*, (*Liber Hymnorum*, T.C.D.) is this:—

Do fadó tar éirpa h-uile,
De marb, ba amra peá,
Como farrgab la German,
Ande in dercupt leta [*i. italia*,
ubi fuit German.]

He [the Angel Victor] sent him over
all the Alps,—

This was by far the most admirable
of runs,—

Until he took up with German.

In the south, in the south of *Letha*
[*i. e.*, *ITALIA*, ubi fuit German.]

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Letha the
ancient Irish
name for
Italy.

In the *Feliré Aenguis*, at March 12, (in the *Leabhar Mor Dúna Doighré*, commonly called the *Leabhar Breac*, in the R.I.A.) it is written as follows:—

ḡrḡḡḡr abb ruama lán leṭa.

"Gregory Abbot in full of Rome
OF LETHA".

And in the verse of the same poem, as well as the gloss upon it, at June 27, as follows:—

Ro pḡomṭa tpe marta
ḍa moṛ ṭruim tpeṭain
.u. nḡerbṛaṭar caṭir
i ruam leṭa leṭam [.i. a nomine
latium .i. leṭa.]

They were tested through martyr-
dom,
They are a powerful great sea,—
Seven valiant brothers,
In Rome of BROAD LETHA [*i.e.*, a no-
mine *Latium*, *i. e.*, LETHA.]

Lastly, in the Glossary, H. 4. 22. T.C.D., p. 58 (a MS. of A.D. 1460), we find the word derived and explained.

leṭa .i. eḡail, no leṭeāt.

Leatha, *i. e.*, ITALY, OR BREADTH.

APPENDIX No. XIX. [Lect. II., Page 32.]

The *Cuil-*
menn.

Original of passage in the leḍḍar mór dúna doighre (in the R. I. A.—commonly called the leḍḍar breac), containing the word Cuilmenn.

pḡoma pinto ḡfergal mac uilliam for in Cuilmenn oíl.

APPENDIX, No. XX. [Lect. II., Page 32, note ⁽²²⁾.]

The *Cuil-*
menn.

Original of passage concerning the word Cuilmenn in an ancient Glossary, classed No. 74, R.I.A.—and another in the ancient Glossary in the vellum MS. classed H. 3. 18., T.C.D., fol. 603.

Colamna fearb .i. Cuilmenna fearb .i. cḡoicne bó.

Cuilmenn .i. lebar, ut eṛt, beṛta in rai rair ḡaréir in Chuilmenn.

APPENDIX, No. XXI. [Lect. II., Page 36 (note 23).]

Of the
Bean Sidhe.

Of the ben Sīōe. [Sīō.—ferrīōe.—benrīōe.]

The term Sīō [pron. "*shee*"], as far as we know it, is always applied in old writings to the palaces, courts, halls, or residences of those beings which in ancient Gaedhelic mythology held the place which ghosts, phantoms, and fairies hold in the superstitions of the present day. Of the ferrīōe [pron. "*farr-shee*", "*man of the Sidhs*"] and the benrīōe [pron. "*bann-shee*", "*woman of the*"]

Sidhs"] there were, however, two classes. One of these was supposed to consist of demons, who took on themselves human bodies of man or woman, and by making love to the sons and daughters of men, and revealing to them delusive views of a glorious prospective immortality, seduced them into a fatal union, by which they were for ever lost from God. [See an example of this class in the "Sick-bed of *Cuchulainn*", in the *ATLANTIS*, Nos. II., III.]

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Of the
Bean Sidhe.

The second class consisted of the *τῡατᾶ θεό Ὀανανν*, a people said to have been devoted altogether to the practices of Druidism and the Black Art. This people, in fact, were the possessors of *Erinn* at the coming of the Milesian colony; and having been conquered by the Milesians, and disdaining to live in subjection to a more material and less spiritual power than their own, their chiefs were imagined to have put on the garb of a heathen immortality, and selecting for themselves the most beautiful situations of hills, lakes, islands, etc., throughout the land, to have built for themselves, or caused to spring up, splendid halls in the midst of those chosen situations, into which they entered, drawing a veil of magic around them to hide them from mortal eyes, but through which they had power to see all that was passing on Earth. These immortal mortals were then believed not only to take husbands and wives from amongst the sons and daughters of men, but also to give and receive mutual assistance in their battles and wars respectively. [See the same Story published in the *ATLANTIS*.]

Numerous instances could be adduced to prove that the word signifies a hall or residence of those immortals. The following stanza is taken from an ancient poem by *Mac Nia*, son of *Oenna* (of whom I know nothing farther), [in the Book of Ballymote, fol. 190, b.] on the wonders of *ἑρμῆς* (or *ἑρμῆς*) *να βοιμνε* [the Palace of the Boyne], the celebrated Hall of the *Ὀαῖος μόν*, who was the great king and oracle of the *τῡατᾶ θεό Ὀανανν*. This poem begins: "*Ἄ χαεμου ἑρεῖς ἑρμῆς ναο ἑρεῖς*" ("Ye Poets of Bregia, of truth, not false"), and this is the second stanza of that poem.

*ἑρεῖας in ἑρῶ ἀν ἑρῶ ῥῖνι,
ἑρ ἑρερε σὶβ ἑρ ἑρεβ μῆς,
ἑρ σῖνὸ λαίρην Ὀαῖος νούρην,
ἑρ σῖνν, ἑρ σῖν, ἀμρᾶ ἑρῖς.*

Behold the *Sidh* before your eyes,
It is manifest to you that it is a
king's mansion,
Which was built by the firm
Daghda;
It was a wonder, a court, an admirable hill.

(See also the most curious, though comparatively modern, Fairy Lullaby, printed in Petrie's *Ancient Music of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 73.)

From all this it will be evident that *ἑρῖρῶε* is a man of the immortal mortal *Sidhs*, and that the *ἑνῖρῶε*, so freely spoken of by modern writers on Irish Fairyism, was a woman of the *Sidhs*.

[See also the 'Tripartite Life of Saint Patrick', where the daughters of King *Ἰαεῖσῖρ* ask him if his priests clad in white are gods or '*ῖρῖρῶε*', i.e., men of the *ῖρῶε*, or Fairy mansions, or phantoms.]

APP. XXII.

APPENDIX, No. XXII. [Lect. II., Page 38.]

Extract
from the
*Táin Bo
Chuailgné.*

Original of the description of the champion Reocharo Mac Fathemain, from the Ancient Tale of the Táin Bó Chuailgne.

Táinic burden aile and'ona, rin tulaig cetna i Slemain Míoe, for Mac Roth. Ni comitig laeð ir chaemiu ná in laeð fáil in ainnuð na buíoní rin. Folt cóbað deig-buioe fairi. Aigeo foðain, forleðan lairr. Rorc roglaip, gorpapra, iré cainveloa, gápeðtað na éino. Fer cóip cutpumma, iré pata, foðael, poleðan. Deóil deig, éanave leirr. Deóit niamra, némanra. Corp gel, cnepta. Carrán gel-deig i fairi uairi. Eó óip irin bpuet ór a bpuinni. Léne deipíol ríg ma deigfílliu de deig-óip ríi gel éneip. Gel reíath co tuagmílaib deig-óip fairi. Claideb óip-uipin, inelairi for a chliú. Gae pata faebor-glar, ne paza reig pobarita, co ruanemnaib loga, co remmannaib rinpuine ina láim. Cia rúe ale, bair dílill in Ferigur. Ratapetamair am ale, bair Ferigur. Ir leð ngliad fair; ir galuio comlaino, ir lonb-bpuith napíon cách tanic and', Reocharo mac Fathemain o Rígoono atuaro and'ain.

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APPENDIX, No. XXIII. [Lect. II., Page 38.]

Extract
from the
*Táin Bo
Chuailgné.*

Original of the description of the champion Ferigna, from the same.

Tanic burden aile and'ona, irin tulaig cétna i Slemain Míoe, for mac Roth. Laeð lecon-foa, odoioa in ainnuð na buíonírin. Folt dub fairi. Sích-ballrao (.i. corra pata). Bpuet deig fa éarlaí imme. Bpuetnaip bán-aríait irin bpuet ór a bpuinni. Léni línioi ríi éneip. Sciað éno-deig co comair fairi. Claideb co nípouin aríait bair a chliu. Sleg uillec, óip-éipí uairi. Cia rúe ale, bair dílill in Ferigur. Ratapetamair am ale, bair Ferigur. Fer tui puitte rin. Fer tui paitti. Fer tui pamata. Fer tui mbipiti. Fer tui mbúaða. Fer tui mbága. Ferigna mac Fínoconna, in búpaig ulað atuaro and'ain.

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APPENDIX, No. XXIV. [Lect. II., Page 38.]

Extract
from the
*Táin Bo
Chuailgné.*

Original of the description of Prince Epc, from the same.

Tanic burden aile and',ona, rin tulaig i Slemain Míoe, for Mac Roth. Ir hi forruo écamail rir na buíonib

áile. Áill bhuitt deirg. Áill bhuit glairr. Áill bhuitt APP. XXIV.
 guim. Áill bhuitt úane, blaé, bána, buide. Itiaé áille, Extract
 etrocta uaru. Unoreo mac mbec, mbrecoeris, co mbuitt from the
 éoreia, eturru bar meoón baerinn. Eó óir ir inbhuitt Táin Bo
 óra bhunni. Léne de rriól níz ba deirgintliuo de deirg- Chualgne.
 óir riu zel-éneir. Zel-rciaé go tuasmílaib deirg-óir fair.
 Taul óir bairin rciaé. Bíl óir ina imthimchiull. Claiob
 óiruiuin bec ba choimm áice. Sae aic etiommm go forca-
 táib uaru. Cia rúe ale, bar áilill n fersur. Nao
 fetairra ám, ale, bar fersur, innar na buioirin, na in
 mac bec ril inti ofacbáil n ultaib dar méir; áet oen
 baó oóiz limra anó, comtir iat riu Themra im Eric mac
 fceoilmi nóeruaiz. Macroe Cairriu nia-fer.

APPENDIX, No. XXV. [Lect. II., Page 41.]

Of the Date of the Táin bó Chuailgne.

Date of the
Táin Bo
Chualgne.

The following is the entry, in the Annals of *Tighernach* (Paper MS. in T.C.D.—II. 1. 8.), recording the death of *Cuchulainn*. The year is entered in the margin, in the handwriting of O'Flaherty, "Ann. Chr. 39":—

Kl. moir Conculainn fortis-
 rimi heros Scotorum, la lugaid
 [Mac-na-erri-Con, oeur la h-Ere]
 mac mic Cairpre niafer, .xii.
 mbliadna a doir an uair do saib
 sairgeo. .xiii. an tan boi an-
 oiaiz Tana bo Chuailgne. .xxvii.
 an tan atbaé.

"Kalend. Mors Conculainn fortis-
 simi heros Scotorum, by *Lugaidh*
 [the son of the three *Cu's*⁽⁷⁹⁾, and by
Ere] the son of the son of⁽⁸⁰⁾ *Cairpre*
Niafer.⁽⁸¹⁾ VII. years was his age
 when he took arms.⁽⁸²⁾ XVII. when
 he was in pursuit of the *Táin Bo*
Chualgne. XXVII. when he died".

The words in parenthesis, above, are written in the margin of the MS. (II. 1. 18., T.C.D.), in another hand, with a reference to the text. They are correct. The text itself is not accurate (see below, note⁽⁸⁰⁾). It is unfortunate that in this MS., as well as in many other places, the age of *Cuchulainn* is recorded in numerals only, all, probably, originally copied from the same ancient authority; if we had it given in words at length, we should probably have the truth of the record. However, it is not only extremely improbable that the hero could have died so young as at twenty-seven (considering what we know of his life and exploits, not only in his own country, but abroad), but we have another detailed account, much more consistent with probability. It is that preserved in the MS. classed II. 3. 17., in the library of T.C.D. (p. 765).

(79) See Note (18) [APPENDIX No. II.], *post*, pp. 478 and 479, as to this *Lugaidh*.

(80) These words, "*the son of*", in *Italics*, should be omitted. *Ere* was the son of *Cairpre*, not his grandson.

(81) *Cairpre Niafer* was Monarch of Erin (i.e., king at Tara) according to many of the ancient Tales; yet his name does not appear in the *Keim Rioghraidhe*, nor is it recorded in the Annals of the Four Masters. [See an example of reference to this Monarch, *post*, APPENDIX XXVIII., and particularly at page 513.]

(82) That is, was admitted into the order of Champions, or, as it would be expressed in modern times, of Knighthood.

APP. XXV.

Date of the
Táin Bo
Chuailgné.

(a MS. of which this portion dates about 1460), from which I may extract here this passage :—

Ба веитһбеи то rin тоно аи тобадар да блядәин
дәз а аер аи тан тугао сатһ Өрһома Сһиәд, окур по заб
Веитһти а маҗаи Лүгәио Риабһөеиҗ ии алуи аи рҗатһ,
окур по бои .ii. мблядәна ртҗеао а аер ии тан по
бо маҗб Еоҗо Айиум 1 Һеманһ, окур да блядәин аи
.xx.ат [а] аер аи тан [маҗбао]. Еитеиҗсел (А.М. 5080) 1җ
Тиҗиәит Айиҗи а Маиҗтин, окур иҗин блядәин танәиҗте иәиҗин
тугад ии Таи а туәиҗ то иеи аи тҗлеадта rin. Окур бадар
меи Сһаилити .iiii. мблядәна аи Таиәо җо нөәдәдар то
өәанам а рогламта, аи бадар на наиөәанәиб а сһиәбәнәиб
ии тан по маҗбао а натһаи .ix. мблядәна тоиб иәи rin аҗ
өәанам а рогламта .ii. мблядәна иәи rin роглаи аҗ өәанам
а наҗи, аи ии рәиҗбаиҗеа адт әән лә рә бляҗаи а нҗәи;
окур тҗи блядәна аи rin по бадар меи Сһаилити 1җ тинол
окур 1җ тоәәртәл рәәи нөиҗеанн җо Belach Ми Сһиле 1
Муиҗ Муиҗтеиҗне. Җонао һи блядәин на Таи ии наәмао
блядәин дөз аи да .xx.оиб аер Conculainн, о аиҗе а
җәнамна со һаиҗе а баиҗ, окур а .ii. xx. то аиҗ Conәиҗе
то сәиҗ Cuchulainн; окур а сһио блядәи по маҗб Ceat
Concobар д'иңсһио Мөҗҗеадһә. Conәо амаи rin ииуҗио,
то иеи Нөиөе һи МаоилConәиҗе окур Flainн Маиҗроҗеҗ.

[TRANSLATION.

[He had cause for that now; for twelve years was his age when the battle of *Druim Criadh* was fought. And his mother, *Dectiré*, took *Lughaidh Riabh n-Derg* to nurse, under his protection. And Twenty-seven years was his age when *Eochu Airiumh* was killed at *Fremhainн*; and Forty-two years was his age when *Eterscel* was killed at *Tiprait Airghi* at *Maistin*; and it was in the second year after that the *Táin* was carried off from the North, according to this account. And the sons of *Cailitin* were eight years after the *Táin* before they went to pursue their learning; for they were but infants in cradles at the time that their father was killed. Nine years for them after that, pursuing their learning; seven years after finishing their learning was spent in making their weapons, because there could be found but one day in the year to make their spears. And three years after that did the sons of *Cailitin* spend in assembling and marching the men of Erinн to *Belach Mic Uilc*, in *Magh Muirtheimné*. So that the year of the *Táin* was the fifty-ninth year of *Cuchulainн's* age, from the night of his birth to the night of his death. And it was Twenty-seven years of the age of *Conaire [Mór] Cuchulainн* spent; and it was in a year after *Ceat* killed *Concobар* with *Mesgedhra's* brain. So that that such is the fact, according to *Neidlu O'Maoilchonairé*, and *Flann* of the Monastery.]

The following passage is, however, very strong in favour of the record first above quoted. It is indeed subject to the same objection, that the numbers are expressed by numeral letters, not by words in full. It is, however, so minute in the calculations it contains, that it is but right to insert it here in full. It is taken from the BOOK OF BALLYMOTE (in the R.I.A.), where it occurs at fol. 7. a. a., in a tract which is identified in a note in the margin, in the handwriting of no less an authority than Charles O'Connor of Ballynagar, as the Synchronisms of Flann of Monasterboice (see Lect. III., p. 53; and *ante*):—

APP. XXV.

Date of the
Táin Bó
Chuailgne.

Irin ceatnamas bliadain deḡ do iuge Conaire ocuḡ Concobair no genair Muire; ocuḡ .xiii. ba rlán do Choiculaíno anoirin; ocuḡ irin ceatnamas bliadain iar ngein Muire, rluaiḡeo Tána Bó Chuailgne. Ar follur ar rin suiab taeḡca Táin na bhuirioin; or dóig ir an oētmas mbliadain deḡ do iuge Conaire rluaiḡeo Tána Bó Chuailgne. Seēt mbliadóna deḡ ba rlán do Coiculaíno anoirin .i. ir a dapa bliadain deḡ ar .xx. do iuge Oētaḡin iugur do rluaiḡeo ceona. Oēt mbliadóna iar rluaiḡeo Tána Bó Chuailgne no genair Ciuḡt, ocuḡ ba rlán dā bliadain deḡ do Muire anoirin; ocuḡ .xl. bliadan ba rlán d'Oētaḡin ina iuge anoirin, ocuḡ in .li. eo bliadain .xx. do iuge Conaire ocuḡ Concobair; ocuḡ dā bliadain iar ngein Ciuḡt teafu Cuculaíno; ocuḡ .iii. bliadain .xx. raeḡul Conculaino corin.

[TRANSLATION.]

[In the fourteenth year of the reign of *Conairé*,⁽⁸³⁾ and of *Conchobar*,⁽⁸⁴⁾ Mary [the Blessed Virgin] was born, and thirteen [years] *Cuchulainn* had completed at that time; and in the fourth year after the birth of Mary, the Expedition of the *Táin Bó Chuailgne* [took place]. It is manifest from that the *Táin* was sooner than the *Bruidhen*;⁽⁸⁵⁾ for it was in the eighteenth year of the reign of *Conairé* that the Expedition of the *Táin Bó Chuailgne* occurred. Seventeen years had *Cuchulainn* completed at that time, that is, it was in the thirty-second year of the reign of Octafin Jugust [Octavius Augustus] that the same Expedition took place. Eight years after the Expedition of the *Táin Bó Chuailgne* Christ was born, and Mary had completed twelve years then, and forty years complete had Octafin [Octavius] been in his reign then; and in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of *Conairé* and *Conchobar*, and in two years after the birth of Christ, *Cuchulainn* died; and twenty-seven years was *Cuchulainn's* age to that.]

(83) *Conairé Mór*, Monarch of Eriinn (see account of the *Bruighean Da Derga*, in Lecture XII., *ante*). According to the Annals of the Four Masters, *Conairé* ascended the throne B.C. 109, and was killed B.C. 40. The former date is evidently wrong.

(84) *Conchobar Mac Nessa*, King of Ulster, contemporary with the Monarch *Conairé*.

(85) The *Bruighean Da Derga*, when *Conairé Mór* was killed (B.C. 40).

APP. XXVI.

APPENDIX, No. XXVI. [Lect. II., Page 44.]

Description
of king
Cormac Mac
Airt, in the
Book of Ua-
conghail.

Original of the description of the Monarch Cormac Mac Airt, at the Assembly of Tara (at the commencement of the third century); from the Book of Ballymote (fol. 142 b. b.), on the authority of the lost Book of the Ua Chongbail.

Ri uasal oimide no gabartar flaitiur ocur forlamur feri n-Erienn feacht naill .i. Cormac Ua Cuinn eirde. Ba lán in bit do gac maic nua lino in iugrin; baimet ocur clár ocur murtoirað, baí rið ocur fáime ocur ruba. Ní baí guin, na ribeig fua périn aét caé na ninað duéarð foréin.

Doiecmang iarium, maici feari nErienn ic ol feri Tempac im Chormac, feacht and. Ariad ro na iuga bá im éortao na fleigi .i. Fergus Dubdoeac, ocur Eocair Sunnat, dá iug ulao. Dunlung mac Enna niao, iug laigen. Cormac Car, mac Aililla Olum, ocur Fiachu Muillethan mac Eogain, dá iug Muman. Nia móri Mac Lugair Fichtu .i. mac mátar Chormaic, ocur Aed mac Echach mic Conaill, dá iug Con nach. Oengur Gaifuileac, iu breag. Feraoac mac Arail mic Cuinn Fenneo, iu Míoi.

IS amlao do cingtir aenaiçi ocur móroála la fíiu Erienn ir in aimpírin: caé iu cuna élaét iug uime, ocur cona éabbari óroa fa éeann; uairi ni gabtar mionna iugoa forpo aét a iai caéa namma.

Alaino táinic Cormac irin móroáil rin, oir ni tainic ramail a velbaron aét Conaire Móri mac Ederpceóil, no Concobar mac Caébad, no Aengur mac in Dagda. Ba derpcaigtec tria, ecorc Chormaic irin dáilrin. Mong leacéa, focarra, foróroa fairi. Derpocóro co iunoiu, ocur co milu óir ocur co tuagoruinib aigio fairi. Briat corera, carleacéa uime. Liadealg óir fori a briuinio. Muntoric óir im a briagaro. Léni zeal, culpaac, co noeig inoliuo (óir) uime. Cuir óir go ngemaið do lig lógmai iairir. Dá arra moglaigi, óroa, co riblaib óir uime. Dá fleig óicéai na láim, co noualaib inoa don éréumaé. IS érim iarium, cruac, caem cen ainm gen aetar. Darleat ba fpor do nemtonaib iolao ina éno. Darleat ba dual papaingi a bél; ba gili-teri rnéacéa a corp faerdenmaé. Ba carmail fíu fapeli cailli, no rian fléibi a gíuaro. Cormail fíu buga a fíili. Cormail fíu taitneam ngormlainni a mailgi, ocur a abiað.

IS érim tria, cruith ocur écorc fo noeochair Cormac irin móroáil rin feari nErienn. Ocur ipeo atberitrom, ir irin comóal ir aieigóa do ionað anEriunn nua cperdeam, uairi iriad na rmaéa ocur na peéa do ionað rin dáilrin meirur anEriunn co briac.

Arbeiratar mairi fer nErienn cae doiriuada for a tecta
 fein aco .i. eoiri mairi, ocur ollamnaib, ocur orueta, ocur
 bhuigud, ocur amra, ocur cae dain olceana; or ba uerb leo
 inoimruigud do genta anErienn rin dailrin la riu fola,
 comob e do biao inoti co biae. Uairi on tan ruc Amairigin
 Slungel, in fili, ceo brie anErienn roba la fileadib in
 aenur brieemnar euf an imacallaim in da Thuari inEamain
 Maia .i. Ferceitne fili, ocur Neiri mac Aona, ma tuigim
 ollaman. Ba uerda uin, acae in labra do labairpead na
 filio rin fuigillrin, ocur nri bo leiri uona mraib ocur uona
 fileadib in brieemnur mrao. IS lar na riuira anaenur
 ambrie, ocur aenur ocur eolur, for na mra, ni tuicemni ce-
 uir a rairit. IS menn, uono, ol Concobari, brie cuio do cae
 anorom onoiu cobiaet, aet an brie duetai uoibreom ue, ni
 mra anaill, gebio cae a noieeta ue. Tallao uono, brieem-
 nar ar fileadib anorin aet a nouthai ue, ocur mra cae
 uerai Erienn a brieet uin brieemnur; amail mrao
 brieeta eae mic Lueta, ocur brieeta Faetna mic Seanada,
 ocur Subrieeta Capatmao Tereti, ocur brieeta Moraino mic
 Main, ocur brieeta Eogain mic Duiract, ocur brieeta Doet
 Nemti, ocur brieeta Bui Ambai, ocur brieeta Dianceet o
 leigib. Ce robaaarin hi tur rin aimir rin, conaimetari
 mairi feari nErienn tomur nai ocur inoti do cae iari na
 maiaillact mo gabrao ir na brieaib Neimeao. Ro mearo
 cae ar dan a cele air co tanc in moradailrin im Chormac.
 Ro uerigreo uin, air aer cae dain riu airi rin mor-
 adailrin, ocur mo hoiraio cae uib for a dan oliear.

[See also the Leabair Buide Lecain (M.S., T.C.D., H. 2. 16.) fol. 886.]

AP. XXVI.

Description
 of king
*Cormac Mac
 Airt*, in the
*Book of Ua-
 conghaill*.

APPENDIX, No. XXVII. [Lect. II., Page 47.]

*Original of the commencement of the Preface to the "Book of
 Aicill" (in the vellum MS. classed E. 3. 5., T.C.D.)*

Extract
 from Preface
 to the *Book
 of Aicill*,—
 attributed
 to king *Cormac Mac
 Airt*.

Loc don liubur ro Aicill ar aice Temair, ocur aimir do
 aimir Cormair Lipechair, mic Cormair, ocur peira do
 Cormair, ocur tucait a denma, caechao Cormair do Dengur
 Gabairdech, iari fuatach ingine Soirair mic Air Chuir do
 Chellach, mac Cormair. Airi Ehta in tDengur Gabair-
 dech rin ac rigail gpeiri cennil a tuathaib Luigne, ocur
 do euaro a teo mna aro, ocur at ib loim ar eicim aro;
 ocur mo ba chora dait, ar in ben, ingen do briaithar do
 rigail ar Cellach mac Cormair, na mo biao ar eicim do

AP. XXVII.

Extract
from Preface
to the Book
of *Acaill*,—
attributed
to king *Cor-*
mac Mac
Airt.

caitheam; ocur ní fuimenn lebuim olc do déanam mór in
mnái, acht do éuaio meime do inoraigis na Tempaí. Ocur
iarí fuineó ngréine nó riacht co Tempaig, ocur zeir do
Tempaig airm laich do bpeith innte iarí fuineó ngréine,
aét na hairim do ecmaítr innte; ocur nó gab Aengur in
Crimall Cormaic anuar da healcaing, ocur tuc buille
di a Cellaí mac Cormaic cori marburtaí hé; cori ben a
heochairí daí rúil Chormaic co nó leé éaech hé, ocur nó ben
a huplunn a nóruiim pechtairí na Tempaí, acátarraig a
Cellaí, co nó marburtaí hé; ocur ba zeir miz co naimim
do bié a Tempaig, ocur nó cuireó Cormac amaí da leiger
co Aicill ari aicí Tempaí; ocur nó cítea Tempaí a hAicill
ocur ní faictea Aicill a Tempaí; ocur tucad miz n-Eipenn
do Corppu lúfecharí, mac Cormaic; ocur ír ann rin do
mizneó in lebaí ro; ocur ír é ír cuir do Cormac anó, cach
baíl ata “bla” ocur “A méic aia feirei”; ocur íreó ír
cuir do Cinoraílaí, caí ní otha rin amaí.

APPENDIX, No. XXVIII. [Lect. II., Page 49 and
Page 51, note. ⁽³²⁾]

Further
extract from
Preface to
the Book
of *Acaill*,—
attributed
to king *Cor-*
mac Mac
Airt.

*Original of the remainder of the Preface to the “Book of Acaill”,
giving the explanation of the word Aicill or Acaill.*

Aicill rin, uch oll do mizne Aicell, ingen Cairppu, ann a
cáineó Eirc mic Cairppu a deirbráthar; ocur deirmirect
airí rin:

Ingen Cairppu, do moíair,
Ír do Feirleim Noírotaig,
Do éumais Eirc, aebda in paino,
Gaet i noigail Conculainn.

No, Aicell, ben Eirc mic Cairppu ba marb do cumaro a
firí anó, ari na marbaí do Chonall Cernach; ocur deir-
mirect airí:

Conall Cernach tuc ceann Eirc
Re taeb Tempaí im traí teirí;
Ír triaig in gním do deaíro de,
Buireó ciorí uairí Aiclé!

Ma nó baí ardaic oligeó ann, ír í éiric tucad ann rin,
acht ma nó bí raerriath ari maig bpeig, amuil do beirthea
raerriath don daia leith, ocur daerriath don leé aile, im
a leé a raerí aicillnect ocur in leé aile i n-daerí aicillne.

Mana maibe raerriath⁽⁸⁶⁾ oirra itir, ír í éiric tucad ann

⁽⁸⁶⁾ Saorraié .i. cin gíallna fíia láim, cin curu béal aét fuirirín .i. aicirín
nama. ní fíl meí mbíro don flait lair in los rin .i. cení taíre airmirí cóir,
nó cío ainmeí a mbraich .i. rceíte. [H. 3. 18. 380. T.C.D.]

rin amuil do biao a raeppath do leit ocur daerpiat don leit aile, ima leth a raeppath aile in leit aile i n-daerpiath aile. AP. XXVIII.
Further
extract
from Preface
to the Book
of Acaill—
attributed
to king Cor-
mac Mac
Airt.

Mana poibe ardaic oligeo ann, is cept cāich amuil a neit.

Ocur do fácatuipm in fepann ocur do éuatar buder. Ba iat Deiri Puiric Laeghaire, no Puiric Laiti iat ó rin aile.

A lóc ocur a aimperi iat Cormac conici rin.

Maó iat Cinnfaelad imurro, loc do Daire Luráin, ocur aimperi do aimperi Domnall mic Aedá, mic Ainmirec; ocur peira do Cinnfaelad, ocur tucait a dénma, a incino deimait do buain a cinn Cinnfaelad iat na rcolad a cath Maige Rath.

Teora buada in catha rin: marom ar Congal Claen ina anpín, ne Domnall ina fíunoe, ocur Suibne Zeilt do uul ar zelad, ocur a incinn deimait do buain a cinn Cinnfaelad; ocur noa neó rin is buad ann, Suibni do uul ar zelad, ad ar fácaib do rcolad ocur do laioib dia éir i n-Eirinn; ocur noa neó is buad a incino deimait do buain a cinn Cinnfaelad ad a neoc po fácaib da degraipi lebaroa dar a heir i n-Eirinn; co rucad hé dá leiger co tech bpuicini Tuama Driecain; ocur tri rcola do bi is in baile; rcol leigin, rcol fimechair, ocur rcol filiocta; ocur cae in do cluineorum d'amanori na tri rcol cae lae do bi do glan meiru cae nároce; ocur do cuipm glan rnaic filiocta fúitib, ocur do rpuibm iat a lecaib, ocur taiblib, ocur po cuir reic a cairt liubair.

[The following is the original of the version of the latter portion of this passage, quoted in the NOTE ⁽³²⁾, at P. 51, from the MS. classed II. 3. 18. (in the Library of T.C.D.), fol. 399]:—

Ocur is ant do mugneo a leir a Tuaim n'Driegan, a comac na tri rnaic, iori éigib na tri ruad .i. rai fimeachair, ocur rai filiocta, ocur rai leigin. Ocur in neoch do éanor na tri rcola zach lae do bi aigirum tri zeir in moilecta zach nároce; ocur in neoch ba hintarpena leir de, do beinó glunrnathe filiocta rai, ocur po rpuibta aice he a cairt liubair.

[The following is the poem by *Cinaeth O'Hartigain* (A.D. 973), alluded to in the Note ⁽²⁸⁾ at Page 49. It is preserved in the Book of Ballymote (fol. 189. b.)]:—

Duma neic canar po haimm-
mgead? in haimpam rin.

Eic mac Cairpri Naeir, mac
ren Rora Ruad, ri Laigen. — Ocur

Ere's mound, whence is it named?
It is not difficult to tell that.

Ere was the son of Cairpri Nae-
fear, who was the son of Ros Ruadh,

AP. XXVIII.

Further
extract
from Preface
to the Book
of *Acaill*,—
attributed
to king *Cor-
mac Mac
Airt*.

iré Erc ro ben a cenn d'í Choincu-
laimn. Féolam dno, nóírothaig,
ingen Choncobair mic Nessa, ben
Chairpre, [maíair] Erc ocus Aíle.
Comoturocú Conall Cernach do
rígail Conculaimn for Erc, co
toréair an Erc ocus co tucad a
cenn co Tempaig fia tairéibad.
Co taimic Aíall a deirbír a hull-
taib ó a fiur .i. ó Glan mac Car-
bad, dia éamú a bratáir; com-
baeí naí tráé oc gúba; cor enó-
múir a cúirí inotí; ocus adberc a
hádnacal ocus a duma airn an
paiceoí adnacal Erc ocus a duma.
Inne Duma Erc ocus Duma Aíle
nominatur.

Cinaeth .h. hártagan forir.

Cinaeth .h. hártagan. cc.

Aíall aiaice Temair
Rocairad ois a héam,
Rocamead inán adbaé
Amoer gel Glom mic Carbad.

Ingen Chairpri dorócair—
Ingen do féolam nóírothaig—
Do cumad Erc, eicta rano,
Gaed a noigail Conculaimn.

Conall Cernach tug ceano Erc
Docum Tempa im tráé tept,
Tpuag ingim dorúgneo de,
Buirreo eparí uarí Aíle. a

Duma Finn, duma na nDruad,
Duma Cneoní gnuad ar gnuad,—
Duma monbernad glecc gle,
Duma Erc, duma Aíle. a

Tangadair maíe Ulao
im Concobair na cupad,
Roperrad gnárainn gíl glain,
D'Aíall ar aice Temair.

Duma nErc ní aicí cneap,
Sin opuim fíí Temair anner,
Erc ípánn tainig aré,
Deirbpathair alaimn Aíle. a

King of *Laighin* (Leinster). And it
was *Erc* that cut his head off *Cuchu-
laimn*. *Fedlem Nochrothaigh* (of the
ever new beauty), daughter of *Con-
chobar Mac Nessa* (King of Ulster),
was the mother of *Erc* and *Acaill*.
And *Conall Cearnach* now came to
avenge *Cuchulaimn* on *Erc*; and *Erc*
fell on the occasion, and his head was
brought to *Teamair* to be exhibited.
Acaill, his sister, came out of Ulster
from her husband, namely, *Glan*, the
son of *Carbad*, to lament her brother;
and she was nine nights at mourning,
until her heart burst nutwise within
her; and she desired that her grave
and her mound should be in a place
from which the grave of *Erc* and his
mound could be seen. Unde *Erc's*
Mound, and *Acall's* Mound nominatur.

Cinaeth O'Hartagan this below.

Cinaeth O'Hartagan cecinit.

Acall hard by *Temair*,
Was beloved by youths from *Ema-
nia*—

Was mourned when she died,—
The white spouse of *Glan*, son of
Carbad.

Cairpri's daughter that died—
Daughter to *Fedhlim Nochrothaigh*—
Of grief for *Erc*, of whom verses
were filled,

Who was slain in revenge for
Cuchulaimn.

It was *Conall Cernach* that brought
Erc's head

Unto *Temair* at the third hour;
Sad the deed that was effected of it—
The breaking of *Acall's* noble heart.

The mound of *Finn*, the mound of
the Druids,

The mound of *Credni*, cheek by
cheek;

A mound at which was fought a
gallant fight,—

The mound of *Erc*, the mound of
Acall.

They came—the noblest of Ulster—
Along with *Conchobar* of the cham-
pions;

They performed bright pure games
For *Acall* hard by *Temair*.

The mound of *Erc* is no narrow
work,

In the hill by *Temair* on the
south—

Erc, it was there his career was
ended.

The beautiful brother of *Acall*.

Duma na nDruaid fhuir ané,
Temair na rí, in ríglar,
Fhuir Temair anáir anall
I rannrín atbat acaill. A

Noco taro ar talmain trais,
Buo fearr im buar no im spair,
Nocor alt i Temair tall
Ben buo fearr ina acaill. A

Oglac du Cairpri maíear,
Eochaid Garbh, Seirait Garbail,
Tarmairt combeit ní dia claimn
Fhuirín nínigin, fhuir hacaill. A

Do buir teirt ruaidénig ahrín,
Dár inigin Cairpri críchig;
Nac fhuir a huair taroi tall,
Seé ogmnaib aillí acaill. A

Bpachair fíno a háillinn uair,
I r Oililla a Cruachain cruair,
Cairpri maí i Temair tall,
Diarbo ingean fíall acaill. A

In tinas itao ar neé
Robae caill tpo ar caé leé,
Tír in Egir, Maine maill,
Do garbí de pe nacaill. A

Maíaro ráit Conaire cain,
Maíaro ráit Cairpri críchais;
Ní maíar Erra fhu no tall,
Ní maíar Erc, ní maíar acaill.

'Sanofain poádnacé in ben,
Ingen aiporí na nGarbail;
Roclairdeo dí in Raíra tall,
Da fuair a haídeao, acaill. A

Se mna í fearr pobaeí ar bíé dé,
Dapair Muine Mathair [Oé,]
Meób, Saób, Sapair regoa,
Raimo, [recté faino]
Erc, í Emer, í acaill. A

Suirim Mac De do pao inféig
Tar meób leédeig, dar meób
noeig,
Dar Saób, dar Sapuro, dar
faino,
Dar Garbh, dar Erc, dar
acaill. A

The mound of the Druids, by it on the south

Temair of the Kings, the kingly Court;—

By *Temair* on the east hither,
It was there died *Acaill*.

There did not lay upon the earth a foot,
One better to bestow kine and steeds;
There was not nursed in *Temair* within

A woman better than *Acaill*.

A soldier of *Cairpri Nia-fear*,
Eochaidh Garbh,—champion of the
Gaedhil,—

Was anxious to have some of his
children

By the maiden, by *Acaill*.

I will give a high character, therefore,
Upon the daughter of *Cairpri* of
territories,—

That for her abduction no time
within was found,

Beyond the beautiful young mai-
dens, *Acaill*.

Brother to *Finn* from noble *Ailinn*,
And to *Oilill* of hardy *Cruachain*,
Was *Cairpri* - *Níadh* of *Temair*
within,

Whose bounteous daughter was
Acaill.

The place in which our horses are
There was a wood through it on all
sides,

The Land of the Poet, *Maine* the
modest,

It was called before *Acaill*.

Still lives the Rath of comely *Co-
naire*,—

Still lives the Rath of *Cairpri* of
territories;

Essa lives not here nor there;

Erc lives not, *Acaill* lives not.

It was there was buried the woman,
The daughter of the high King of
the Gaedhil;

For her was raised the Rath yonder
When she had met her fate, *Acaill*.

The six best women that in the world
were,

After Mary the Mother [of God,]

Medhbh, *Sadhbh*, fair *Saraid*, *Faind*,
Erc, and *Emer*, and *Acaill*.

I beseech the Son of God, who sent
His anger

Upon half-red *Medhbh*, upon red
Medhbh,

Upon *Sadhbh*, upon *Saraid*, upon
Faind,

Upon *Garbh*, upon *Erc*, upon *Acaill*.

AP. XXVIII.

Further
extract
from Preface
to the Book
of *Acaill*,—
attributed
to king *Cor-
mac Mac
Airt*.

AP. XXVIII. FOGARTACH ROBAC I nDINN-RIG,
 DA FLAIC FOTLA SUPINNUNN,
 FEOADAR SAOIL IP SAILL,
 FUR MAENFER IN ACAILL. A

Further
 extract
 from Preface
 to the Book
 of *Acaill*,—
 attributed
 to king *Cormac Mac Airt*.

SUAIRC MOPHEM DEGDAR DATA,
 CLANN CEPNAIS MIC DIARMADA,
 SEGNAIDAR CUANA COPE,
 IMTEABAIB UAPA AICLE. A

TANUIS GO TEAMPRAIS NA MUG
 COLUM CILLE SAN IMFINN;
 CUMROISGEAR LEIR EAGLAR ANN,—
 SAN ENUC AR HAONACT ACALL.⁽⁸⁷⁾ A

Fogartach, who was in Dinn-Righ,
Was King of Fotla [Erinn], with
fair deeds
Gaedhil and Galls once found,
The valour of the one man at
Acaill.

A pleasant party, active, comely,
 The sons of *Cernach*, son of *Diar-*
maid;
 They slew companies ere now,
 Upon the cold sides of *Acaill*.

To *Temair* of the Kings came
Colum Cille, without fatigue;
 A church is built there by him,—
 In the hill in which [was] buried
Acaill.

APPENDIX, No. XXIX. [Lect. III., Pages 56, 57.]

Of *Flann* of
Monaster-
voice.

Original of the entry of the Death of Flann Mainistirec in the Annals of Tighearnach (A.D. 1056); and Original of passage concerning Flann in the Leabhar Gabála of O'Clerys.

The following is the original of the passage quoted from *Tighernach* :—

FLANN MAINISTIREAC UGDAR SAORIOIL EIDIR LÉIGIONN OCUR
 TPENCUR, OCUR FILLIDEACT, OCUR FOICEOOL IN .III. KAL. DE-
 CIMBIR. XII. LUN. UITAM FELICITER IN XPO. [XPICTO] FINUIT.

The passage referred to in the text [p. 57] from the Book of *Invasions* is incorrectly printed there as a quotation. The original is as follows, to which I have added an exact translation. It is to be found, not at p. 52, but at p. 225 of the MS. classed 23.5 in the library of the R.I.A.,—the *Leabhar Gabála* of the O'Clerys.

AR DONA RIGSAIB RIN RO GAB ERINN O DATHI MAC FIACHRA
 GO MAOLSEACHLAINN MOR MAC DOMHNAILL, DIA NANMANNAIB
 OCUR DIA NOIDEAD DO MUNE AN TUGDAR OIRIOERE FLANN
 FERLEIGHINN MAINISTIREAC BUIRE, SAOI EAGNA, OCUR CRONICE
 OCUR FILLIDEACTAE SAERDEL NA AIMIRI, AN DUANRO RIOR. RIG
 TEAMPRA TAOBHAIGE IARTTAIN.

[TRANSLATION.]

It is for those kings that took the sovereignty of *Erinn* from *Dathi*, the son of *Fiachra*, to *Maolseachlainn Mór*, the son of *Domhnall*, for their names and their fates, that the illustrious author, *Flann* the *Fer-leighinn* of *Mainistir Buité*, the *Saoi* of the wisdom, and chronicles, and poetry of the *Gaedhil*, made this poem below : “Kings of faithful Tara afterwards”, (etc.)

⁽⁸⁷⁾ This last quatrain is written on the upper margin of folio 190 a. a., with a (†) referring to it from the conclusion of the poem, same column.

APP. XXX.

Tighernach
the Annalist.

And in the "Annals of Ulster":—

[*Tighernach Ua Broein, Airchinnech* [Erenach, or lay Impro-
priator] of Cluanmicnois, died.]

Foundation
of Clonmac-
noise.

APPENDIX, No. XXXII. [Lect. III., Page 63, note ⁽³³⁾, and
Page 67.]

Of the An-
nals of
Tighernach.

"Trinity College, October 6, 1858.

“There can be no doubt that the sheets at the beginning of the MS. of the Annals of Ulster in Trin. Coll. contain a fragment of an ancient copy of *Tighernach*. The fragment begins in the middle of a sentence.

ma nap uel a gallir ut alii dicunt.

"See Dr O'Connor's *Tighernach*, p. 25, at A.D. 82 (which date, however, is wrong, for All Saints' Day was not on Sunday in that year).

"The dates in this MS. are all given by the years of the world, and generally the *feria* on the first of January is noted, and the *epact*. The year following the above record of the death of *Irial Glummar* is noted thus:

“¹ m̄ xxx m̄. Kl. en. ui. f. l. x.

"This means the Year of the World 4034, which, I think, is intended to coincide with A.D. 34; for in that year the First day of January was 6th *feria*, (or Friday). The Lunar Epact, however, which I suppose to be meant by *l.r.*, was 15; but your copy (I have not had time to look at the original) marks the *l.r.*... (thus), as if there was a letter illegible; so that it might have been *l.ru.*

"This computation goes on through the whole of the fragment. There are a great many years vacant, and marked thus, according to the usual way:

(88) The first two words, in brackets, are supplied by Dr. Todd.

AP. XXXII. *Kl*, *Kl*. (etc.); and it is possible that there may be some errors in the transcription of the *Kl*, for the chronology is evidently wrong.

Of the Annals of Tighernach. "The last entry in the fragment is as follows:

"*ḿḿḿḿḿḿ*.⁽⁸⁹⁾ *Kl*. en. ii. l. xx *hironimur* in *bethleem pꝛedicator* qui *interpretatur* *ert ebraice, ḡraece, latine, syrice,*⁽⁹⁰⁾ *caldaice, atuce*⁽⁹¹⁾ *pontice.*

"Then follow twelve *Kl*.; and the page ends with the date *ḿḿ.ḿ.ḿḿḿ*, but without any other entry.

"St. Jerome was ordained priest in A.D. 378, which was A.M. (according to the common chronology) 4382; and the first day of January in that year was *ii. f.* or Monday,—so that it is just possible that this may be the year intended, although some other computation of the A.M. era seems to be adopted.

"Dr. O'Connor was not aware of the existence of this fragment; otherwise he might have supplied from it the 'Hiatus', or a part of the 'Hiatus', which occurs in the Bodleian MS.

"It is, however, much less full than the Bodleian MS., which is evidence of its antiquity; for in all probability the Annals of *Tighernach*, as they were left by their author, did not contain all the entries which we find now; each successive copyist being anxious to fill up, from such other records as he was acquainted with, the vacant *Kl*.

"Nevertheless this fragment contains several most interesting entries, which are not to be found in O'Connor's edition. Our MS. generally omits the notices of foreign ecclesiastical and civil history, which occur in O'Connor's edition, and gives the Irish history more fully.

"Take this specimen:

[O'CONOR, p. 29 (A.D. 130).]

[OUR MS.]

Tuathal Techtmar p. an. .xxx.
ir he cetna p. o *naire*. *borum laigen*
ocur ar p. p. o *iacaoh* ar tur.

Kl. mal mac *Rocharoe* p. an
Eamain xxxiii.

ḿḿḿḿḿḿ.

Kl. en. iii. p. l. iii. Caé aiclé h1
toréair *Eilim* mac *Conrac* la *Tua-*
éal Teacétmair mac *Fiachair* *Finn-*
fala, *ocur* *Tuathal* *regnait* annir
.xxx. *ocur* *ir* 'o *cetna* p. o *naire* cō
ocur *p. p. pohicā* in *boroma laigen*.

mal mac *Rocharōi* *regnait* in
Eḿain xxxiii. annir.

"Then, after five blank *Kl*., follows the Chronological note, similar to (but not altogether the same as) that in O'Connor; after which there are nineteen blank *Kl*. All the matter which Dr. O'Connor has printed in Italics, p. 30, 31, is omitted in our MS.; and the next entry, dated *ḿḿ. c. iii.*, is the death of *Tuathal Teachtmar*, and the reign of *Feidhlimidh* in the following year. The Italics in O'Connor are again omitted, and our MS. gives next the reign of *Bresal* (O'Connor, p. 32). Then (O'Connor's Italic entries being omitted) we have the death of *Cathair Mór*; then the reign of *Conn Ced-Cathach*, and the division of Ireland. The entry which O'Connor gives at A.D. 171 (p. 33), with all that he has printed in Italics, is omitted, and the next entry in our MS. is under the year:

"*ḿḿ. c. xxxi. Kl. en. u. p. l. xii.*

"*ṽipraice ṽipec* *regnait* in *Eḿain* annir xxx.

"This may suffice to prove to you the identity of this MS. with the Annals of *Tighernach*, and also to show how far it differs from Dr. O'Connor's copy. You will see that the principal difference is the omission of foreign historical matter.

"I have considered very carefully the passage of *Tighernach*, to which you called my attention: '*Omnia monumenta Scotorum usque Cimbaoth incerta erant*'. I thought at first that there might be some emphasis in the past tense, *ERANT*, 'they were uncertain, but are not so now'. But on consideration, I believe that the writer only meant to say that the ancient historical records of Ireland, relating to the period before the reign of *Cimbaoth*, are not absolutely to be relied on. He had just before said that '*Liccus is said by some to have reigned*';

(89) [A.M. 4509.]

(90) [Syriace.]

(91) [? atque.]

and, to apologize for this uncertain way of speaking ('regnare ab aliis FERTUR Licens'), he adds the apology: '*Omnia monumenta Scotorum usque Cimbaoth incerta erant*'.

"Ever yours most truly,

"J. H. TODD".

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The following is the entire passage, from the commencement, as it appears in the copy of *Tighernach*, in the MS. classed II. 1. 18., T.C.D. (p. 113). I have inserted in the note the only variations in it which occur in the R.I.A. MS. (classed 33. 6).⁽⁹²⁾

Regnare inchoant hic igitur annus. xii. Antigoni p. Ptolomei primo conregnatum est quoque Macedonia Ptolomeus et Seleucus. primum p. ibi post Alexander[um?] p. Lipus, qui et Apollonius Alexander annis iii. regnavit primo anno Ptolomei regnare incipiens K. 5°. Kl. xi. anno primo eius p. Alexander qui et Philipus rex Macedonia cum sua Amyntoria Epistola a Macedonibus ipse sua uolente Olimpiade matris Alexander occisus est post quem p. Cephallen anno .xix. a quo Hercules Alexander filius xiiii. etatis sue anno cum rex a matris sua interfectus est. Agonius rex Arrie Minoris a Seleuco Ptolomeo occisus est post quem p. Timotheus qui non Polyperchon filius annis xiiii. in anno xiiii.º Ptolomei fuit initiatus regnare in Eamoin Cimbaoth filius qui p. annis xiiii.

Tunc a Temair Eochair Buadhac athair Ugaíne regnare ab aliis fertur Licet perscripsimus olim ab Ugaíne imperasse.

Omnia Monumenta Scotorum usque Cimbaoth incerta erant. Hoc tempore Claemon Stoicus et Minander comicus et Theophrastus Philosophus claruerunt.

R. Cephallen R. Macedonia obit qui [etc., etc.].

In all these copies of *Tighernach*, as well as in those described by Dr. O'Connor (those in the British Museum), the passage, "*Omnia monumenta*", etc., occurs in Latin, and with no material variation of language.⁽⁹³⁾ And if the observation did not occur elsewhere, or in any other form, the remarks of the Rev. Dr. Todd might, perhaps,

(92) The R.I.A. MS. omits the first lines of the passage, the first page of that MS. commencing as follows:—

Ardeus frater Alex. Magni occisus est in Olymp. cxv. et An. Urb. Condite 436 occisus est Antigonus Rex Asiae Minoris occisus est An. Rom. 453. Eodem tempore initiatus est regnare in Eumonia, i.e., An Eamhain Cimbaoth Mae Fiontain qui regnavit annis XVIII. Interim a Temhair Eochair Buadhac athair Ugaíne ab aliis fertur. Nos vero perscripsimus olim ab ipso Ugaíne tunc ibi imperatum esse. OMNIA MONUMENTA SCOTORUM USQUE AD CIMBAOTH INCERTA ERANT. Cesarander Rex Macedonia obiit An. R. 456 (etc., etc.). [The words printed in small Roman are written in the MS. in the Gaelic character. The words in Italics and small capitals here are all, in the MS., in Roman running hand.]

(93) The whole passage in O'Connor's *Tighernach* is as follows; the whole of the first eleven or twelve lines above being omitted, though in his preface (p. xlii.) he says that this T.C.D. copy begins with the same words as Rawl. 488, in the Brit. Mus. (see text, p. 67, 68):—"IN ANNO XVIIIº PTOLEMEI INITIATUS EST REGNARE IN EAMAIN CIMBAOTH PILLAS FINTAIN. QUI REGNAVIT ANNIS XVIII. TUNC IN TEMAIR EACHACH BUADHACH ATHAIR UGAINE==REGNARE AB ALIIS FERTUR LICET. PERSCRIPSIMUS OLLUM AB UGAINE REGNASSE. OMNIA MONUMENTA SCOTORUM USQUE CIMBAOTH INCERTA ERANT. HOC TEMPORE ZENO STOICUS ET MENANDER COMICUS ET THEOPHRASTUS PHILOSOPHUS CLARUERUNT==PTOLEMÆUS PHILADELPHUS REGNARE Cœpit, QUI REGNAVIT ANNIS XXXVIII; etc., etc."

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be considered sufficient to account for it. But I have found an important parallel passage in one of the oldest tracts in the Book of Ballymote, which is certainly not a version of *Tighernach*.

At fol. 5, the Book of Ballymote contains a page of Synchronisms which I am unable to identify as by *Tighernach* or *Flann*. That they were not believed by Charles O'Connor, of Ballynagar, to be Flann's, appears evident from the memorandum at the head of the next leaf (fol. 6), in the handwriting of that great scholar, in which he marks another Tract, commencing there, and not connected with this preceding piece, as the Synchronisms of *Flann*. The tract at fol. 5 begins:

Prima Etar Munro.

It proceeds then to record all the several ages of the world and their respective lengths, pointing out at what dates they are considered by chronologists to have begun and ended. It states that from the Deluge until the coming of *Parthalon* to Erin was 1002 years. It then synchronizes the subsequent colonizations after *Parthalon* with various personages mentioned in the Old Testament and in ancient history. Passing down to the Greek empire under Alexander, it then records that it was in the Fifth year of his reign that *Cimbaoth* began to reign at Emania, and that from the taking of Erin by *Parthalon* to the reign of *Cimbaoth* was 1202 years. And immediately afterwards we find these words:—

níosaí ferra ocuṛ níosaí veṛba
recla ocuṛ rencura fep n-epenn
conigí Cimbaet mac fínótáin.

The accounts and the histories of
the men of Erin are not known and
are not certain until [the time of]
Cimbaeth Mac Fintáin.

The writer then gives a list of Thirteen Kings of Emania after *Cimbaoth*, and the years of their reigns, down to *Concobhar Mac Nessa*; and states that it was 206 years after the death of *Concobhar* that *Cormac Mac Airt* became Monarch of Erin, and that this was in the Fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar. He then proceeds to record a number of dates connected with Church History; records that it was in the thirteenth year after the Crucifixion that St. Peter went to Rome; gives the date of his death, as well as that of St. Paul; records the times of the Eight General Persecutions of the Christians; and then states that it was in eight years after the eighth Persecution that *Cormac* began his reign at Tara. The tract concludes, on the same fol., with a short chronological account of several incidents in the Christian Church down to the coming of Palladius and of Patrick; but it contains nothing further relating to Erin.

It appears to be certain that this tract is not a version of *Tighernach*, with whose work it has no correspondence further than in containing (but in the Gaedhelic, and with considerable difference of expression) the remarkable sentence above quoted.

The second Tract of Synchronisms above alluded to is at fol. 6 of the same Book (the Book of Ballymote). It is headed, in the hand-

writing of the venerable Charles O'Connor of Ballynagar, as "The Book of Synchronisms of Flann of the Monastery":

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Leabhar Comaimrpeadta Flainn Maimrpeac piorana.

This tract, however, cannot be a part of the former, since it includes the same period; and it is remarkable that *Flann*, a writer contemporary with, though older than *Tighernach*, and of the very highest authority, makes no such remark with respect to the period before *Cimbaeth's* time, but simply records the synchronism of the Ulster King in its proper place. This tract also begins at the beginning, with Adam himself; and it carries down the record as far as the Battle of *Magh Mucruimhe* (in which the Monarch *Art* was killed), A.D. 195. The object of the piece is to mark what kings of the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, and Greeks, and what emperors of the Romans, were contemporary with the several Monarchs of Erin in succession.

When the writer of this tract reaches the time of *Cimbaeth*, he simply enters it in connection with Alexander, by saying (fol. 6 b. b.) that:

Alaxantair .i. c. mġ 3pe3 .u.
Dliaona, ocu3 Cimbae3 mac Fin-
tam ma 3e.

Alexander the First was King of
Greece five years; and *Cimbaeth Mac*
Fintain [was] in his time.

After which he continues only:

Tolameu3 mac Laige .xl. ocu3
ma3a Mongruad m[a]3e ocu3 Re3-
ta3o Rig3e33 ocu3 U3ame m33
ma3e 3o3.

Tolameus [Ptolemeus], son of
Lairge [Lagus], 40 years; and *Macha*
Mongruadh and *Rechtaidh Rig-derg*
and *Ugainé Mór* in his time too.

The tract then enumerates Eleven only of the kings of Emania from *Cimbaeth* to *Conchobhar*; but five additional names, not clearly discoverable here, are preserved in the poem of *Eochaidh O'Flainn*,—On *Cimbaeth* and his Successors,—written more than two hundred years before *Tighernach's* time.

It was, I am convinced, in this poem of *Eochaidh O'Flainn* that *Tighernach* found the names of the kings of Emania. It was from the same authority that both *Flann* and *Tighernach* took the names and facts of much else in their annals both before and after the era of Emania. *Eochaidh* wrote historical poems on the Succession of the Monarchs of Erin from the very beginning, yet he is quite silent as to any doubt upon the earlier periods. If the sentence which now appears in *Tighernach* were written by him at all, it is, therefore, difficult to imagine upon what grounds, not known to his own historical authority, he could have been induced to make such a remark.

It is unfortunately impossible now to ascertain by whom the sentence in question was first introduced into any record of the kings. Was it written by *Tighernach*, or was it copied by him from a preceding writer? If the former, was the Gaedhelic version, which appears at fol. 5 of the Book of Ballymote, a translation from *Tighernach's* Latin, and introduced by a subsequent scribe in a tract different from that of *Tighernach*? If the latter, did *Tighernach* translate into Latin the observation of a previous writer in Gaedhelic? If so, who could that writer have been, seeing that nothing of the kind

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occurs in the Synchronisms attributed to *Flann*, or in the historical poems known to be the work of that writer, who was contemporary with *Tighernach*, though a little older, and seeing that nothing of the kind occurs in the historical poems of *Eochaidh O'Flainn* (200 years before both), from which both *Tighernach* and *Flann* unquestionably, as I believe, take their account of the succession of the Kings? I can only say that it appears to me more likely that the Latin sentence was a free translation of the more precise and fuller Gaedhelic, than that the latter, as it occurs in the Book of Ballymote, was an expansion of, by way of gloss upon, the former. But I have no means of guessing at what time, or by whom, either was inserted. It is quite possible that the original, whichever it was, was, after all, but a marginal gloss, or observation of a scribe long subsequent to *Tighernach*; for the Book of Ballymote itself, it is to be remembered, was written three centuries after the time of the Annalist, while the oldest fragment of *Tighernach* now known is more than a century later still, and all the copies of his Annals in which the Latin entry appears are still more modern.

That *Tighernach's* great contemporary, *Flann*, found no reason to doubt the historical records of the Succession of the Kings before, any more than after, the local era of the Foundation of the provincial palace of Emania, is also clear, from the style of the elaborate poetical tracts preserved in the Book of *Lecain*, pieces which we can be quite certain were written by him,—detailed poems so elaborate (constructed, too, with the special object of the instruction of youth in the college in which their author taught), that it is quite impossible to suppose he would have omitted to express in them a doubt so serious, upon the authenticity of so large a part of the teaching they contain, if he had himself heard of or shared it. The only evidence we now have of the second Synchronisms in the Book of Ballymote (the Tract at fol. 6.) being by *Flann*, is that supplied by the marginal note already referred to in the handwriting of Charles O'Connor. But the great Poems in the Book of *Lecain* contain direct internal evidence of their authenticity. Unfortunately, that invaluable volume is defective by at least nine folios at the commencement, the present pagination beginning with fol. 10. The Succession of the Kings, both before and after the era of *Cimbaoth* in Ulster, is, however, complete; and the particularity of the account may be judged by the following short abstract of it.

At fol. 19. a., line 17 (Book of *Lecain*):

Comaimpead níg in domain ocu
gabál n-Éirenn nó réribrom i tur
in liubar ota flaité nín mic
peil nó gab níg in domain aréur
cu in coiceó ní doegreccab ocu
o paréolan mac Séra do nógab
Éirinn aréur iap nóilinn cu in
coiceó bliadain flata tigeinnmuir
mic follais nógab níg n-Éirenn
cocenn ceo bliadain ut alu aiant.

The synchronisms of the Kings of the World with the various colonizations of Erin, I have written at the beginning of the Book, from the reign of *Nin*, son of *Peil*, the first who assumed the empire of the world, to the fifth king of Greece; and from *Partholan*, the son of *Sera*, the first colonist of Erin after the Deluge, to the fifth year of the reign of *Tighern-*

IS ferr'ounn dono congnbam com-
amperao na cin popleith annro.

mas, the son of *Follach*, who reigned
one hundred years, ut alii aiunt. It
is better, therefore, that we write
the synchronisms in a separate stave
here.

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He then begins thus:—

Philopater tra in coiceao m do
Speccair .u. bliatna do i com-
flaiter fpi Tigernmar.

Philopater, the fifth king of the
Greeks, five years in co-reign with
Tighernmas, (etc.)

And he continues the synchronisms of the Assyrians, Medes, Greeks, etc., down to Julius Cæsar, the first king of Rome, without introducing the name of a single king of Erin. Julius Cæsar he synchronizes with our monarch, *Eochaidh Feidhlech*, and then continues the parallels down to the monarch, *Fergal Mac Maelduin*, who was killed in battle in A.D. 718. The prose is then followed by a poem of 1096 lines, in which the kings of the whole period, exclusive of those of Erin, are given, as well as many curious historical facts recorded.

At the end of the Synchronisms of the Monarchs and Provincial Kings of Erin (fol. 23, b. b.), the following notice appears in the original hand:—

incipit de regibus hibernie ab hepemon, urque eochar ferolec;
And then follows a poem of eighty-one quatrains, embracing the period indicated by the heading, and which is evidently intended to supply, in a separate and more convenient form, the absence of the monarchs of Erin from the great poem of 1096 lines.

This poem is immediately followed by the following notice:—
De regibus hibernie ab hepemon urque eochar ferolec et incipit ab
eocho urque do laegair mac neill, et flann cecinit.

There can be no doubt, then, that both poems are to be ascribed to Flann; but still, the period from *Laeghairé Mac Neill*, in 428, to *Fergus Mac Maelduin*, in 718, which appears in the prose tract, is still unsung in verse; this defect, however, is immediately supplied by another poem, of fifty-one quatrains, which follows the last, headed:

Do rugair epeinn iar epeom in-
ro rir.

Of the kings of Erin after (the
Christian) Religion here down.

This list is carried down to the death of *Brian Boiroimhé*, A.D. 1014 and the reassumption of the monarchy by *Maelsechlainn* [Malachy] the Second, who died in 1022; and as the poet prays for his long life, it is clear that these poems and prose pieces were written before the year 1022. At the end of the whole poem we find this curious quatrain, identifying the author.

Go po flann red tigla opeinn,
mac moifi ligoa leigino,
for nem, nioal oichie de,
riaectam rugig hipege.

May Flann reach past severe punish-
ments,—

[Flann] the son of the illustrious pro-
fessor,—

To Heaven, it were no negative ap-
pointment,

To reach the royal mansion in the
sovereignty.

AP. XXXIII.

Stanza by
Maelmura,
quoted by
Tighernach.

[APPENDIX No. XXXIII. [Lect. III., Page 64.]
Original of stanza quoted by Τίγερνας from the poem of Maelmura.

O Θαerna in pobail co gein fiaðat feioil
Coic cet ip noe mbliadna octmogat co demin,
O Adam co ngeineamain oen mic Maíne míne,
It da bliadain caegat nai cet ip tpi mile.

APPENDIX No. XXXIV. [Lect. III., Pages 65 and 66,
note ⁽³⁴⁾.]

Stanza
quoted by
Tighernach.—
Dr. O'Connor's
account of
Tighernach's
Annals.

Original of stanza of an ancient poem quoted by Τίγερνας, as to the date of the death of St. Patrick; and Extract from the account printed by the Rev. Dr. O'Connor of the paper copy of the Annals of Τίγερνας in the Library of T.C.D.

O genemain Cyp̃r̃t, ceim aít,
.CCCC. for caem nochait;
Teopa bliadna r̃aer̃ iarp̃oin
Co bar̃ p̃at̃raic p̃rim̃ ap̃r̃taíl.

The following is the Rev. Charles O'Connor's Description of the Trinity College copy of the Annals of *Tighernach*, alluded to at page 66 (Lect. III.); (but see, also, *ante*, Appendix XXXII.):—

Fol. 113. Jamque, his omnibus ita accurate, etsi breviter, enumeratis, valde dolendum est plura deesse a folio 112; idque eo magis, quia quæ desunt, ea ipsa sunt, quæ desunt in Tigernachi Codice Bodleiano (Land, 488).

Incipit hoc folium 113 ab iisdem verbis quibus Codex prædictus, ab obitu nempe Alexandri Magni, quo tempore Cimbaoth Rex erat Ultoniæ. Desunt itaque in ambobus Codicibus omnia quæ præcedunt ab ipso mundi initio, unde Tigernachus, æque ac Beda et cæteri Chronographi, exordium duxit. Codicem hinc ex Bodleiano descriptum, fuisse demonstrat non solum hiatus iste in initio, verum et ipsa scribendi ratio, quæ plane indicat amanuensem non aliud ore sibi impositum sensisse quam illud accurate imitandi quæ describerat ratio; iisdem enim abbreviationibus utitur ad unguem, eademque barbara orthographia, quæ Grammaticis, tam Hibernorum, quam Romanorum, Regulis omnino repugnat, quoque in Codice Bodleiana valde displicet, atque ab imperito amanuensi sæculi 13t̃ii illum Codicem scriptum esse declarat. Maximam porro ignorantiam prodit amanuensis, non solum in eo, quod barbarum hancce orthographiam serviliter imitatur, verum multo magis in hoc, quod omnia describat, tanquam nihil omnino in Codice Bodleiano desiderabitur.

Fol. 122. De est, exempli gratia, in Codice Bodleiano folium septimum; qui autem Dubliniensem inde descripsit nihil ibi deesse ratus totum descripsit absque ullo hiatu, et ab anno quarto post captivitatem Patricii, transiit ad annum abinde fere centesimum, idque in ipso

medio paginæ b, folii 122, minime advertens folium septimum penitus desiderari. Quis nescit, in tanta rerum nostrarum penuria, quantum hoc asciteritia Antiquitatibus Hibernicis detrimenti simul et contumeliæ attulerit? A captivitate Patricii transit codex Dubliniensis ad obitum S. Cianani Damliagensis, nihil inter utrumque referens, nisi pauca quædam de Juliano Apostata, et de miraculo Hierosolymitano, quæ ultima sunt verba folii septimi Codicis Bodleiani.

AP. XXXIV.

Stanza
quoted by
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Desunt quidem in Bodleiano numeri annorum, qui in hoc codice appositi legentur in margini sed hi numeri manu recentiori descripti sunt, idque perperam, et ex Annalibus Innisfaliensibus, ut quidam, adhuc recentior, anno tensit in margine folii 121 b.

Fol. 124. Non nulla desunt in hoc folio, amanuensis ascitantia omissa, quæ in nostra Editione ex Codice Bodleiano supplentur. Alia pariter in eodem folio omittuntur pagina b. quæ eandem oscitantiam demonstrant, linea quarta ubi nulla mentos de obitu *Itæ Chuan credalensis*, vel de annis ab obitu Patricii.

Characteres hujus Exemplaris Tigernachi longe diversi sunt a characteribus præcedentium foliorum, et longe plures sunt Abbreviationes verborum et syllabarum.

Fol. 133. Quæ de hujus codicis apographo Bodleiano dicta sunt supra ea plane confirmantur ex folio 133. Ea enim omnia, quæ desunt in Codice Bodleiano, ab anno 765 ad annum 973, desunt pariter in Dubliniensi.

Folio 134. Desunt etiam in hoc folio eadem, quæ desunt in Codice Bodleiano ab anno 1003 ad annum 1018, cujus *character* exprimitur sic "Kl. iiii. feria, Luna x., Litera Dominicale E". Hoc tamen ab aliis referentur ad annum 1019, quod etiam convenit cum characteribus sequentium annorum. Annus enim immediate proximus sic exprimitur "Kal. vi. feria, Luna ii., an. xiiii. circuli decennovennalis et *xr. post mille finitum*". Cætera recto ordine sequuntur pro ut in Codice Bodleiano, ad annum usque 1088, ubi hæc leguntur "Tigernachus huc usq. Scripsit, et hoc anno quievit" recto ordine procedunt etiam inde ad annum 1178, ubi meum Codicis Bodleiani Exemplar ideo desinit, quia cætera, quæ sequuntur in Codice Bodleiano, *recentiori manu* descripta sunt. Pono quæ extant in Bodleiano *diversis manibus*, in hoc codici una, eademque manudescipta sunt, usque ad annum 1407, et folium 161 inclusive, ubi explicit continuatio Tigernachi.

Hæc sunt, quæ, seclis Partium Studiis, de ambobus codicibus dicenda erant. Cætera, quæ in Dubliniensi continentur a folio 164, pulchrori manu, et characteribus, ac Lingua, partim Latina, partim Hibernica, scripta usque ad finem codicis, *Chronici Scotorum*, titulo designantur, et eadem manu scripta sunt usque ad folium 216. Ubi chronicon hoc desinit in anno 1135.

Prima duo folia Historiam Universalem breviter attingunt a creato mundo ad Nativitatem S. Patricii. Cætera folia, numero 51, Historiam Hibernicam præcipue respiciunt, eaque omnia mea manu ex hoc codice descripta jam penes me habeo.

CAROLUS O'CONOR.

AP. XXXV.

APPENDIX No. XXXV. [Lect. III., Page 68.]

Of King
Eochaidh
Buadhach.Of *eocharō buadach*.

But the most curious part of this entry is the assertion that *Eochaidh Buadhach*, the father of *Ugainé Mór*, was king of all Erin, and residing at Tara contemporaneously with *Cimbaeth*, King of Emania; when the fact is that *Eochaidh Buadhach* was never monarch of Erin at all; but, by a mistake of the original compiler, or some subsequent scribe, his name is substituted here for that of his father, *Duach Ladhrach*, who was the contemporary of *Cimbaeth*.

APPENDIX No. XXXVI. [Lect. III., Page 68.]

Entry in
Tighernach.*Original of entry in* *Τιζερνας* *as to the Kings of Leinster.*

Τρις μὲν ποταὶ το Λαίγην πορ Εἰνν ὁ τὰ Λαβαρὸ
 Λοιγγρεὶς κο Καθαίρ Μόρ.

APPENDIX No. XXXVII. [Lect. III., Page 70.]

Reference
to Book of
Leinster.

Original of commencement of an ancient poem preserved in the
"Book of Leinster" (H. 2. 18., T.C.D., fol. 104), ascribed to
 Σίλλα ἀν Χομπεὸ ὕα Κορμαίς.

"Δ Ρι μίς το περὶ οἷς ὅσιν".

APPENDIX No. XXXVIII. [Lect. III., Page 70.]

Ancient
account of
the Founda-
tion of
the Palace
of Emania.

Original (with Translation) of the account of the foundation of
the palace of Emain Macla, (B.C. 405,)—*from the "Book of*
Leinster" (H. 2. 18., T.C.D., fol. 10 b. a.).

Οἷο δία τὰ Εἰνν Μαῶ. Νι ἡαννρὰν ριν.

Τρί μὲν βαταρ πορ ἡ-Εἰνν ἰ κομψαθιυρ, το ὕλταιβ
 τοιβ .ι. Οἰθορβα mac Οἰμμάιν, ἡ ἡ-ἡρμιυὶς Μῖοε; Δεο
 Ρυαο mac Βάδουρ, μίς Αἰγαιτμαρ, ἡ Τίρ Δεο; Cím-
 baeth mac Fintain, μίς Αἰγαιτμαρ ἡ Fínnabair Maíge
 Inir.

Ὅο Νιατ κόρμα ιαρυμ, na μῆγρην, ρεῖτ μβλιαθνα καὶ
 ρίρ οἷβ ἡρμυε. Τίρ ρεῖτ μαθα ετυρρ, ρεῖτ νορμυο,
 ρεῖτ ρίρ, ρεῖτ νόττιγερν. Na ρεῖτ νορμυο δία μῆγρ
 τῆμα βρῖετ; na ρεῖτ ρίρ δία ἡγλαμαο οἰρ δία νε-
 ρμαρ; na ρεῖτ τοιρῆς δία ἡγυρ οἰρ δία λορμυο μεν
 ρακαο in ρερ οἷβ in μῆγρ ἰ οἰρ ρεῖτ μβλιαθαν; κο κομέτ
 ρίρ ρλαῶ .ι. μερρ καῶ βλιαθνα, οἰρ cen meth ρυαμνα
 κεῖ δαῶ, οἰρ cen mna δεκαιβ δε βαναιορ. Τιμῆλρ
 τεόρμα κύρμα κεῖ ρίρ οἷβ ἡρμυε .ι. ρερκα ατῆ. Δεο ρυαο
 τῆμα, ατβαθ οἷβ ἀρτῆρ .ι. βάορ no βάορ in Εἰρμαρ;

ocur co tucad adorp irin ríó rin, unoe Síó n-Aeoa, ocur xxxviii.
 Eriuiaro. Ni farigaib in tAeoirin claino aét oen ingen .i.
 Maça Mongruad a hainmrioe. Conattaig ríoe pel a ha-
 thari don ríge. Atberit Cimbaeth ocur Dithorba ní thi-
 beritair ríge do mnai. Feéta caé etuiriú, ocur mairoio in
 caé ie Macha. Dorumalt feét mbliatona iríge. Do
 rochairi Dithorba i Coruno foírioe. Forácaibríoe cóic
 maccu maíte .i. Baet, ocur Briar, Betaé, ocur Uallaé,
 ocur Boribéar. Conatáetari ríoe ríge. Atberit Maça na
 tibrieo doib, ar ní ó iathairb tuc aét arriói éata ar écin.
 Feéta caé etuiriú. Buirriy Maça in cath fori maccaib Di-
 thorba, co farigaibret ár cenó aice; co rocuiri iat ar
 innariba iartain inoírribuib Connaét. Tuc Macha iarfain
 Cimbaéé éucci do céile oi, ocur do thairigeét a hamraige
 imme.

Ancient
 account of
 the Founda-
 tion of
 the Palace
 of Eriania.

O robatari oentaodais tra, Macha ocur Cimbaech, luro
 Macha do iariari meic nDithorba iríuét claimrige .i. táer
 recaib, ocur iota ro comleo impe, conorruairi i mbairuno
 Connaét oc ríne tuiric allair. Iarfaisit na ríi rcéla oi,
 ocur innirrió rí doib, ocur do beiait biaó oi con tenoirin.
 Atberit feri oib: ir álaino riore na calligi, oéntaigem ríua.
 Nor beirrioe leir fón caillio. Cenglaroiri in ferriain
 allur riit, ocur fácbairó é rin chaillio. Ticií doirioiri
 don tenio. Cade in feri da cóio latr arriat. Mebol lair,
 arrií, tiaétain éucaibri ar noéntuguo ríi claimrig. Ní bo
 mebol, ar iatrum, ar do genamui uli acétna. Nor beir
 caé feri fon calle. Cenglaroiri caé feri oib ar riuit, ocur
 nor beir in oéncengul le iat co hultu. Arberitatar
 Ulaio ammarbas. Níthó, arriiri, ar ir coll ríi flata
 oampa, aét a nooiriao fo doiríe, ocur clairoet riáith im-
 muiya, coriop hí bar riimchaéiri Ulaó co briath. Co ro
 thóirainoiri doib in dún cona heó óiri imma muin .i. Euiuin
 .i. Eó Muin .i. Eó imma Muin Macha.

[TRANSLATION.]

What is *Emain Macha* named from? It is not difficult to tell?

Three kings that were over Erin in co-sovereignty; they were of the Ultonian race, namely, *Dithorba*, son of *Diman*, from *Usniuch* of *Midhe* (Meath); *Aedh Ruadh*, son of *Bádhuir*, son of *Argatmar*, from *Tír Aedha*; *Cimbaeth*, son of *Fintan*, son of *Argatmar*, from *Finnabhair* of *Magh Inis*. These kings, now, made an arrangement, that each man of them should reign seven years [in turn].

There were three times seven guarantees between them [namely]: seven Druids, seven poets, seven military leaders [or captains]. The seven Druids to scorch them by incantations; the seven poets

XXXVIII.

Ancient
account of
the Founda-
tion of
the Palace
of Emania.

to satirize and denounce them; the seven captains to wound and to burn them, if each man of them did not vacate the sovereignty at the end of his seven years; and to maintain the [evidences of the] righteousness of a sovereign, namely: abundance of fruit every year; and no failure of the dye-stuffs of every colour; and women not to die in childbirth. They revolved three revolutions each man of them in the sovereignty, that is, sixty-three [years, in all]. *Aedh Ruadh* was the first of them that died, *i.e.* of drowning, he died in *Eas-Ruaidh*, and his body was buried in that hill [*Sidh*] unde *Sidh Aedha* [*Aedh's hill*], and *Es-Ruaidh* [or, the Redhaired Man's Cataract]. This *Aedh* left no children but one daughter, *i. e.*, *Macha Mong-Ruadh* [that is, Redhaired *Macha*] was her name. She demanded her father's turn of the sovereignty. *Cimbaeth* and *Dithorba* said that they would not give sovereignty to a woman.

There was a battle fought between them, and *Macha* gained the battle. She spent seven years in the sovereignty. *Dithorba* was killed in the *Corann* in that time. He left five good sons, namely, *Baeth*, and *Bras*, and *Betach*, and *Uallach*, and *Borbchas*. These demanded the sovereignty. *Macha* said that she would not resign it to them, because it was not from securities she had obtained it, but in the battle-field by force. A battle was fought between them, *Macha* gained the battle over the sons of *Dithorba*, so that they left a slaughter of heads with her; and she sent them into banishment afterwards into the wildernesses of Connacht. *Macha* after that took *Cimbaeth* to her to be her husband, and to take on him the command of her soldiers.

When *Macha* and *Cimbaeth* had thus formed an union, *Macha* set out to discover the sons of *Dithorba*, in the shape of a leprous woman, *i. e.*, having rubbed herself with the dough of rye and *rota* [some kind of red colouring stuff]. And she found them in *Bairinn* of Connacht, cooking a wild hog. The men asked news of her, and she told them, and they gave her food at that fire. A man of them said: "Beautiful is the eye of the hag: let us cohabit with her". He took her with him into the wood. She tied that man by main strength, and she left him in the wood. She came again to the fire. "What of the man who went with you?" said they. "He was ashamed", said she, "to come back to you after cohabiting with a leprous woman". "It is no shame", said they, "for we will all of us do the same". Each man of them took her into the wood. She tied each man of them by her strength, and carried them in one tie with her to Ulster. The Ultonians proposed to have them killed. "Not so", said she, "because it would be the defilement of the righteousness of a sovereign to me; but they shall be condemned to slavery, and shall raise a *Rath* around me, and it shall be the chief city of Ulster for ever". And she marked for them the *Dún* with her brooch of gold [*Eó óir*] from her neck [or at her neck], *i.e.* *Emuin*, *i.e.* *Eomuin*, *i.e.* the *Eó* [brooch] of *Macha* at her neck. [*Eó* and *muin*, brooch and neck.]

APPENDIX No. XXXIX. [Lect. III., Page 75.]

Original of entry in the Annals of Tighernach, at A.D. 1405.

AP. XXXIX.

Extract
from the
Annals of
Tighernach

Auisirctin Maghaidoig, canonac do canonacoib Oileán na Naom, faoi, scein mo maiu, a negno diaño asur doimondo, ma leigionn, ar fencar, asur ar ealatnoib iomra aile apceno; asur ollom deig-uilabho iaptoir Eorpo; fer tgoir an lioboiri, asur leaboir iomra oile, eoiri bethair naom, asur fencar-dalaib; deig an ceoaim ma Samoin, ir an ferreó bliadain ar caogac [a doiri]; for feraró éirgo. Triocairi an trlanoigtoir leora Cuir do toigect for a anmoin.

APPENDIX No. XL. [Lect. IV., Page 76.]

Original of legendary account of Maelruáin O'Ceirbaill, of Inis Fálenn (Inisfallen), in Loch Léin (the Lake of Killarney), from the ancient vellum MS. called the 'Liber Flavus Fergusorum', (Part I., fol. 11 a.)

Ancient
story of
Maelruáin
O'Ceir-
baill.

Tuar foglainntis taimcudair o Cuinnir do denum leiginn dinnaró amcariad buain mic Ceinneirig .i. Muil-ruáin huac Ceirbaill, deoganaet locha lein, ar ba he echnaró ba fearu ina aimir he. Ir amlair mo badair in tuar foglainntisiri, ocur comciut, ocur comvealba, ocur comainm formo .i. domnall an tainm. Ro badair imoimio, tu bliadna ac foglainm occo. A cinn tu bliadna adubriadar fu noiri: irail linn ar riad, dul copoici Ierusalem irin tu luda, su mo imoimio ar cora cech conair mo imig an tSlaimicr a talam. Adubairt in taroi: ni iatharó no su fagbathai luach mo faeri [faetiri] acumra. Adubriadar na talairó: ni fuil acuin, ar riad, ni do beirim duitt acé be muid tu bliadna aile ag omulor duitt, maó ail leatt. Ni hail, aife, acé beo tobriaró mo breit fein dam, no den bair nearguine. Do beirim, ar riad, dia moib acuin. Ron naife formo fo forcela in Coimveaó. Racharó, aife, in conair ir ail lib, ocur bió marib rib a naemfeacé ar an tuar, ocur ir breath concim omuib, can dul ar neam iari negaib duib, no co tirdaró cucumra ar dúr dia innirir dam ce fad mo faegail ocur co mo innirir an fagaim cennra in Coimó. Seallmuidne duittri an ni rin a huét an Coimó, ariar mo imirir rin, ocur iucrao beannaétain leó o na noiri, ocur mo fagrat beannaétain aigi ona. Ro rihrit cech conair mo cualadar in tSlaimicr do imiét. Rameadar ona, foéoró copoici Ierusalem, ocur fuariradar bar aneimfeacé ann, ocur mo haónaiceaó co noiri [nonoiri] moiri iad in Ierusalem. Taimic Micel Arcaingéal o Dia ara ceann. Ioub-

an aentaíó na Trínoirí, ocur muinntirí Neime, co bpat na mbreath. IS annsin no tinoilís facair [facair] ocur cleiríó imda cuigi, ocur no hongad he, ocur ní no rgarrao a dal-taíó fíur no su n-decádar docum Neime. Ocur irre rceper-tua [rceperua] in fíur maith fín a ta in Innir Fáiclénn írin eclair for.

Finit.

APP. XL.

Ancient
Story of
Maelsuth-
ain O' Cear-
bhaill.

APPENDIX No. XLI. [Lect. IV., Page 76, Note ⁽³⁵⁾.]

Contents of the "Liber Flavius Fergusorum", a vellum MS. in two parts, or volumes, 4to, of the date 1437, in the possession of James Marinus Kennedy, Esq. [the volumes not consecutively paged, but each consisting of several staves (A, B, C, etc.), paged separately at present, but irregularly divided.]

Contents
of the MS.
called LIBER
FLAVIUS FER-
GUSORUM.

PARS I., A,—Fol. 1. A religious legend (in which the names of St. Stephen Martyr, and Judas occur).

Fol. 2. The Triumphs of Charlemagne [a rather short tract].

Fol. 10. The Story of Constantine the Great.

Account of the Names of the Trees of which the Cross was composed.

Account of a man's head having fallen off at the fair of *Taillten*, for swearing falsely upon the hand of St. *Ciaran*.

Story of *Niall Frassach*, Monarch of Erin.

Fol. 11. Trial of Friendship by an Ancient Philosopher.

Story of *Maelsuthain O'Cearbhaill* [*O'Carroll*], Secretary and Adviser to *Brian Boroinhe*. [See ante, APPENDIX No. XL.]

Story of *Saighir Ciarain*.

Account of the Wonders of the birth of Christ.

Fol. 13. Short Life of St. *Moling*.

B,—Fol. 1. Story of Enoch and Elias.

Fol. 2. Death of St. Christoferus.

Fol. 6. Religious Legends (of Erin).

Fol. 7. Religious Legends and Rules.

Fol. 1. Legend of St. *Moling*.

C,—Fol. 1. Story of the Sons of *Eochaidh Muighmheudhóin*.

A Religious Legend.

Fol. 2. The Historic Tale of the *Táin Bo Flidais* (part of the *Táin Bo Chuailgne*).

A Religious Legend.

Fol. 3. Account of the "Irruption", or Origin, of the Boyne River.
Story of St. *Colum Cille*.

Birth of *Conn* of the Hundred Battles.

Fol. 4. Story of *Niall* of Nine Hostages, and his Sons.

A Religious Legend.

Fol. 5. Short Account of St. Patrick.

Fol. 6. Account of the Death of St. Andrew.

Fol. 7. Account of the Death of St. Philip the Apostle.

APP. XII.

Contents
of the MS.
called LIBER
FLAVUS FER-
GUSORUM.

Fol. 7. Account of the Death of *Partholan*.

D,—Fol. 1. Life of St. John the Evangelist, (imperfect).

Fol. 3. Beheading of St. John the Baptist.

Life of St. Elexinus.

Fol. 4. Exposition of the Lord's Prayer.

Fol. 5. Moral and Religious Tracts.

Fol. 6. Story of *Dunchadh*, or Donogh, O'Brien [*O'Braoin*.]

Story of the Man who swore by St. *Ciaran's* Hand.

Story of *Mac Coisé* the Poet, and the Fairy Woman.

Story of *Aodh Oirdnidhe* and the Enchanted Goblets.

Story of Constantine the Great.

PARS II., A,—Fol. 1, et seq., Religious Pieces (miscellaneous).

Fol. 6. Account of the Death of St. Salmus.

Fol. 9. Life of St. Julian.

Fol. 10. Of the Passion of our Lord.

B,—Fol. 1. Religious Tract from St. Augustine.

Fol. 2. A curious Address from a Priest to the Heir of the
King of Oriel, on the Sacraments.

Fol. 5. Death (and Life) of St. *Ceallach*, son of *Eogan Bel*, King
of Connacht; (see *ante*, APPENDIX No. XIV.)

Fol. 8. Religious Legend of the Seven Heavens, and of the Crea-
tion of Man.

Fol. 10. Threatened Inflictions on the Church in Ireland if the
purity of the Faith was not preached and forwarded.
Tract on SS. Peter and Paul.

Fol. 12. The Genealogies of the Apostles.

Fol. 13. Religious Tracts (miscellaneous).

C,—Fol. 1. On the Passion, Resurrection, etc.

Fol. 8. Story of St. *Baithin*.

D,—Fol. 1. Story of *Tadhg O'Briain* and the Devil.

Tract on the House of Solomon.

The "Epistle of Christ".

Fol. 2. Tract on the Greatness of God, etc. (commonly called
Teanga Bithnua).

Fol. 4. Dialogue of the Soul and the Body.

Fol. 5. The Vision of St. Paul.

Fol. 6. Tract on the Eucharist.

Fol. 7. On the Situation of the City of Jerusalem.

Fol. 8. On the Colours of the Vestments used at Mass.
Life of St. Eustatius.

Various Legends (religious, etc.)

Fol. 10. Life of St. Mary of Egypt.

E,—Fol. 1. Life of Saint Georgius (much defaced).

Fol. 5. The Testament of the Blessed Virgin.

Fol. 7. Legend of St. *Brenann* of *Birr*.

Fol. 8. Legend of *Meadhbh* and the Cave of *Cruachain*.

Tract on the Expulsion of the *Déisé* (Decies or Deasys)
from Tara.

Fol. 9. Tract on the Death of Conor Mac Nessa on the Day of the Crucifixion. APP. XII.

Tract concerning the Devil.

Tract on the Commandments.

Fol. 12. Story of Saint Brendan.

[Some parts of these MSS. are as old as the middle of the fifteenth century, and other parts perhaps not so old. The date 1437 occurs at the 29th leaf of Part I., or Part I. C. Fol. 5.]

**Contents
of the MS.
called LIXER
FLORES LIR-
GOSUM.**

APPENDIX XLII. [Lect. VI., Page 84.]

Original of entry in the Annals of Ulster of the Death of the original compiler, Mac Maġnusa. (A.D. 1498.)

Of the
Original
compiler of
the Annals
of Ulster.

Scél mór mo Eunn uile in bhláthairí .i. ro rír.

Mac Maġnura Mheguri oö äs in bliaöaini .i. Caöail
ös, mac Caöail, mic Caöail, mic Sillapaöais, mic Maöa,
etc. Neoö bui ina biaöaö fori Seanö, ocur ina cana-
naö coriaö in Airo Maöa, ocur in Eppocöiveöt Cloöain,
ocur ina öegánaö fori Loö Eime, ocur ina pheppün a n-lmij
Cam Loöa h-Eime; öo bui a n-öegantaöet Loöa h-Eime ina
fep-inaro Eppuc fpu öüne bliaöna öög ma na eitrecht. Inö
leac loġmuri, imoio, ocur in gem gloine, ocur in pötla
folurta, ocur eirti tarceöa inö ecnai, ocur epaöb enuapais
na canöine, ocur topuri na öesepci, ocur na cennra ocur
na hailgine; ocur in colum ari gloine epöe, ocur in tur,
turi ari enöca ocur innech, öari buröngi öáma, ocur öeö-
piaoö, ocur öeiblein boöhta Eipenn; ocur in neaö bui lán
öo maö, ocur öo ecna in ġaö inle ealaöain co haimuri a
eitrecht, ocur apaiöe .i. öliġeö, ocur viaöaöet, fipigöet
ocur feallpame, ocur ealaöain ġaeröilgi aipöena. Ocur
neaö po öumöais, ocur po öeglam, ocur po öinoil an lea-
bappa a leabpab öimöa aile. Ocur a äs von ġaluri bpeac,
in öeömaö Calainn öo mi Appul, via haine apai laöti recht-
mum. 1x^o. anno [a]etatiſ sue. Ocur tabpaoö ġaö neö
via léġfa inö lebappa, ocur via foigena, a bennaöet fori an
anmainſin Mhic Mhaġnura.

APPENDIX No. XLIII. [Lect. IV., Page 85.]

Original of two memoranda inserted in a blank space (at the end of A.D. 1373) in the Dublin copy of the Annals of Ulster, (classed H. 1. 8. T.C.D.)

Sachson leigfar an becco tabriao bentocht ar anmuin
 an fhuio ghairb.

IS cōpia d' tādunyt ar anmain Ruairtín h' Lunnín do rēgub
an lebuī comait.

APP. XLIV.

APPENDIX No. XLIV. [Lect. IV., Pages 90, 92.]

Of the commencement of the Annals of Ulster in the Vellum MS. so called (classed H. 1. 8.) in the Library of T.C.D.

I cannot venture to pronounce on my own part a positive opinion upon the identification of these leaves with the Annals of Tighernach, but it seems to be more than probable that they did form a portion of a copy older than any (and not exactly coinciding with any) other now known. I can add nothing to the observations of the Rev. Dr. Todd (in his letter printed *ante* APPENDIX XXXII.), whose conclusion in the affirmative is, of course, entitled to the greatest weight. The writing of the three leaves in question appears to belong to the fifteenth century.

APPENDIX No. XLV. [Lect. V., Page 94.]

Memoranda
in Annals
of Loch Cé,
at 1061.

Original of memorandum inserted in the Annals of Loch Cé (H. 1. 19., T.C.D.) at A.D. 1061.)

1S im r̃g̃iteac̃ do b̃aic̃ b̃riaiñ mic̃ Diarmada. Anno Domini, 1580. M̃iri p̃ilip̃ baolais̃.

APPENDIX No. XLVI. [Lect. V., Page 94.]

Mem. in
Annals of
Loch Cé, at
1515.

Original of a second memorandum in the same, at 1515.

S̃guir̃im̃ de ro. Sõ o-taupãr̃õ Diã o'fear̃ in leab̃air̃i teac̃t̃ r̃l̃añ ó b̃hailẽ ãtã luam̃ .i. b̃riañ mac̃ Ruair̃i mic̃ Diarmada. M̃iri p̃ilip̃ r̃g̃ur̃rit̃, 1588, Lá̃ r̃éil̃ b̃rienuinñ dõ r̃uññiãõ. Ocũr̃ Cluaiñ h̃i b̃riaiñ mõ lõg̃.

APPENDIX No. XLVII. [Lect. V., Page 94.]

Mem. in
Annals of
Loch Cé, at
1581.

Original of a third memorandum in the same, 1581.

Fear̃caogãõ ó Duib̃genaiññ .i. mac̃ Fergãil̃ mic̃ p̃ilip̃ o'f̃ãg̃ail̃ báir̃ ã g̃-cluaiñ 1 b̃riaiñ.

APPENDIX No. XLVIII. [Lect. V., Page 94.]

Mem. in
Annals of
Loch Cé, at
1462.

Original of a fourth memorandum in the same, at 1462.

T̃rĩ uilleogã ocũr̃ .u. .xx.¹⁰ mem̃uim̃ ãtã ir̃iñ leab̃air̃a, Per me *David Duiginan*.

APPENDIX No. XLIX. [Lect. V., Page 95.]

Entry (at
1581) in Con-
tinuation of
Annals of
Loch Cé.

Original of an entry, at A.D. 1581, in fragment of the continuation of the Annals of Loch Cé, in the British Museum; and of Note appended thereto by Brian Mac Dermot, Chief of Mãg̃ Luir̃g̃ [Moy Lorg.]

1581. Añ Cal̃bãc̃ mac̃ Domnaill̃, mic̃ Taiõg̃, mic̃ Cathail̃ oig̃ h̃i Concubair̃i, oig̃iẽ Sl̃ig̃iõ ocũr̃ l̃c̃tair̃i Connãc̃t̃

gan impurain u'fagail báir in aoine roer uá Cáirc na APP. XLIX.
blianaro.

The following is the note :—

Ocur ip vo rgeleib móra na hepenn an ténmac rin Dom-
naill 1 Concubair, ocur Móire ingine 1 Ruairc; ocur ní táimic
vo flicet bhuain Luighnig muam, fep a aora buo mó vo rcel na
é, ocur ni voig co tiepa; ocur vo epáir inrgeleir epioeóa
Connaet, ocur co hámuete vo epáir pé éigir ocur ollumhain
eúigro Connaet; ocur vo éompoimre mo epioe péin na
uá éuro. Uch, uch ip truaig marí táim anveóig mo ééile,
ocur mo companaig, ocur an tí uoba toéa, ocur uobo
taimri lem ari bit. Mipri bhuain Mac Diarmada vo rgeleir rin,
ari Cairiaig Mhe Diarmada; ocur ip pamalta mé anoir pe
h-Ollill Oloim anoir a cloinne ari na marbad a bfoéairi Airt
Enprip mic Cuinn céocathair a cat Muige Mucquime, le
Mac Con mic Maicmao mic Luigvech; no pe Deirpore tapier
Cloinne h-Uirnech vo marbad a brell a neamuin Maéa, le
Concubair Mac Faetna, mic Rora muao, mic Ruóparóe.
Oip atáim uúbaé uobpónaie uibpogioeé uomenmaé a
uubairge, ocur anuogailprip; ocur ni heroiri a muom na a
imipm marí atáim anoir mo companaig vo uul uaim .i.
an Calbach; ocur an lá véigenaé vo mí Maipra vo hat-
lacao a Sligech é.

Entry (at
last) in Con-
tinuation of
Annals of
Lech Cé.

APPENDIX No. L. [Lect. V., Page 96.]

*Original of entry in the Annals of the Four Masters, of the
Death of Brian Mac Dermot, of Maig Luipig, A.D. 1592.*

Death of
Brian Mac
Dermot of
Moy Lurg.

Mac Diarmada Maige Luipic, bhuain Mac Ruairp mic
Taróe mic Diarmada, décc i mí Nouembep, ocur po ba
móire uáóbari éeaoine ée an fin rin gan a éormailcar
vo beic vo éloim Maolpuanair vo gébaó ceantour dia epí.

APPENDIX No. LI. [Lect. V., Page 101.]

Original of entry in the Annals of Lech Cé at A.D. 1087.

Entry in An-
nals of Lech
Cé.

Cat Conaéla a epic copuinn la Ruairp na rag buioe mac
Oeóa in ga beapmaig, fop Oeóh mac Airt Uí Ruairc; ocur
maite Conmaicne uile iugulati sunt et occiprip.

APPENDIX No. LII. [Lect. V., Page 101.]

Original of entry in the same at A.D. 1087.

Entry in An-
nals of Lech
Cé.

Natur epit oc anno Toiprioéalbaé Ua Concóbari.

APP. LIII.

APPENDIX No. LIII. [Lect. V., Page 101.]

Account of
Battle of
Mugh Slecht,
in Annals of
Loch Cé.

Original of account of the Battle of Mugh Slecht, from the Annals of Loch Cé (H. 1. 19., T.C.D.), at A.D. 1256.

KL. Enairi fori račarn ocu^r .xi.⁽⁹⁴⁾ fichet fuippe .xui anno cicli solir tepiciur annur decimur anno xiiii. inoici-
one. M. cc. l. pexto.

Flann mac Floinn quiro Erpuc Tuama do éc a mbhuor-
toma. Arroerpuc bhaile Ača Cliač do ec in bliadain ceona.
Ruairi^{ri} ua Saora, m^g Slebe Luža do marbač oá čairroer
Cúirt féin .i. Oabro mac Ricairi^o Cúirin a fill, ocu^r a
mebuil, ocu^r a čairlén do bupreč in tanrin oó.

Slóigeč očbul mór do oénam la Uáteri mac Ricairi^o,
mic Uilliam búpc vočum Féolim mic Cathail Cpoibčoir^g,
ocu^r vočum a mic .i. Aoč mac Féolimiro, ocu^r čum mic
Tižepnám i Ruairi^c; ocu^r ir imčian róime rin ó po tinólač
a comlinmar in trlóiz rin a neppinn, oir ipreč po har-
medh annrin .i. fiche míle ar ápiem doin^{fi}ri. Ocu^r tan-
začari na rluaga lánmópa rin zo M^g neč na Sapanac,
ocu^r arričre zo Balla, ocu^r arričre ar furo Luigne; ocu^r po
arigreo Luigne ar zač leir ina timčell; ocu^r tancodari
co hAchač Conaire. Ocu^r do čuipret tečta ar rin uathailb
oinnpoizir^o muinteri Raižilliz, ocu^r do aobričari točt na
coinne zo cpoir Doire Caoin, fori činn arčterac bpaic-
flébe, a Tir Tuathail. Ocu^r tanzačari muinteri Raižilliz
co Clachán Mucāč fori Sléib an lairin. Ocu^r po impačari
muinteri Raižilliz annrin zan čoinne o'fažail ó Gallailb;
ocu^r tancotari ar rin co Soiltén na nŽarān. Supab irin
ló čeona rin .i. oia haoine do funnrič, ocu^r lá fele Cpoir
tari zač lá, po činóil Cončobari mac Tižepnám i Ruairi^c,
firi bpeirne ocu^r Chonmaicne, ocu^r an méro po féo maille
friu, fá Aoč ua Chončobari, ocu^r maičre Chonnačt, ocu^r
tSil Muipéčaiž arčhena. Ocu^r irrič ba ferri ar an rluag
rin .i. Cončobari mac Tižepnám i Ruairi^c .i. Ri ua mbmuin
ocu^r Chonmaic; ocu^r Cathal ua Flaitčberitaiž; ocu^r Mur-
čhač finn ua Feržail; ocu^r Ruairi^{ri} in fhečā ua Floinn;
ocu^r Flann Mhāž Oipečtaiž; ocu^r Donn óž Mhāž Oipečtaiž;
ocu^r cuir mór do tril Cheallaiž; ocu^r trí mic Mic Diar-
mata; ocu^r Diarmit ua Flannagāin; ocu^r Cathal mac Duar-
cāin l Eghia; ocu^r oá mac Tižepnám l Chončobari; ocu^r Sil-
lananaem ua Tarōž. Ro b'imōa tria, o'ōžbarō Chonnačt
ann ó rin amach. Ocu^r ir ann nuc topač in trlūaiž rin fori
muinteri Raižilliz, až Soiltén na nŽarān; ocu^r po lenpat
iač co hAčt Tiže Mhégupin. Ir annrin po impačari žlar-

(94) Sic in the MS.

laíť muintípe Raigillíḡ fíur in fluaḡ ceéťaróa fín; ocur tucpat trí maómanna fíorma. Ír annfín iucpat in fluaḡ móí fíorma, íarí maíbaó éosa óía muintep, im Ůhíarímaít Ůa bflannagáin, ocur im Mhac Maonaíḡ; ocur im Choícle Ůa Choícle, ocur im íócaíre aile. Ocur táncatadap uile na fluaíḡ ceéťaróa fín co halt na helcí, ocur ḡo Ůoíín Cíannéa, íoíí Aé na Beíťíḡe ocur Bél in bhealaíḡ; ocur Coíll Eppa; ocur Coíll Aíppéep, fíorí Sléib in íapuínn. Ocur ír annfín ío ímpatadap muintepí Raigillíḡ ḡo dúí, ocur ḡo vichípa, vápaéťac, víčéllíó, vóřmaéťnaíḡcí, a naghairó mic Phéó-límíó, ocur ína mboí Ůo Chonnaéťuíb maílle fíur, Ůo vóḡuíl a néḡcóríac, ocur a nanbříormáin fíorma. Ocur ío ḡíepí cáé vób a muintepí a cenn a célí .i. caé Ůa mbřuíín, ocur Connaéťaíḡ. Ír annfín ío epḡeodap Connaéťuíḡ Ůon leíť apáíll Ůon éaé; ocur ío bíatpín an vříong vána, vág-ťapairó, vřepí, vėnmneé. Ocur ío éoíḡeodap, ína laom loínvřeé, lapamáil, lámťapairó íao, ocur ína cipéí éomólúíé, éobřaíḡ, éenguílć, fá nóḡíu nuřpúńťa, narím-láívří .i. fá Aoó mac Feólimíó, mic Cathaíl Cříobvřepíḡ. Aéť chena, bá řepíḡ břuťflaéťa, ocur bá cobřaíḡeéť cupaó, ocur bá laocóaéť leómain la mac an áířvříḡ ířín lá fín. Ocur ío řepaó caé cříóóa, cřocpíac, cupata Ůo vób leíťíb etopípa íř ín uapí fín. Ro maíbaít, ocur ío ḡonait řochairóe anunn, ocur anall ceéťapí Ůo vób leíťíb. Aéť chena, ío řágbaó ann Conéobapí mac Tíḡepnáin, íú břepířne, ocur Mupéaó Fínn Ůa řepḡaíl, ocur Aoó Ůa řepḡaíl, ocur Maolříuanairó Mac Ůonn-chairó; vaoíne ímóa elí Ůo lot apí an láťapí fín; ocur vříem vób Ůo vól déḡ vó nḡonáíb ína tíḡíb, má Mupéaó Fínn Ůa řepḡaíl, ocur fá Flann Máḡ Oířeéťaíḡ, ío maíbaó a řpúťḡuín ín éaťa fín, ocur řócaíre elí maílle fíur. Aéť chena, ířéoh avepřo luéť eóluíř an móí éaťa fín, conáí řéopac laťḡaile ná ḡapřpáḡe fín, íná mílíó ín móí maóma řéchain ín aḡaró ín ářvřflaéťa; uapí Ůo bávrapí vó íú-éomníl, ío móřpa, řupřeleteńa apí lapřaó, ocur apí luamain ína éínn; ocur bá haóřuaéť lá cáé cómpáó fíur ín řan fín; uapí Ůo bai uíre íomagallmá řuar ná řluaḡaíb aḡ vól a ḡceno éaťa Ůa mbřuíín. Ocur řuḡ a řocann ářvřvříḡ, ocur a ḡříeé cupaó óřř ářvř a meóón an móí éaťa. Ocur níř an Ůon řéím, ocur Ůon řuaéťapí fín ḡupí meabairó Ůo éaé Ůa mbřuíín. Cřó řpá, aéť ío maíbaó apí an láťapí fín. Caťal Ůa Raigillíḡ, íú Muintípe Maolmóřpóa, ocur éaťa Aoóa Fínn, ocur a vóa ínac maílle fíur .i. Ůomínall Ruao, ocur Míall, ocur a vřepřáťapí .i. Cuéonnaéť, ocur trí mic Chaťaíl Ůuób Ůí Raigillíḡ .i. ḡopřpáḡ, ocur řepḡal, ocur Ůomínall; ocur Annaó mac Ůomínall í Raigillíḡ, Ůo maíbaó lá Conéobapí

APP. LIII.

Account of
Battle of
Magh Slecht,
in Annals of
Lech Cc.

APP. LIII.

Account of
Battle of
Magh Slecht,
in Annals of
Loch Cé.

mac Tigeimáin; ocur an Caoch ua Rairgillig .i. niáll, ocur
Tigeimán mág bhrádaig, ocur Sillamichil mac Taidlig,
ocur Donncaó ua bibráig, ocur Mágnur mac Sillaóuib,
ocur tilleó ar trí píctib do mairtib a muinntire mapoén
ríu. Ocur po mapbaó ré firi dég d'ib Rairgillig ann beór.
Caé moige Sleét ar bhrú áta Deirg, as allt na heilte, ór
bhealaó na beirige, ainm in áta rin.

APPENDIX No. LIV. [Lect. V., Page 102, Note ^(39.)]

Of the Idol
called *Crom*
Cruach.

*Original (with Translation) of passage in the Tripartite Life
of Saint Patrick concerning the Idol called Cenn Cruaich, [or
Crom Cruach] and the Plain called mág Sleét.*

Luro iarium pátraió i Teóbaí tuairceir .i. co Cúich Coirpre,
bale [in] po éobhaó dorum Sránaró o maccaib Coirpre;
ocur foracaidrom inóurín Eppcop Guasacht mac Milcon, a
comaltai, ocur na dí Emir, reóraó in hírin; ocur ithé
conaccubrat túir hi Cluain bhrónaig; ocur ir airi áta
attoibao inna cille fua laili; ocur aipchindach Sranairt
óronerr cenn caillech do gner hi Cluain bhrónaig. In
tan imorpio, po fén pátraió caille forr na ógaib rémpaiti
po chótarí a ceitir corra irin cloic: feroligit inti a foil-
leóta remper. Do cóiró pátraió iarrin tar in urci do
Maig Sleéta, bail iriabi aro roal na heirinn .i. Cenn
Cruaich, cumtaóta o ór ocur o arizat, ocur da roal déacc
aile cumtaóta ó uma imme. Ot chonnairc pátraió inn
roal, on urci dianro ainm Sútaroó (.i. gabta a gút), ocur o
po comairig donnídal, connairgaib a laim do churí bachla
lrru fair, ocur noóo mala, áet do mairberc riari don umiut
[recte tumiut] forí a leé nóerr, ar ir inóerr po boi a ágeo;
ocur maparo rliét inna bachla ina leit cliu beup, ariaoe
noóo porcaig an bacall a laim pátraió; ocur polluicc in
talam na da ariaoe déacc aili coñici a cinnu; ocur átaic
fon inóur rin i ccomorougao ino eria; ocur po mallac don
demon, ocur po inoarb in irinn; ocur dorogairt inna huile
cum rege loéguiré ithéirde po ariarret innídal; ocur
atconnairctar inna huili é (.i. demon) ocur po imeclaircet a
neipiltin manro chuipet pátraió he inn irfynn.

[TRANSLATION.]

Patrick went afterwards to North *Tethbha* [Teffia], i.e., to *Coirpre's*
land, where Granard was offered to him by the sons of *Coirpre*;
and he left in that place Bishop *Guasacht*, the son of *Milchu*, his
[former] companion, and the two *Emirs*, that person's sisters; and
it was they that first took up at *Cluain Bronaigh*; and it is on that ac-

count that the one church is attached to the other; and it is the *Airchinnech* [abbot] of Granard that consecrates the superioress of nuns perpetually in *Cluain Bronaigh*. When, now, Patrick had consecrated the veil upon the virgins aforesaid, their four feet sunk into the stone [upon which they were standing]: their marks remain in it semper. Patrick after that went over the water to *Magh Slecht*, where stood the chief Idol of Erin, *i.e.*, *Cenn Cruaich*, ornamented with gold and with silver, and twelve other idols ornamented with brass around him. When Patrick saw the idol from the water which is named *Guthard* [loud voice] (*i.e.*, he elevated his voice); and when he approached near the idol, he raised his arm to lay the staff of Jesus on him, and it did not reach him, he bent back from the attempt upon his right side, for it was to the south his face was; and the mark of the Staff lives in his left side still, although the Staff did not leave Patrick's hand; and the earth swallowed the other twelve idols to their heads; and they are in that condition in commemoration of the miracle. And he called upon all the people cum rege *Laeghuire*; they it was that adored the idol. And all the people saw him (*i.e.*, the demon), and they dreaded their dying if Patrick had not sent him to hell.

APP. LIV.

Of the Idol
called *Crom
Cruaich*.

APPENDIX No. LV. [Lect. V., Page 102.]

Original of memorandum at the end of the second volume of the copy of the Annals of Connacht, in the Library of T.C.D. (classed H. 1. 1., H. 1. 2.)

Memoran-
dum in An-
nals of Con-
nacht.

Íar na gíraínead ar leabhar doirí meamruim, ocus, íar na chéiochnúgáid, an .xxix. Lá don míú Octóber, doirí an Tígearna an tairín, 1764, re Muiríur O'Sormain.

APPENDIX No. LVI. [Lect. V., Page 109.]

Original of memorandum in the so-called Annals of Boyle, in the British Museum (under the year 1594, at the lower margin of fol. 14 b.).

Memoran-
dum in so-
called An-
nals of Boyle.

Tomaltaic mac Eogain, mic aeóda, mic Diaimada, mic Ruairíu éadóic, moiríur eirt, i mí deiginaic na bliadna 10 ina éig fein a Cluain Fíraic.

APPENDIX No. LVII. [Lect V., Page 111.]

Original of a second memorandum in the same Book (at the lower margin of fol. 30 a. [or, qu. 33 b.]).

Second Mem.
in so called
Annals of
Boyle.

Leabhar Eiríann Oilean na Naem

AP. LVIII.

Third Mem.
in so-called
Annals of
Boyle.

APPENDIX No. LVIII. [Lect. V., Page 111.]

Original of a third memorandum in the same Book (at the lower margin of fol. 13 b.).

Ceṭṛa fíct bḡiaḡain ó bar Paṭṛaic zu bar Diaṛimata
mic ceṛbaíl, do meir Maṛṭṛaṛoe Oilein ná Naem.

APPENDIX No. LIX. [Lect. V., Page 112.]

Account of
S. Colum
Cille, in
O'Donnell's
Life.

*Original of account of S. Colum Cille at Loḡ Cé, from
O'Donnell's Life of Colum Cille (in the vol. classed No. 2.
52, R.I.A., p. 158).*

Feacht do Cholum Cille ar oileṇ ar Loḡ Cé i cCon-
noḡtaib, ocur táinic fíle, ocur duine ealaḡna dá ionn-
poḡe, ocur do bí tamall aḡ cómpáḡ mṛ; ocur do imṭhiḡ
uaḡa iarṛin. Ocur doḡ ionḡnaḡ leir na manḡaib na
iarṛi Colum Cille ní dá ealaḡain fém ar in fíle rin, maṛ
iarṛiaḡ ar ḡaḡ duine ealaḡna oile dá ṭṭiḡeaḡ éiḡe; ocur
mó fíarṫaḡḡeaḡar ḡe cṛeo fá nḡeáṛna ré rin. Fíeaḡṫar
Colum Cille, ocur íṛeo aḡúbaṛṫ, naṛ éneaṛḡa ḡó fém
neíte ṛoláraḡa ḡíarṫiaḡ ar a nḡuine aḡ a maḡbe ḡolár i
nḡar ḡó; ocur naḡ fada ḡo ḡṫaṫṫoṛ duine aḡ ṭeḡt éiḡe
dá innṫin ḡó ḡṫṫ maḡbaḡ an fíle rin. Ní mó ḡṫṫ ḡealaḡ
ḡeíṛeaḡ an cómpáḡ rin mṫ, an uaṛi do éalaḡar ḡlaḡ i
ḡṫṫ na hinnṫi; ocur aḡúbaṛṫ Colum Cille ḡṫab le
ṛḡealunḡ maḡḡḡa an fíle táinic an duine do ṫunne an
ḡlaḡ rin; ocur mó fíṫiaḡ rin uile, aṫaíl aḡúbaṛṫ Colum
Cille: ḡṫṫ móṫiaḡ ainm ḡe ocur Cholum Cille ḡe rin.

APPENDIX No. LX. [Lect. V., Page 115.]

Extract from
Annals of
Connacht.

*Original of entry in the Annals of Connacht, (classed H. 1. 1.
and H. 1. 2., T.C.D.,—a fragment of the “Annals of Kilro-
nan”, according to Charles O’Conor of Belanagare), at A.D.
1464.*

ṫaḡḡ ua Conḡoḡaṫ, leṫ-mṫ Chonnaḡt moṫṫuoṫ eṫ, an
ṫaṫarṫ iar céo Fheil Muṫe in Fhoḡamaṫ, et ṫepulṫur i
Roṫ Comain co honoṫaḡ, uaṫal, o ṫ-ríl Chaṫaíl Chṫoíb-ḡeṫḡ,
ocur o ṫuaṫaib ṫ-Síl Muṫéḡaḡ, maṫ nach ḡeṫnaḡ ní meṫe
ḡo ṫ-ríl Chaṫaíl Chṫoíb-ḡeṫḡ me cian ḡáimṫṫ. Cambá-
ḡar a maṫṫṫuaḡ, ocur a n-ḡallḡḡláḡaib ina n-éṫeoḡ ṫim-
cioll éiṫṫ an aṫṫ-mṫḡ, maṫ ḡo ḡeḡaṫoṫ a n-ḡaíl éḡa;
ocur a n-ḡlaṫlaṫi ina cóṫaḡḡib caṫa; ocur éiaṫa ocur
aṫ ealaḡna; ocur mna ṫ-Síla Muṫéḡaḡ ina m-ḡṫṫṫib

oíúime ina óeḡaig. Ocur ba oíúime almpa na h-Eḡlaḡi an Lá rin, la corp an aipiois, do buaib, ocur echaiḡ, ocur aipiois. Ocur do taróḡpeḡ oírom éféin oca ḡpeic do ḡpeicemnar la Michél.

APP. LX.

Extract from
Annals of
Connacht.

Original of abstract of same entry, in the language of Mr. O'Connor of Belanagare, as published by his grandson, the Rev. Charles O'Connor (Stowe Catalogue, vol. 1, p. 76).

Doir Tisheḡna Mécceclxiu—Taoḡh Ua Conchob. oḡhaghail bhair ocur a aohnacal a Roicomain a ḡhiahnaife uairle an Chois. go huile, nar hannac. don do Righ Connacht O Chath Chioḡoeris a nuar ni bo h-onoraigh. ocur nri bhianḡ. rin do ohenamh leir an Righ bu oei-ghem. do bhi ar Chonnachta a miamh le febhur a thieithe. Moir goir don Righ a ḡ-Connachta on am rin a leith, ocur ainnm Ua Conchob. oḡhaghail go coitcheḡ daibh ocur onach maibh riao fein ḡeal da cheile do rḡuor iao le hamoligh earionn. ocur maithem. o Oha go ḡhagh. in eipic a ḡpeac. Domine ne statuas nobis hoc peccatum. Ar leabhair Chille Ronam mo thairungur rin eum approbatione quatuor Magistrorum. Cathal O'Conchabhair, 2 Aug., 1728. [MS. in Stowe Collect. No. 3, fol. 27, b.]

APPENDIX LXI. [Lect. V., Page 115.]

Original of corresponding entry in the Annals of Loḡ Cé (H. 1. 19., T.C.D.;—also erroneously called, by some, Annals of Kilronan).

Entry in
Annals of
Loch Cé.

Taoḡh mac Toirpóealḡaig Ruairí Choncuḡair, leḡ-rin Connaḡt o'ḡ a. duine do bá tuigri, tḡpéige a ḡConnachtaib iona aipiri fein.

APPENDIX No. LXII. [Lect. VI., Page 121.]

Original of the Title to the Book of Pedigrees of Mac Fírbis (Dubaltaḡ Mac Fírbis).

Title to Mac
Fírbis' Book
of Pedigrees.

Ciaoba coibneara aḡur ḡeuga ḡeneluis ḡaḡa ḡabala daḡ ḡab Epe ón amra go haḡam (aḡt Fomoraig, Lochlannaig aḡar Saxḡaill amiam lamiam o tangaḡar daḡ tḡri): go naoinifencur aḡur néim moḡmaige Forla for; aḡar faḡeois clari na ceumriḡḡear (iar nupio aibḡiope) na Slointe aḡar na haite oirḡearca luaitear rin leabhara, do teaghlomaḡ leir an Dubaltaḡ Mac Fírbis Leacam. 1650.

APP. LXIII.

Description
of Inaugura-
tion of
O'Dowda,
from Book of
Lecain.

APPENDIX No. LXIII. [Lect. VI., Page 126.]

Original of passage from the Leabhar Lecain, descriptive of the Inauguration of the O'Dowda (from a tract printed by the Irish Archaeological Society, in the volume on the Tribes and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach,—p. 440).

Asur túr vísí o' O'Caomain ó ua n-Dubda; asur san O'Caomain o'a h-ibí no go tuza pé do'n fíliú h-í, .i. do Mac Fírbirí, asur arim asur earraí, asur eich h-í Dubda tar eir anma do gairim de o' O'Caemain, asur arim asur earraí h-í Chaomain as Mac Fírbirí; asur ní d'ingmála O'Dubda do gairim co b'iaí, no go n-geirí O'Caomain asur Mac Fírbirí an t-aínm, asur nó go tabra Mac Fírbirí coir na rlaí oí cinn h-í Dubda; asur gac cléirec, asur gac comarba cillí, asur gac Erbog, asur taoirec seoinn do ráda an anma a n-diaí h-í Chaomain asur Meic Fírbirí; asur ata ní cena, da tegmao a Tí Amalgair O'Dubda, do bu doile do co Cairn Amalgair do gairim anma de, acht go m-beit na taoirí farr: asur no da tegmao a Cairn ingine b'iaí h-é ní doile do anonn do gairim an anma, asur ní tígí do anall ó Cairn Amalgair, áir í é Amalgair mac Fíacha Algaí, do toíul an Cairn do féin do cum ainn tigeirna do gairim de fein asur da gac duine dá n-gebaí rlaí na diaí, asur í ann atá Amalgair fein doile, asur í uaí ainnisí an Cairn; asur gac m'í do clann daí Fíachaí naí geirí ainn mar rín b'iaí gairí reile do, asur ní ba h-oírmic a ríl ná a reimean asur ní f'airí rlaí de co b'iaí. Finit. Amen.

APPENDIX No. LXIV. [Lect. VI., Page 127.]

Title, etc., of
Chronicum
Scotorum.

Original of the Title, and commencement of the Preface to the Chronicum Scotorum (H. 1. 18.; T.C.D.).

Incipit Cronicon Scotorum .i. tinnr'antari cronice na Scot anro.

“Tuis a lecchtóirí fa adbar airmde, ocur go pollur do fechna eimealtair, gurab eó ar aill linn trachtad ocur taga atcumair do dénaí ar airmín na Scot amáin ran coir-re, as r'abáil liortad na leparí airmín amuis, conad airmín iarramair oirbírí gan ar n-increachad trío, uairí o'féad-ammair gurab adbal an t-eirnaí he”.

APPENDIX No. LXV. [Lect. VI., Page 127.]

Note by Mac
Fírbis in
Chronicum
Scotorum.

Original of note at fol. 3. col. 1. of the Chronicum Scotorum, in the hand of the compiler, Dubaltaí Mac Fírbirí.

“Doíor uaim duib a legnic'ch naípo lín raotair an t'leída

ro do ghaiffneó oim, conaó aige rin ailm oibhri tpe fpi
 coigle gan m'ingium tpo (maó tuigtear líp creó fo deia
 inn amlaó), oir ar deim naó iao clann fhibirig ar cuntaó".

APP. LXV.

Note by Mac
 Firlas in
*Chronicon
 Scotorum.*

APPENDIX No. LXVI. [Lect. VI., Page 128.]

*Original of memorandum (at A.D. 722) in the Chronicon
 Scotorum, explaining a deficiency there.*

Memoran-
 dum in *Chro-
 nicon Scoto-
 rum.*

"Terda brollaó dá óuilleos don t-ren lebaiafa rghuibaim
 ro, ocuf fágum affuil móm don leé taoib-fi na n-oiuicill.
 Mhí Dubaltaó fhibirig".

APPENDIX No. LXVII. [Lect. VII., Page 146.]

Original of the Dedication of the Annals of the Four Masters.

Dedication
 of Annals of
 the Four
 Masters.

Gurohim Dia im tabairt gacha h-aoibnear do maóó i lea
 da chuirp, agus da anmain ó'feairgal O'ghaia TICCHEARNA
 Mhaige Uí Ghaóia, agus Chúile O'fFino, don don dia
 Ritheach Paplemente ro togaóh ar conaóé Sliccigh co
 h-Ad Cliaó an bliadóim fi ó'aoir Cmuort, 1634.

Ar ní coitcéantó foilleir fon uile doimian in gac ionaóh i
 mbí uairle no onoir in gach aimpí da ttamicc maó diaó i
 noiaó nach ffuil ní ar glóimairie, agus ar aimmteuige
 onoraighe (ar aóbaiaib ionróa) ina fíor reanóácta na reanu-
 óar, agus eolaf na naieaó, agus na nuafal ro báóar ann
 irin aimpí reampo do tabairt do cum rólar ar óaigh co
 mbeir áiteantaf, agus eolaf ag gach oimig i n-deaóar
 aoióle cionnar do áitíot a rinirí a mé agus a n-aimpí.
 agus cia h-aiéat ro battaf i tticceafmar a n-oiuicé, i
 n-oiuicé, no i n-onoir diaó i n-diaóh, agus creó i an oídeáó
 fuairíot.

Tanacera an bpaíar boét oupo S. Fionfeir Michel
 O'Cléicch (iar mbeir deich m-bliáóna dam acc Secuobáó
 gach reanóachta da bfuafaf ar Naomáib na h-Ereann a
 maille le h-uimlaó gach Proumpiaí da maibe in Eunn a
 n-diaó a céle do beir accam) da baf laóairí a uafail, a
 fheairgal Uí Ghaóia. Do bpaíteaf ar baf n-onoir gup
 baóar tpuáige, agus nemele, oógaírf, agus oobrom libh
 (do chum glóie Dé agus onora na h-Ereann) a méo do
 deaóattaf plioét Gaóiríl meic Muil fo áiaí agus do-
 áóaf, gan fíor ecca na oídeáó Naomí, na Bannaomíe, Air-
 neppcoip, Eppcoip, na Abbáó, na uafal gíaróh ecaírf oile,
 Ríó, na Ruíó, Tigearna na Toiricé, comaimpí na com-
 ríneach neich oibhírohe fíu aoióle. Do foillígeaf dáóirí
 gup bó oíóí leam go fíuóinn eiuuicéáó na eppomíeíge
 ar ar mó mo méaf do chum leabair Annaíáó do reppíobáó i

AP. LXVII.

Dedication
of Annals of
the Four
Masters.

ccuimríde i ccuimne na neite mearaite, agus da leiccti ar cáirde gan a Sccriobadh do laithi nach ffruchtai iad doimíri le a pproaiémeat, agus le a ccuimniuccadh go cuich, agus go foirceann an beatha. Do cuimnicéadh leam na leabair Annála ar fearr agus ar líonmaire, ar mó do beoim leam o-rághail i n-Eirinn uile (bíodh gur éadair daí a tteacclamadh go h-aoim ionadh) do chum an leabair do rccriobadh in bair n-ainmri, agus in bair n-onóiri óir ar rib tucc luach raotáir do na cpoimicrídib lár ro rccriobadh é, agus briaite conuente Duin na n-Gall do éaith corpar bíoh, agus fmoctailme mui mar an cceona. Sach maic da ttiocra don leabair rin da éabairt polair do éac i ccoittechinne ar fribir ar beirthe a buithe; agus nri cóir maictadh, no iongnadh, éo no ionctnué do beir fa maic da n-oingnadh rib, óir ar do riol Eimiri Meic Mileadh gairiot 30 Righ do moğair Eirann, agus a h-aén ar éirí riectib do Naomairb. An Tadh rin Mac Cein mic Oilella Olum óir riolrat a h-oct decc do na naomairb rin ar eoir do brieit ó glún go glún gur an Tadh céona. Ro gablaighriot agus ro aittreabrat clann an Tadh rin i n-ionadairb examla ar fuo Eirann .i. Sliocht Corbmaic Galeng illuighrib Connaect or gaineabhairri, Muntiri Gaora, an dá Ua Eagra hí cConnaectoibh, agus O'h-Eagra an Rúta, O'Ceirbairl i n-Eile, agus O'Meachair i n-Uib Cairín, O'Conobair i cCiannaecta Glinne-Geimin.

Do éairbhadh ar bair ttechtra on fuil uairil rin a dubhair mar acc ro bair n-geinealach.

A fheargail Uí Ghaora

A meic Taroc

meic Oilealla

meic Diarmatta, [et cetera.]

An dara la fichet do mí Ianuairi Anno Domini 1632, do tionnrgnadh an leabair ro i cconueint Thúin na n-Gall; agus do cpochnaighnadh irin cconueint céona an veachmash la o'Augur, 1636. An taonmadh bliadain decc do righe ar Righ Carrolur or Saxain, Frainc, Albain, agus or Eirinn.

bair ccaia ionmair

brathair michel o clerigh.

APPENDIX No. LXVIII. [Lect. VII., Page 147.]

Original of the Testimonium to the Annals of the Four Masters.

Testimo-
nium of
Annals of
the Four
Masters.

Atátt na h-aithne do Uir S. fionneir chuifear a lamha ar ro aga fíadhnuighnadh gur ab é fearghal O'Gaohra tucc ar an m-brathair Michel O'Cléicch na Cpoimicríd agus

an taor ealaíhna do chruinniúgáð co haoim ionath lair po
 rceuibhath leabhair Ouir agus Annala na hEimont (an
 meitt pob eoiri v'faghail le a rceuibhath uob), agus zori
 ab e an Fearghal céona tucc loighiúeacht uob ar a
 rceuibhath.

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Testimo-
 nium of
 Annals of
 the Four
 Masters.

Atá an leabhair panota ar uó. Ar é ionath in po
 rceuibhath é ó thur co veireath i cConuent Bpachair
 Dhúin na nGall, ar a mbiað, agus ar a b'pnothailéamlh.

Do tionnreanað agus do rceuibhath an céto leabhair úe
 ipin Conuent chéatna an bliadain ri 1632, an tan po bað
 zairioian an tAthair Beirnaioin O'Clérucch.

Ar iatt na Cioimicúe, agus an taor ealaíhna do báttar
 acc rceuibhath an leabhair rin, agus aza theaglamath a
 leabhair éccraimla, an Bpachair Michél O'Clérucch; Muir
 mac Toirna Uí Mhaoilconaire, pui mé aoim míora; Fearfeara
 mac Lochlainn Uí Mhaoilchonaire, iaittírohe ina noir a
 contaé Roppa Commain; Cúcoigcriche O'Clérucch a contaé
 Dhúin na nGall; Cúcoigcriche O'Duibgeanóain a contaé
 Liathomoma; agus Conaire O'Clérucch a contaé Dhúin na
 nGall.

Atá na rein-leabhair po bhátoir aca; Leabhair Cluana
 Mic Noir, in po beannaig Naoin Chíarían mac an t'raoir;
 Leabair Orléin na Naemh, for Loch Ribh; Leabhair Shen-
 aroh Mec Maghnurra, for Loch Epne; Leabair Chloinne
 Uí Mhaoilconaire; Leabair Muinterpe Duibgeanóain Chl-
 le Rónáin; agus Leabair oirpéan Leacain Meic Fírbiricch,
 púth chuca iai rceuibhath uimhoir an leabhair, agus ar po
 rceuibhath zach líonmaireacht va b'fúairpéatt (a pang-
 atoir a lear) nað maibe ip na céitt leabhair bátoir aca,
 ar ní baó i leabair Cluana, ina for i leabhair an Orléin
 acht gur an mbliadain ri v'aoir ar t'zearma 1227.

Do tionnreanað an vaira leabhair vairaib torach an bli-
 adain ri 1208, an bliadain ri v'aoir Cioort, in po ba zairioian
 an tAthair Cioortoir Ulltach, 1635,⁽⁹⁵⁾ agus do rceuibhath
 an churo oile úe zo 1608 an céto bliadain in po bað zai-
 rioian an tAthair Beirnaioin O'Clérucch voimoir. An Bpach-
 air Michel O'Clérugh a duibramoir, Cúcoiccriche O'Clérugh
 agus Conaire O'Clérucch do rceuibh an leabair veiroheanach
 óthá 1332 zo 1608.

Ar iat na leabhair ar po rceuibhath an tuiar méimáite
 uimhoir an leabhair, an leabair ceatna rin Chloinne Uí

(95) The translation of the remainder of this paragraph is by mistake omitted in the text (p. 148). It should run thus: "And the other part of it, to the year 1608, was transcribed the first year in which Father Bernardin O'Clérigh was Guardian. Brother Michael O'Clérigh aforesaid, Cúcoigcriche O'Clérigh, and Conaire O'Clérigh, transcribed the last book [volume] from 1332 to 1608".

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Testimo-
nium of
Annals of
the Four
Masters.

Maolconaire go míle cuicc céo a cúig, agus ar í rin an bliadain deirtheanach baol an; Leabair na Muintire Duibheanóin tar a ttangamair, othá naoi ccéo go míle cúicc céo fearccatt a trí; Leabair Seanair Mec Maghnura ina maibe co míle cúicc céo tmuochat a ró; blaó 'oo Leabair Choncoicccpiche meic Diaimatta mic Tairhig Camm Uí Chleirigh o'n m-bliadain ri míle da chéo ochtmoghatt a haon, co míle cuicc céo tmuochatt a Seacht; Leabair Meic Bpúaroheada (Mhaoilín óicc) o'n mbliadain ri míle cúig céo ochtmoghat a hocht, go míle Sé céo a trí;⁽⁹⁶⁾ Leabhair Lughach Uí Cleirigh ó mhíle cuicc céo ochtmoghat a Sé, go míle Sé chéo a ró.

'Do chonncamair na Leabair rin uile as an aer ealaóna tar a ttangamair Romainn agus Leabair oimirean oile nach iatt ro baó eimeit d'ainmniugaó. 'Do deaibadó gac net d'ar rcpuobadh annrin Romainn, Ataimne na peapiranna ro ríor as cori ar lám ar ro hi cConuent 'Dhúin na nGall an deachmaó lá 'oo Augurt, AOIS, CHRIST, míle Sé chéo tmuochat a Sé.

FR. BERNARDINUS CLERY.

Guardianus Dungalensis.

bpačair muiur ulltach.

bpačair muiur ulltač.

bpačair bonauantura O'Dominill,
leatoir tubilat.

APPENDIX No. LXIX. [Lect. VII., Page 158.]

The Succes-
sion of the
O'Garas,
Lords of
Cúil O Finn,
(Coolavin).

Of the succession of the Chiefs of the O'Gara family, from A.D. 932 to A.D. 1537; from the Annals of the Four Masters.

[It will be noticed in this list of Chiefs that the line does not run in unbroken succession of generations, because that sometimes the kindred family of *O'h-Eaghra* (now O'Hara) succeeded in interrupting it in their own favour.]

A.D. 964. *Toichleach Ua Gadhra*, Lord of South *Luighné* (or *Leyney*), was killed in battle.

A.D. 1056. *Ruaidhri Ua Gadhra*, *Tanaisté* (Tanist) of *Luighné*, was slain.

A.D. 1059. *Ruaidhri Ua Gadhra*, heir presumptive (*Damhna*) to the Lordship of *Luighné*, died.

A.D. 1067. *Donnsleibhé Ua Gadhra* was killed by *Brian Ua h-Eaghra* (O'Hara).

A.D. 1128. *Ua Gadhra*, Lord of *Luighné*, was slain on an expedition into Leinster.

(96) The conclusion of this paragraph is also omitted in the text. It should run: "*The Book of Mac Bruaideadha (Maoilín óg) from the year 1588 to 1603; the Book of Lughaidh O'Clerigh from the year 1586 to 1602*".

- A.D. 1206. *Ruaidhri Ua Gadhra*, Lord of *Sliabh Lugha*, died [see APP. LXIX. O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, note l., p. 150, Vol. I., Part II.]
- A.D. 1217. *Domhnall Ua Gadhra*, died.
- A.D. 1226. *Fergal*, the grandson of *Tadhg an Teaghlaigh* ("Teige of the Household"), Captain of the House of *Cathal* of the Red Hand O'Conor (*Cathal Crobh-Dearg Ua Conchobhair*), and *Aedh*, the son of *Cathal*, were slain by *Donnsleibhé O'Gadhra*.
- A.D. 1227. *Donnsleibhé O'Gadhra*, Lord of *Luighné*, was killed by the *Gillaruadh* [literally the Red-haired-fellow], the son of his own brother, after surprising him in a house at night; and the *Gillaruadh* was killed in revenge after that, through the plans of *Aedh O'Conor*.
- A.D. 1228. *Muircheartach*, the son of *Flaithbheartach O'Flannagain*, was killed by the sons of *Tadhg O'Gadhra*.
- A.D. 1237. A prey was taken by *Conchobhar*, son of *Cormac [O'Gadhra?]*, from *Ruaidhri Ua Gadhra*; and *Ruaidhri's* brother was slain.
- A.D. 1241. *Tadhg*, the son of *Ruaidhri O'Gadhra*, died.
- A.D. 1254. *Maghnus Ua Gadhra* was accidentally killed by the people of the son of *Feidhlimidh O'Conchobhair*.
- A.D. 1256. *Ruaidhri O'Gadhra*, Lord of *Sliabh Lugha*, was killed by David, son of Rickard *Cuisin*. *Aedh*, the son of *Feidhlimidh O'Conchobhair*, plundered the territory of the son of Rickard *Cuisin*, in revenge for *O'Gadhra*. He knocked down his castle, and killed all the people that were in it, and seized on all the islands of *Loch Techet* [now "Loch Gara", in which the River Boyle, in the county of Roscommon, has its source].
- A.D. 1260. *Tadhg*, the son of *Cian O'Gadhra*, was killed (at the battle of Downpatrick, fought between Bryan O'Neill, King of Ulster, and the English of that province).
- A.D. 1285. *Ruaidhri Ua Gadhra*, Lord of *Sliabh Lugha*, was killed by *Mac Feorais* [Birmingham], on *Loch O'Gadhra*.
- A.D. 1325. *Brian O'Gadhra* died.
- A.D. 1328. *Donnchadh Ruadh O'Gadhra*, and five of his name, were killed.
- A.D. 1328. *Tadhg*, son of *Toirrdhealbhadh O'Conchobhair* ["Turloch O'Conor"], was killed by *Diarmait Ua Gadhra*.
- A.D. 1329. *Tadhg*, the son of *Toirrdhealbhadh*, son of *Mathghamhain* ["Mahon"] *O'Conchobhair*, was killed by *Ua Gadhra* and the people of *Airteach*.

[Here the O'Haras interpose again for some time.]

- A.D. 1435. *O'Gadhra* was killed by his own kinsmen, on *Inis Boly*, in *Loch Techet*.
- A.D. 1436. An incursion was made by the sons of *Mac Donnchaidh* ["MacDonagh"], and the sons of *Tomaltach Oj Mac*

The Succession of the O'Garas, Lords of *Cait O'Finn*, (Coolavin).

APP. LXIX.

The Succession of the O'Garas, Lords of *Cúil O'Finn*, (Coolavin).

Donnchaidh, into *Cúil O'Finn* ["Coolavin"] upon *O'Gadhra*, and upon *Tadhg*, the son of *Donnchadh Ruadh* [*O'Gadhra*]. The sons of *Mac Donnchaidh* were routed, and seven of them killed, together with *Conchobhar Camm* (the Stooped) *O'Gadhra*; and it was he that had treacherously killed the *O'Gadhra*, his own brother, before that time.

- A.D. 1451. A prey was taken by *Feidhlimidh O'Conchobhair* from *Ua Gadhra*; and a prey was taken by *Ua Gadhra* from the people of *Bailé Mór Ui Fhloinn*.
- A.D. 1461. *Ferghal Ua Gadhra*, *Tanaisté* ["Tanist"] of *Cúil O'Finn*, was killed by Mac Costelloe.
- A.D. 1464. *Tomaltach Ua Gadhra* was killed, in a nocturnal attack on *Sliabh Lugha*, by *Murchadh* (or Maurice), the son of *Cormac*, son of *Mac Diarmait Gall*, and by Edmund of the *Machairé* Mac Costelloe.
- A.D. 1469. *O'Gadhra*, that is *Eoghan*, the son of *Tomaltach Og*, son of *Tomaltach Mór*, Lord of *Cúil O'Finn*, died between the two festivals of [the Blessed Virgin] Mary, in autumn; and his worthy son, *Eoghan*, died of a sudden illness soon afterwards; and *Diarmait*, his other son, assumed the lordship in his father's place.
- A.D. 1478. The son of *Ferghal O'Gadhra*, and *Maghnus*, the son of David, were killed by the descendants of *Ruaighri Mac Diarmata*.
- A.D. 1495. *Cian*, the son of *Brian O'Gadhra*, was killed; and *O'Gadhra* himself, that is *Diarmait*, the son of *Eoghan*, was taken prisoner, in the battle of *Bel-an-Droichit*, near Sligo (fought between the O'Conors of Connacht, and the O'Donnells of Tir Connell).
- A.D. 1537. *O'Gadhra*, *Eoghan*, the son of *Diarmait*, son of *Eoghan*, Lord of *Cúil O'Finn*, died.

[The O'Garas and O'Haras, from a remote period, had possession of ancient *Luighné*, or Leyney, in the county of Mayo, till driven out by the Costelloes in the fourteenth century, after which they made a settlement in *Cúil O'Finn* (now the barony of "Coolavin"), in the county of Sligo, where we find the *O'Gara* settled as lord in 1436; and where also *Ferghal*, the worthy representative of this ancient noble family, resided at the time that he extended his countenance and bounty to the "Four Masters", when they proposed to compile the National Annals which now go by their name.]

APPENDIX No. LXX. [Lect. VIII., Page 163.]

Preface to the *Réim Rioghraidhé*.

Original of the Preface to the Réim Rioghraidhé of the O'Clerys (from a MS. in the Royal Irish Academy, No. 40. 4, transcribed by Richard Tipper, A.D. 1728).

In nomine Dei. Amen.

Δη τρεαρ λά το μί ρεπτεμβαρ, anno xpi. 1644, το

tionnirgnao an leabharro do rghuobaó attig Chonuill mic Neill, mic Ropra, Mheg Eocagáin etc. A lior Maighe a cCinéil bFiacac, don le tairgiteari agus le ccoimeuteari rean monameintib ar rinnreari agus rih-beac éiomraigti agus éinoil zac neite da mbeanann le honóiri agus le rean-éur éloinne Mhilioó Eappáine, agus fíleaéta Luigió meic lte, iori naom agus élann maicene zac túaite, an méo go mpeoiri le na úitcioll outraéta neimaineéta é, agus aré ata rghuobéta ran leabharro: Réim Rioghuioe agus naoim-feanúra na hEiuonn noé ata ar na nglanaó agus ar na learuzaó léir na peapranuib ró ríor .i. an bpaári Mícel O Cleirig, Fearpearra O Maolconaire, Cucoigúce O Duibgeanain, a ppiom-leabhair reanra na h-Eiuonn, raoite ipin ghaioilg; agus a cComuint Áta Luain amuil a dubraó pomuin etc. Agus an dúain treanúir do pinne Siolla Caomáin O Cuipnín dár ab torac “Eire aró Inir na Ríog”, agus an dúain do pinne Siolla Moúroa Ua Cairrúe, dár ab torac “Eire óg Inir na Náom”, agus an dúain eile do pinne Dongur Mac An Ghabann dárab torac “Naoim-feanúr naoim Inne Fáil”, agus an duain eile dár ab torac “Átaí cáig éumrig neime”.

Áta ann fop leabair na cCeair do horuigeaó le beneon Naoimta ar na tairriang ar an leabair do rghuob an Conall peimparóte an. 4. la o Augur. 1636. ar leabair leacain do bi ar iárac on bpiomparó ppioturoant aige, agus do rghuobaó cian móime rin lé h-Áom Mór O Cuipnín do Shiolla lópa Mac Fíuibrig, Ollam ó bFiacac, Anno Domini, 1418. Agus Muicac Riabac Ua Comlirg do rghuob curó eile úe í tig Ruaróir 1 Ohubra, Rig Ua bFiacac Muaróe. Áta ann fop an fáé far cuireao an boruina ar láigrib agus cia léir cuireao ar laigheacair í, agus teac Chloinne Dealbaioic mic Cair go leat Chuinn, ó Mhumain. Áta ann fop an fáé tie noeacáó Fenuir Farpparó ofogluim na filúeéta go Tur Neamhuaró reac cáé, agus ainm na mbéar-laó baour aca ran amirí rin ar ar rzaó an ghaioeilge lé Gaioeal Mac Etoir tie ar haimmnoeao uaró fein í, agus oigro Chuinn éao-éacais; ata ann fop, reac nuparéta pig h-Eiuonn, agus pig na coigéao ar éaoa, agus an duain dár ab torac “Roileag laoc Leite Chuinn”, ar na bporbaó agus ar na cepiocnugaó agus ar na ceui annra leabharro, an émaó la picióo do éSeptembri na bliagha ceaoa, leir an mbpaári Pol ó Colla, doipo St. ppiompar, attig an Chonuill peimparóte. Senúr Ríogh Eiuonn ar na lenmoin go mbunaó, agus an amirí po éait zac pig úioib a ccennur agus a ccuáétaó Eiuonn ina pig. Genealag

APP. LXX.

Preface to
the *Reim*
Rioghraidhé.

APP. LXX.

Preface to
the *Réim*
Rioghraidhé.

na naoim nEheannac amuil fuit iad a leabhair na rean-
uigear, ar na ccuip rior ina rleactanuib amail ir do gab-
lais riao, ar opo aibgiorpe. Do cum giorpe De, onora na
naoim agur na mozaeta, agur do tabairt aithe agur eolair
ar na neitib meimairte, agur for ar na huzoairuib po
coimeao reancur Eiuonn na cceirioim agur iar cceirioim.
Ar na cchiochnugao i cCoimint Obsequantiae Aeta Luain,
an Erbogoroedat Cluana Mic Noir, 1630.

APPENDIX No. LXXI. [Lect. VIII., Page 164.]

Dedication
to the *Réim*
Rioghraidhé.

Original of the O'Clery's Dedication to the Réim Rioghaidé
(from the same MS.).

Do Thoirpóealbac Mhag Coeláin.

Iar mberc ceitri bliadna iomlána damra, an bhrádaib boct
Mícel O'Clerys (ar aithe m'uactráin) ag teaglamao,
agur ag cinól a bfuair do fencur naoim Eiuonn agur na
míog cum ambercar iad; do rmuainior agam féin, nar
b'iomcubar an teaglamao rin do cur atteangtaib oile gan
uzoair, verba, agur maorac reancao eolac eile; do
cuigear mar an cceaona, nar bfuair an ní meimairte do
chiochnugao gan corcur, uair bi do boctad an úiro da
maor, do taoib a móide agur for a leactiom irin aimpuri,
sur cuigear móim rin o'edgaoine me daoimib uairle ar nac
maibe móio boctaine; gío mói noaoine me noairmar mo
caraoio, agur m'eugaoine, ní bfuair don léi ráraoh mo
meanma do taoib mo maectanair do cum na hoibperi do
chiochnugao, act don neec do bi fonnmair cum curigte liom,
ionnur go machao a nglóir do Ohia, a nonóir dona Naom-
uib, agur don mozaet, agur a lear anma do féin; agur aré
an taon-neac rin .i.

Toirpóealbac Mhag Coeláin
mac Sheamuir, mic Sheamuir
mic Sheamuir, mic Sheamuir
mic Toirpóealbac
mic Ferólamie
mic Toirpóealbac
mic Donncaio
mic Feargura na nSarmann
mic Maoileaclonn an Mhaga
mic Doimnail
mic Maoileaclainn
mic Amloib
mic Maoileaclainn
mic Amloib na bfiacal
mic Concubair óis
mic Aoia
mic Loincoiric
mic Muirpóeartaig móir
mic Coeláin

mic Flaitille
mic Sormagáin
mic Ainbeir
mic Fagartaig, mic Uactráin
mic Finn
mic Coeláin
mic Maoilmiel
mic Coelam (a quo Mez Coeláin)
mic Cainoig
mic Donnchora
mic Clocon
mic Corngail móir
mic Sárain, ó Thig Sárain
mic Bpaccain
mic Corngail bpic
mic Bloio
mic Site, ó paroteri Mag Site, agur
Inir Site
mic Ainvealaig

mic Dealbaoit
mic Cair [oia ngoiréi] táil (a quo
fuil táil)
mic Conaill Eac-luaié
mic Luigéac Meann

mic Dongura Tíuḡ
mic Moḡa Chuipb
mic Coimuc Cair
mic Oiliolla Olum. [etc.]

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Dedication
to the Réim
Rioghraidhé.

Agar aré an Toiriréalbac ro Maḡ Cocláin a oubramur,
do éur an raotari ro ariagair, agus do congair an comlua-
dair do bí agá ériocnúgao anaise a céile, maille re gac
congnaí uirpéiréac da ttag an Conuint réimpiróte uóib
go laiteamail. An 4^m. lá do mí Octoberi do tionnirgnaoh
an leabair ro do rḡuobao, agus an 4. lá do mí November
do forbaó é, a cConuint na mbairari réimpiróte; an cúigeao
bliagáin don mḡ, Cing Capolur of Saxpan, etc. 1630.

APPENDIX No. LXXII. [Lect. VIII., Page 165.]

*Original of the O'Clery's Address to the Reader, prefixed to the
Réim Rioghraidhé (from the MS. classed H. 4. 6., T.C.D.).*

Address
prefixed to
the Réim
Rioghraidhé.

Do cum an leagteóir.

Cia an élañ naouiréa lá ná baó truaḡ, agus lá ná baó
himirniomaó a maḡair agus a mbuime geineamhna agus glan-
oilte, o'raicrin no deiréacó ró táir agus ró tarcuirne, ro
óimhaó, agus ro óimigin gan teacó ar cuairt da hionnroig,
do éur polair agus rubaóair uirre, agus do éabairt cabar-
ta agus furtaóta uí.

Iar na éabairt da nairé do óruing daingéte o'oro
naouiréa St. Píoinnriar go noeóairóh naoméacó, ocu-
rrieanacó a maḡair-buime, Éire ar ccúl, tré gan bea-
taigéte, fearra, agus míorboile a naom do fiolaó mte
féin, no fóir a moḡacóir eile, ar comairle do cinneao;
leó, bairair boó Míonuiri da nóro féin o'oro Obrepuantia,
Mícel ó Cléirḡ (dair ouéur, agus dair b'fogluim c'ioimic),
do éur uata go hÉirunn do cum ab'fuirgeao do leabair ma
mbeir éin ní do éiocraó dair naoméacó a naom gona rean-
cúirib agus geinealaigib do éruinnuḡao go háon-ionao.

Ar teacó dair bairair réimpiróte, do ríir agus do
éuairtaig gac airo o'Éirunn ina ccualair leabair maí no
rair do beir, ionnar gúir éair ceirri bliagha comlán le
rḡuobao agus le poláir gac neir dair bean le naomuib
Éirunn; gíreao gair mór a uáao agus a oóair, níor máinir
leir acó uataó o'iolair o'fogbail uíob, do b'ir go m'gráó
eacóirinn píomleabair Éirunn a ccuóair agus accméal-
uib iméiana ainúil, gonaí fagairriat ní ir ionairéam da
leabuir mte.

Agus tarair gac ar féao an bairair ceona o'fogbail
agus do éruinnuḡao go haon-láir, aré mó rmuáin agus
mó rḡuóairtair iná mntinn .i. truir dona daóuib uob

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Address
prefixed to
the *Réim*
Rioghraidh.

oiréamnaíge, agus dóib ionabairde leir éum na hoibne do
éum iomíne do éríochnúgao (maílle pé cóil a Uachtarán),
do éruinníúgao go hén-ait do bheathnúgao gac teaghlaim
da n-dearua, mar atá Fearpeara O Maoilcónaie ó Bhaile 1
Maoilcónaie a cContae Rora Comáin; Cúcoisgíche O Cleirigh
ó Bhaile Uí Chléirigh a cContae Uíúin na nGall, agus Cu-
coisgíche O Duibhgeannain ó Bhaile Choille Fogaí, a cCon-
tae Liautoroma. Tángadair na pearranna ra peimíaráte
go hén-ionad, agus iar ttoradtuinn, do énnat na cceat-
riar Rémeanna Ríogíuige na heimionn do rghíobad attorac
an leabair. Do éionnrganat rin ar dá adbar. An éeo
adbar, uair nír féadad Seanéur na Naom do bheir iir maon
vipeac go a mbunadur gan Seanéur na Ríog do beir iompa,
óir ir uata ro ríolrao. An dara haobar, ionnur go maó
móire ouémac, agus veuótion na noaóine úaral da
naomuib, da ccomaribaid, agus dá ccealluib, rior a ceair-
oir, agus a ccararoiag do beir aca pé a bractríonuib
beannaigeti, agus oucéur naomuib na fréime da mbeir gac
craob díob, agus for rior nuimpe naom na cráoibe céona.

Gé atá aicme do naomuib eimionn don méao do rrucead
iar nupro a reanleabraid reanéura díob díag anóiaig, gan
trécumurg rleacta for triaroiie, ir amlar ró gablaigriat
agus do rgaolead ó a mbunad rreumaib.

Gé bé éú, a léagtóir, léigmo a mear do leir péin go
b'fuié tarba, éipeact, eóluir agus atcuimipeact iir raoar
ro, óir atá Réim na Ríog gonaó nglúinib genealaig, go
bunadur ann doiréir mur do gabrat moagact iar núro; go
nairiom bliaguin, go náoir an roman, a bporbad rlaeta
gac ríú díob, agus go náoir ar rTigearna Iora, ó a ioncoll-
núgao, go héus Mhaoileadluinn Mhóir, agus naom do
péir úir a naibgíoeir, agus do péir a mbunadair mar do
pároeamar iomuin. Glóir do Dhia.

bhur ccáirre ionnuine

b'ráir Micél O Cléirigh,
Fearpeara O Maoilcónaie,
Cúcoisgíche O Cléirigh,
Cúcoisgíche O Duibhgeannain.

APPENDIX No. LXXIII. [Lect. VIII, Page 168.]

*Original of O'Clery's Dedication of the Leabair Gabála (from
the MS. classed H. 1. 12., T.C.D.).*

Do cuiparra an bractair Micél O Cléirigh peamam an
tren-éromic darab ainm Leabair Gabála do glanaó, do ceair-
túgao ocur do rghíobao (amaille le toil m'Uachtárain) do
éum go machao 1 nglóir do Dhia, in ónóir dona naomhaib,

Dedication
to the
Leabhar
Gabála.

do moḡaḡt Eirionn, ocur a leap anma óam féin. Níor AP. LXXII.
 bʹferiur lionu an tionnrcasal ro do émochnughaḡ ḡan Dedication
 conḡnam cʹmoimicrò oile do beir aḡam a monaḡ còimnaigʹte to the
 eiccin. Iar bʹfoillriughaḡ na hincinnirí daoiḡir, a bʹhnam Leubhar
 Ruairḡ Meguirḡir, á éigearna Inri Ceḡlionn; a céirḡir daí Gabhála.
 ḡoirieaḡ an tainm rin (do ríol Uirḡir le moirḡaḡt Ríḡ Saxan,
 Franc, Alban, ocur Eiréann, CAROLUS, an éaonmáḡ la
 ríeir Ianuairí, an bliáḡain rí, óaor ar tTigearna Iora Cui-
 ort, 1627, ocur an tʹhear bliáḡain do Ríḡe an Ríḡ) do ḡlaca-
 baiḡir do Láim cuiriúḡaḡ liom an raḡḡar do cuiréar móim
 do éionnrcasḡ, ocur do émochnughaḡ, do bʹriḡ ḡur bo mo
 éruaḡ lib an ní do maḡaḡ 1 nonóir, ocur a nainm da bʹur
 rinnreaiab, do naomhaib, uaiḡlib, aḡar do émoimicròib
 Eiréann ḡo coitḡionn, do léiccean a mbáthaḡ ḡan cuiriú-
 ḡaḡ do éabairt do éum a cúir ar a aḡhar. Ar bʹráḡail bʹur
 cconḡanta óam, tanac féin ocur na cʹmoimiceaḡa do éḡar,
 amaille le haonta na heaḡluiré do beir aḡam do éum a
 ttoḡḡa, Fepreara O Maolḡonaire, Cuḡoigcʹrúe O Cléiríḡ
 Cuḡoigcʹrúe O Duibʹḡeannain, aḡur bʹur nollaḡ féin le
 cʹmoimic, ḡiollaḡatḡaie O Luimín, ḡo Coinuent bʹráḡar
 leara ḡobail, daiaḡ ḡairḡoian Fʹmoimriar Mac Cʹraic, in
 Carrocóroeaḡt Cloḡair, 1 bʹpheariob Manac, coitḡíḡir ma
 Saḡuim, aḡur do bamar a bʹraḡiaḡ aoiḡle co Noḡluic ar
 ccionn; conaḡ 1 bʹfoirḡionn na pʹee rin táinic linn a ní do
 cuiréamar mómuinn do émochnúḡhaḡ, amaille pʹe bʹur ccon-
 ḡnaíra, a éigearna Mheḡuirḡir:

Urian (Primus Baron de Inniskillen).

mac Concoḡair

mic Concoḡair óig

mic Concoḡair mḡir. (mort. 1527).

mic Tomaíḡ óig. (mort. 1480).

mic Tomaíḡ mḡir. (mort. 1430).

mic Pilip. (mort. 1395).

mic Aoḡa Ruairḡ

mic Flaitbearcoig. (mort. 1327).

mic Duimḡ. (mort. 1302).

mic Doimnill

mic ḡiolla Iora

mic Duim mḡir

mic Raḡnuill

mic Uirḡir

mic Seapḡaig

mic Uirḡir

mic Seapḡaig

mic Oirḡiallaig

mic Uirḡir ó bʹuil an rʹlomme

mic Ceannaig

mic Luḡain

mic Iorḡalaig

mic Eiccinig

mic Corbmaic

mic Fearḡura

mic Aoḡa

mic Corbmaic

mic Cairḡre Daíḡ Airḡio

mic Eaḡach

mic Cʹmoiméuinn

mic Feice

mic Deaḡharo Duimn

mic Roḡaḡa

mic Colla dá éirḡe

mic Eaḡaḡ Doimlen

mic Cairḡre Lipeḡair

mic Corbmaic Ulfara

mic Airḡ Doimfir

mic Cum. cét-caḡaig [etc.]

An daia lá ríeaḡ do mí October do tionnrcasḡ ḡlanaḡ
 aḡur cup le céile an leabair ḡabála ro, aḡur an daia la 20
 do December do émochnúḡaḡ a rʹcʹriobaḡ, a cConuent na

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Dedication
to the
Leabhar
Gabhála.

mbráchar meimháróte, an reachtmaó bliathain do Ríge Cing Capolur of Saxain, Ffrainc, Alban, agus Eipeann Anno Domini 1631. Bui ccaia ionnuin, bhráchar Michel O Cléirigh.

APPENDIX No. LXXIV. [Lect. VIII., Page 169.]

Address
prefixed to
the Leabhar
Gabhála.

Original of O'Clery's Preface, or Address to the Reader, prefixed to the Leabhar Gabhála.

Do conochar do daoimib aithe oile, agus daíra, in bhráchar boct tuata Michel O'Cléirigh a tTír Conaill, do bhráirib nadoúrtha Conuente Dhúin na nGall darob duécor ó mo rinnreoirib beic im éirimicr, zoi b'oiréior do úine éicin d'Émionncaib sean érimic onóiaé Émionn dá ngoiréir Leabhar Gabhála, do glanaó, do cor le céile, agus do rghriobáó, ar na hádboraiibre. An céo aóbar, do éuiréat m'uaécharáin do éuram orom beathaóa agus seanéur Naom Émionn do érimniúgaó ar gaé áit a b'fuirinn íao ar fuo Émionn; agus iar na óenaim rin daí do éoghar comluaoor do érimicr, do éaricúgaó, do glanaó, agus do rghriobáó na méroe a fuairar don t-fenéar rin na Naom, agus Réime Rioghairé Émionn zur a m-béim na naom, amail ir fol-lar ir in leabori ina b'foilit. Iar roin do éuicéior náir b'iomlán an raótar rin a dobarit, gan an leabori Gabhála méamháite do glanao agus do rghriobáó, úair iré ba tobori bunaró do Sheanéur naom agus ríog Éimionn, da n-uairlib agus da nírlib.

Aóbar oile beór, do fearoir zur éionnrgainreatt daime foglomta a laitin agus a mbéila, an érimicr na h-Émionn do éionntuó a Gaoróilce, ir na teangtaibri a dúbramoir, agus nach roibe fogluim ná eólar a nGaoróilce zo grunn aca, tref a ceuiricir cruar, bucca agus seanéur in liúbori céona le céile, gan ainbrior, gan ionpoll, agus zo machaó an éionntuó, rin do óéanraoir d'earburó eóluir Gaoróilce, an átar agus an imóearigaó ríoróuige d'Éimionn uile, agus zo háiréoe da érimicr. Ar ar na fátoib rin do éuiréar roimam, amaille ne toil m'uaécharáin, an leabori ro do glanaó, agus do cor le céile, agus gaé seanéur ocur zach ní oile ráinir a lear do éionól ar leaborib oile éuicce, an méo zur b'feroir linn, do réir na h-uairé baor accoinn aga rghriobáó.

Ir íat na érimicige baorir aiaon grunn ag glanaó an leabori: Fearreara ó Maolconaire, ó bhaile i mhaolconaire, a cConnrae Rora Comáin; Cucoicce ó Cléirigh, ó bhaile i Chléirigh, a cConnrae Dhúin na nGall; ocur Cucoicce O Duibhionnan, ó bhaile Coille Fogair, a Connrae Liattroma; agus Giollapáoraice O Lúinín, ó Aro i Lúinín, a cConnrae Fhearmanach.

Ar cóirí díu, a fíor, conaó péaraigh co péibí na fíoróib, ocur renóiríe cumíneacha, cian-dorú na coiméirí seanúr Eíuonn a ceoimigh, ocur a leabhoib, diairí an diairí, ó aimirí Dúinn go haimirí naomí pártíraice, táimic ír an ceatíamíad bliaóain flaéta laogáiríe mic Néill naomí-ghiallaigh, Rí Eíuonn, do fíolaó crieróimíe ocur ciabuirí inníte, co na beannuirí Eíuinn, fíorí, maca, mná, ocur inígeana, gurí cúimítoigh, ocur gurí, fíorú cealla, ocur congímála inníte.

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Address
prefixed to
the *Leabhar*
Gubhála.

Ro toóuirí naomí pártíraice íarí rín dia fíoríto, na húgtooirí pobóarí oírríóearíca in Eíuinn an ionbuirí rín, fíí coiméirí ceoimice, ocur coimígne, ocur seanúrí gac gabála na gab Eíe go rín. Ar íat na toóuiríe cúige an tan rín, Ror, Dubéac mac Ua Luígarí, Fearígur, etc. Ba hiaoiríóe pobóarí ríalíge fíoríalíge-éacá do seanúr Eíuonn, a naimirí naomí pártíraice.

Ro fíoráil íaríomí, Naomí Colum Cille, Fínnén Cluana hlonairí, ocur Comgall beannóoirí, ocur naomí Eíuonn aríceana, arí úgtooirí a naimiríe buóén, Seanúrí ocur coimígneacá Eíuonn do coiméirí, ocur do toírmac. Do na toóoirí fíoríomí ríamíurí. Acíat do bátoirí a naimirí na naomí ríamí, amíal ír fíollar a ndeíreacá duaine Eocháda Uí Fhloinn, Fíonníamí mac Boéna, Tuaní mac Cairíll mic Muíreacáigh Muíndeíre, do Dháil bíaríach; Dállán Fíoríalí an tuítooirí ocur an naomí oírríóiríce.

Ro ríuríobuirí, ocur na deáiríurí seanúrí ocur coimígneacá Eíuonn a bíaríónuirí na náirí naomí rí, amíal arí fíollar ír na ríuom-leabhoibí na hainmíngíeacá ó na naomíurí fén, ocur ó na náirí-éallairí; uairí ní ríoríe eaccluirí oírríóiríe a nEíuinn, nach ainmíngíte ríuom-leabóirí seanúrí eiríte; na on naomí na beannuirí inníte. Do ba ríoríalíge beóirí, aríne arí na leabhoibí do ríuríobóarí na naomí ocur arí na cainnícib móla do cúmríat a n-íaríorílece, gurí ba híat fén ocur a ccealla ba hínneóimí ríoríarí, ocur ba coimíarí coimíéacá do ríuríeapíarí úgtooirí Eíuonn a nallana.

Monuarí, amí, ba gurí uairí co ndeacáirí ríuríclím ocur eairíe arí éallurí na naomí, arí a mionnurí, ocur arí a luibíarí, oirí ní bíorí arí áirí, díb anora acíe tíoríuaríurí mbíce. nac ríuríacá a ceoimíarí mbíeana, eacítoirí éimeóil, gan a fearí a ríoríach ó rín ílle.

Acíat na líobóirí gabála do bátoirí do láurí ag ríuríobó na ngabálta rí na hEíuonn, leabóirí bhaile 1 Mhaoríléoníe do ríuríob Míurííorí mac Páiríín Uí Mhaoríléoníe arí líobóirí na hÍuríe do ríuríobacá a cCluain Míe Níorí a naimirí naomí Chíaríamí; leabóirí bhaile Uí Chléurí do ríuríobacá a naimirí Mhaoríreacíloinn Mhóirí mic Dóimíalí; leabóirí Mhíunntíurí Dhíubííoníamí na ngoiríteirí leabóirí

AP. LXXIV. Shlinne dá Láca, ocur Leaboir na hUacongmála, amaille
 me leabroib gabála ocur peančura oile zen mó táro rin.

Address
 prefixed to
 the *Leabhar*
Gabhála.

ΑΤΙΑΤ ρuim na neceao acao 'ran leaboirra piorana. Gabáil Chearra céour ma nOilinn innte; gabáil Phapáloim iar rin; gabáil Neimeao; gabáil Fhear mbol; gabáil Thuaithe De Danonn, ocur gabáil Mhac Míleaoih, go Maolreachluinn Mór.

bhar ccáirde ionmhuine,
 bpačoir micel O Cléirig,
 fearpeara O Maolconoime,
 Cuccoiccuice O Cléirigh,
 Cuccoiccuice O Duibhíonnain,
 agus Siollapatruice O Luinín.

Do leiceiomoir čopuinn laboirit ar órougaó an Chručaič-
 teóra céour ar na creatúirib: Neam, Aingil, Aimir, agus
 an mara áóbaíl éccpuča ar ar teibitt an ceatari-óuíl ó
 čoil amám, ir in oibriužaó ré láite, zur na huile anmonna
 aittpeabuit a ttalam, a nuirze, agus a naiér, do bríg
 zurab do óiačoirib ir oirčior ní do laboirit orra, agus nar
 mearamoir én ní óioč do beit do mačtanur ar ar noibruč-
 ao amaille me toil nOé, ačt daoine agus aimir namá.
 Da bríg ro, do gabamari léi nar, aimir do žlacao, ar
 oirčior ann dar linn a rémčúr ar noibručte .i. ó čpučhú-
 žao an čeo duine, Aóam ir a řliočt leanřam ar ar rinnřep-
 oib ir in line noireach, žlún ar žlún go čriočnúžao in tinn-
 řžetailři a bfoirčeanm řiožaočta Mhaoilřeačlaimn Mhóiri
 míc Domnall, eirőe řiž óeřionach Eirionn innte řén
 řan řřearabřa, amaille hůžőarřar na cčioimiceao tanža-
 dar řomuin, agus le řiažoil řime na naor amoil řorřit iatč
 a cčiroeaoaib řoirbčte, řirénča eaccluiri Čhřiořo, ar lořcc
 užoori agus řirén na Ščepřta Naóime, řéb ainmneóčam
 řiorana, eanž aineanž do řiažlaó na naor řéimřáite, a
 řionn agus a niomláine, ó Aóam go řein Čhřiořo anuar
 mar an cceáořa, go řžarčoin na řičce řeři nuairlib, do
 řéři tola nOé. Ařiuom an dá řeari .lxx. ar na ceirpe čeo
 aorairb óón řořan amaille řir an ařiuom tužřat daoine
 řearacha řožlamčta do len iao ir an lořcc noireach ar
 na haoruib, ó čpučhúžao in řořain go řein Čhřiořo, ar na
 řionn a cčúicc řannuib. O Aóam go Oilinn, 2242; ó Oilinn
 go hAbraham, 942; ó Abraham go Dáuirōh, 940; ó Dhai-
 uirōh go břiořo, 485; ó břiořo go řein Čhřiořo, 590.

Ar uime do čuireadar na daoine užoorōa do lean an dá
 řeari .lxx. an cuicceao, aimir le na nairřepoirb, zur amlarō
 cōimlíontar an aimir řo, 5199, ó čpučhúžao Aóam go řein

Chríoro. Ar do na húgðaruib leanur an dá fear. LXXX. AP. LXXIV.
 ir na ceitne céo doirib Eirebiur airmear ina éirínic ó
 éiríúgáó Adóim go sein Chríoro, 5199. Oporiur ir in
 ccéao éairtel na céo leaboi aueir go bfuil ó Adám go
 hÁppam, 3184; ó Ábraham go sein Chríoro, 2015; a ruim
 aiaon, 5199. Dhá pñiom-rtaruiúe eccluire Chríoro iatrom.
 Doubaire beór Sanctur hieronimur ina epirtil voócum
 Titair, narí comlíonaó pé míle bliadóan v'aoir an domain go
 rin. Aueir trá, S. Augustin ir an veachmaó cairtel do n
 oara leaboi vés de Civitate Dei naé airmionn ó éiríúgáó
 an uime go rin pé míle bliadóan. Cuirter na leir rin aiaon,
 co tteaccoit leir an luét reumpa a nén nuimí cunn-
 tair, ó éiríúgáó Adóim go sein Chríoro, 5199. Deair-
 baó oile ar an airmear ccéaoa, an Marcarolais Romanach
 v'eimniozar iomláine bliadóan na naoir ó éiríúgáó an domain
 go sein Chríoro, 5199.

[From a copy of the leabar gabala, written in 1685, for Brian, the son of Colla Mac Mahon, of Oriell, now in the Royal Irish Academy, but not classed.]

APPENDIX No. LXXV. [Lect. VIII., Page 175.]

Original of the Title and Dedication to O'Clery's Glossary (from a MS. copy, in the handwriting of John Murray, 1728, in the possession of the Editor).

Title and
Dedication
to O'Clery's
Glossary.

Foclair nó Sanairan nuao iona minígtear cáil éigin v'fo-
 clairb cuairde na gaoiríle, ar na ríúobaó ar uir aibgitre,
 le b'rátair boét tuata v'oir Saint Pionriar .i. Miceul ua
 Cléirig, a ccoláirte na m'brátair neimonnaé a lobain, ar
 na cúir a cclo maille re húgðair, 1643. Amen.

Don tigeairna ro onórac, auzur vom éairao, Baotgalaé
 Mac Aoðagair, Earbac Ailpinn.

Azro éugairb (a Thigeairna) v'iozluim beaz v'foclairb cu-
 airde ar tteangta dútear, ar na ccurinnuigáó ar móran vo
 fenleabairb ar nuígte, auzur ar na minuigáó vo péir
 tuigri, auzur gluarre na b'pñiom-úgðar vo bí ionar nuútaig
 'ran airmir v'eigionais, léir bean minuigáó na rean-gaoiríle.

Ní facamar ionar nuútaig móran pe'r b'iomcubar an
 v'iozluim v'fupáil ar túir 'na ribri; auzur ní tré amám ar
 naibí vo beir ionann (cúir vobuo cóir ar éor eile vo
 éairmar ar ttola orairb, reac cáe oile) vo gluar rin vo
 cum patuinn vo v'eanaí v'aoib don leabairna. aet na
 ceann rin, auzur go rpirialta, tre buir maí féin, auzur dútear
 buir ccineaó iur an cceirteo; auzur fór go bfuil fear cóm-
 anma, auzur comcinn v'aoib, Baotgalaé Ruao Mac Aoða-

AP. LXXV.

Title and
Dedication
to O'Clery's
Glossary.

ḡáin, ar na daoimḃ ar pphionnhabálta leanmaoio a míniúḡaḃ
na ḃfocal ar a ttriáctar 'ran leabharro.

Marphin, níor ḡlacaró mían linn aḃt amáin beḡzan eóluir
'oo ḡabairt 'oon doir ainfir a rean-teangair a máctar, aḡur
an taor ealaḡna 'oo ḃpiorḡaḃ 'ooḡum a ionnḡamla eile ro
'oo 'oéúnañ, ní ar fearr aḡur ní ar líonmaire.

APPENDIX No. LXXVI. (Lect. VIII., Page 176.)

*Original of the Preface, or 'Address to the Reader', prefixed
to O'Clery's Glossary (from the same).*

Address
prefixed to
O'Clery's
Glossary.

'Oon Léiḡṡteóir.

ḃíorḡ ríor ceirne neirḡaró aḡ an leirḡteóir le'rab mian
an beḡ-ḡaoḡarro 'oo léaḡaḃ. An éaró ní, nar cúipeamar
én focol anḡro ríor 'oo míniúḡaḃ, nó 'oo ḡluair ar focoluḃ
cruairḡ ar tteangḡa maḡarḡa, aḃt na focol 'oo éualmar
féin 'oa míniúḡaḃ, nó fuaramar aḡ cáḃ oile iar na míniúḡaḃ,
ó na maḡirṡuḃ 'ooba ríorṡille, aḡur 'ooba ríorḡumḡa an
eóluir cruair na ḡaoirṡle ionar laeḡḃ féin; ar daoib-rin
ḡo ríonḡarḡaḃ ḃaoḡḡalaḃ Ruar Mac Aoḡaḡáin, Tóḡna O
Maolḡonair, aḡur Lúḡaró 'ua Cléirḡ, aḡur Maoileacḡlunn
Moarḡa 'ua Maolḡonair. ḡrḡ ríor oirḡeirc ḡaḃ 'uine
'oioḃrin, arearḡ ḃaoḡḡalaḃ ar mó 'oo leanamar, 'oo ḃrḡḡ
ḡurab uarḡ ar mó 'oo ḡlacamar féin aḡur 'oo fuaramar aḡ
cáḃ oile, míniúḡaḃ na ḃfocal ar a ttriáctamarro, ríorḡaḃ;
aḡur fḡr ḡurab ríor oirḡeirc, 'earḡḡaḡḡe é 'ran ccéir-ro-rí,
mar ar ríollar 'ran ceirṡ tuḡ an tḡarí réamḡáite oile .i.
Lúḡaró 'ua Cléirḡ air ar a éar, amail ará 'ran ríonḡro
ríor:—

Aḡairne aḡair na haoi
'Oallán ríorḡall an ríom-ḡarí,
'O mear ré'm céile ní ceairṡ,
Néirḡe ríor-fear ir fíorḡeair.⁽⁹⁷⁾

Seanḡur diaḡra, 'olḡḡe ar rean,
ḃéurḡa ríorḡe na ḃfílearḡ,
'O bí an éin méirḡ ḡar nairḡrḡ,
Clí an Eirḡrḡ! an ionairḡrḡ!

Ar aḡne 'uinn ríorḡe maḡe 'ran céir-ro-rí, aḡur ríor 'ran
airḡir 'oéḡionarḡ, mar ará Seáan 'ua Maolḡonair, ríom-
oioe na 'uḡingḡe a 'oúḡamarí éana, aḡar fear n-Eirḡonn, a

(97) This fourth line is mistranslated in the text (see p. 176), or rather the translation there given is of the version of these lines in the MS. from which the "Address" is taken (MS. of A.D. 1728, in my possession). The last word of this fourth line there is *fíreairt*. I have corrected the text of the line from a fragment consisting of fourteen stanzas of this curious poem, in the most correct diction, which I copied from a MS. vol. of old Historical Poems in the possession of the O'Conor Donn, dated 1631. The translation of the line as it now stands, corrected, should be: *Neidhé of profound knowledge, and Fercheart*. "*Fercheart*" is put for "*Fercheirtne*", the celebrated poet (of the time of Conor Mac Nessa).

reanóar ina ainmí fén; aḡar Flann mac Cairbre mic AP. LXXVI.
 Aod'agáin maípear fór, aḡar oíong oile naé náíuibim. Aét Address
 do b'íḡ naé tparlaoar na leabair ar a n'oeáimaoar mín- prefixed to
 iúḡaó aḡuinn ar an ttaob'ro do'n f'airge ina b'fúilmro ar O'Clery's
 deóparídeáct, leat amuiḡ do beagán, níor b'éroir linn a Glossary.
 ccéatpáda do leanmúin aét a mbeagán.

An t'ara ní. Bíod a f'ir aḡaó, ḡuab iao na leabair éruaróe
 ar ar éuieaoar na rean-uḡaoir ḡluair míniḡte aḡur ar ar
 ḡlacamair na focailreo f'ior maille re míniúḡaó na oíuinge
 réamháite, do bi aḡ teagartḡ go deḡionac: Amra Cholaim
 Chille; Agallam an da Shuaó; Féilipe na Naom; Féilipe
 Uí ḡhoimáin; Leabar Iomann; Sanaran Bheata Phacttaic;
 rean-Scieaptra meamuium, aḡar rean-leabair paipéir ina
 b'f'íct móián o'focluiḡ éruaróe ḡan míniúḡaó; Forur Focail,
 aḡar Deirb'f'uir do'n Eagna an Eirí; aḡar uimóir an leabair
 órin amac na ḡluair do ḡlacaó ó'n m'baotḡalac réam-
 háiróte.

An t'rear ní. Bíod a f'ior aḡ an léiḡteóir, narí mian linn
 aḡ t'ual an beag-faoḡairí, aét cáil éirín polair do
 éabairt do'n aor óḡ, aḡar do'n aor ainb'f'ir; aḡar an t-aor
 ealaúnaí aḡar eóluiḡ do b'ioraoó, aḡar do ḡríoraó do cum
 a ionnraimla oile do déanam ní ir fearí, aḡar níir líonmaíre.
 Aét ir uime narí leanamair go pava ar móián do na hil-
 éialluib éuio an taor vána, aḡar ealaúna co miao do
 b'f'uil o'focluiḡ annro do míniúḡaó, aḡar do léiḡeamar
 óinn fór, bunaóar iomaó do na foclaib o'foillriúḡaó go
 f'óirleatan, do b'íḡ ḡuab leir an aor ealaúan go ionn-
 raóac ar mó baínear, aḡar naé b'f'uil maóvanar aḡ cáe go
 coitceann leir marí atá aca leir na rean-leabuiḡ do
 éuigrín, aḡar do léaḡaó.

An ceat'raimáó ní. Bíod a f'ior aḡ an aor óḡ, aḡar aḡ an
 aor ainb'f'ir, leuab mian na rean-leabuiḡ do léaḡaó (ní naé
 b'f'uil na ainéar ar eólcaib ar t'íre) ḡuab annam bíor coi-
 méao aca ar éaol le leatan, no leatan re caol do rḡríobaó;
 aḡar ir f'íri-éaíre éuio uaḡa ar éonnraimib, marí atá b. é.
 ó. f., aḡar marírin; aḡar fór, ar annam éuio ríneaó pava
 ar focluib. ḡríobḡar go minic cuio dona connraimib ar
 ron a éile, marí atá .c. ar ron ḡ, aḡar t, ar ron o. Aḡro
 ramail na b'focal t'reara t'ingr'ídear a nabram ar ron na
 b'focail-ro: Clog, ionann aḡar cloc; aḡaó, acaó; beaḡ, beac;
 coḡlaó, coḡlaó; aro, airt, aḡar marí rin. Cuirḡear fór go
 minic ae, ar ron ao; aḡar ai ar ron aoi; aḡar fór oi ar ron
 aoi. Sompla aiprin marí rḡríobḡar go minic aeo, ar ionann
 aḡar aoo; aḡar cael, ir ionann aḡar caol; aḡar baoi, aḡar
 fór bai, ir ionann aḡar boi. ḡríobḡar go minic é ar ron

AP. LXXVI. a, 'rna rean-leabhaib, maí atá, ar ionann oie, aḡar oia; cia ar ionann aḡar cie; aḡar maí rin. Sḡrúobḡar ḡo mi-nic .i. ar ron, maí atá, [etc.]. Sḡrúobḡar ḡo coitḡeann, a, o, u, ar ron a céile a n-veineasḡ focail, maí ata rompla, romplo, romplu; ceapḡca, ceapḡco, ceapḡcu.

Address
prefixed to
O'Clery's
Glossary.

APPENDIX No. LXXVII. [Lect. VIII., Page 178.]

[This reference is an error. There is no list of contractions at the end of the Preface to O'Clery's Glossary, only a few of the more common contractions are used, such as are to be found described in Irish Grammars.]

APPENDIX No. LXXVIII. [Lect. VIII., Page 178.]

Original of the last Will of Cuchoigeriche O'Clery.

Will of Cu-
choigeriché
O'Clery.

[The will of *Cuchoigeriché* is unfortunately much injured. Many words are quite obliterated, and some of those that remain very indistinct. The following is a copy of as much of it as I can make out with any certainty. The spaces left are to denote passages at present illegible. The translation which I have added is quite literal. The lines in the original I have also thought it right to mark out; they will be found separated by a mark (||) wherever the line ends in the original, which is to be found at fol. 276 of the little MS. volume classed 34. 4. in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy:—

In Ainm an Achar aḡur an Meic aḡur an Spioraḡa
naoimh.

Tiomnuim manam do Dia uile cumachtaḡ, aḡur aithnim
ma cōpp do cūp || i Mainiḡter Buirḡerí Umaill, no ḡibe
hoile ecclaiḡ cairecáirḡa || faicfaíḡerí dom
chairoib m'aonacul; faḡbaim an maoin doḡ annḡa liom ||
o'ar chuinear am feilb irin faoḡal (maḡata mo leabhaib)
aḡ mo oiar || mhaḡ, Diaḡmaio aḡur Seaan. Deanaio a
ḡarḡa eirḡib ḡan milleasḡ aḡur do || réir a maḡtanaíḡ,
aḡur tabmaio a maḡaic aḡur a nḡnaḡugaḡ do cḡloinn ||
Chairbhe maí iao féin, aḡur teḡaḡarḡaḡ iao do reir . . .
. || air cḡloinne Chairbḡí do munaḡ aḡur do
ḡeḡarcc a cḡloinne || aithnim
oioḡ a mbeir ḡo ḡráḡaḡ, muintearḡa moḡaḡail
. || ir me na cḡloinn féin, máḡ maíḡ leo Dia do
foirbiuḡaḡ [oioib fein aḡur do cūp] || maḡa oḡma ar an
faoḡal abur aḡur a ccuio do flaitear Oé oioib [tall] . . .
. || aithniḡim maí an cceona cura eim
Cateḡina móḡ ber ina feilb
aḡur an capall fein do
beirum a feailb oi om' báḡ fein amaḡ
aḡur do réir maí ar feaḡir cḡirḡer

áta LXXVIII.
 régaró a mbia ina láim ásur do beir[m] realb ói
 (óeir m'ecca) ar chapall || ásur ar fearnaic, ásur denaó re
 gac maic bur eoir leir do óenom uirre g. . . || cu [iuró]
 a cuíam óe go neamhair. Óa nteachair
 || mnaoi eile re linn a
 noiomáoir no an bean ||
 ar cúro a deirbfeachair, ásur da maib an bean oib ber . .
 || braithe ar oirneada oirca aiaon
 re linn anó || gan maritain. Óa
 nglacaó an buachaill beg Mac Eac
 || ruaimnear comnaighe cuige ásur teacht in enait
 || ásur a Sheagain ataim
 aga aithe oib an uile maic bur ion
 || do óenaim do meir mar do punni
 meir ásur || athair
 ásur da fearnair, ásur da fearmair. Rua
 || bó do cuíear ina feilb óó do é.... cora no da
 braithe || chomnaige ariabfuil óenair
 bur cceatparó féin leir an
 || accommaoin aippeann do páóa le hanam Sheagain
 mheg g || do cipítear daoib
 fein.

CUCOGRY (*sic*) [CLEIRIGH].

A cCuiri na hEilte, an 8 la
 Feb., 1664, do meir na nuimpe
 armo

[TRANSLATION.]

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.

I bequeath my soul to God Almighty, and I charge my body to
 be buried in the Monastery of *Burgheis Umhail* [Borrisoole], or in
 whatever other consecrated church in which it will appear
 best to my friends to bury me. I leave the property most dear to me
 that I have put into my possession in the world, namely, my books,
 to my two sons, *Diarmaid* and *Seaan*. Let them take their profit
 out of them without injuring them, and according to their necessities;
 and let them give their sight and their constant access to *Cairbre's*
 children like themselves; and let them instruct them according
 to benefit of *Cairbre's* children, to teach and
 instruct their own children. I am charging
 them to be loving, friendly, respectful, as they
 would be to their own children, if they wish that God should be
 propitious to themselves, and give them prosperity in the world
 here, and their share in the kingdom of heaven to them in the other

LXXVIII. world. I charge in like manner
 Catherina or great
 Will of that shall be in her possession, and the horse
Cucoigriché in her own hands. I give her its possession from
 O Clery my own death out and
 accordingly as it shall appear best
 There is examine
 what shall be in her hands, and I give her possession (after my
 death) of a horse and of a foal, and let him do all the good
 that he can to her [until he has put] her care off him non-shame-
 fully. Should go another woman
 in the time of their idleness or the woman
 upon the share of her sister, and
 if the woman of them who shall be brethren
 that shall be heirs of them both in their time there
 without being alive. If the little boy, the son of *Eoch* . . .
 should take quietness of residence to
 himself, and come to the one place with
 And, *Seaan*, I am charging you to do every good which can be done
 accordingly as I have done, and
 father and to his grandfather and to
 his grandmother a cow which I
 put into his possession to him of your
 share or of your brothers residence
 in which he is, dispose of it according to your own wishes
 as a benefit [pay] for saying Mass
 for the soul of *Seaan Meg-G.*
 as shall appear to yourselves. CUCOIGRI[CHÉ O CLEIRIGH].

In *Curr-na-h-Eilte*, the 8th day of
 February, 1664, according to
 the greater computation.

APPENDIX No. LXXIX. [Lect. VIII., Page 179].

Two Poems
 by *Cu-*
coigriché
 O'Clery.

*Original (with translation) of two Poems by Cucoigriché
 O'Clery; from MMS. transcribed by James Mac Guire, in
 1727, for Hugh O'Donnell (of Larkfield), now in the pos-
 session of Professor Curry.*

I.

Cucoigriché O Cléirigh do pinne an
 dán-ra do'n Chalbhac Ruadh mac
 Mághnaí, mic Cuinn óig, mic Cu-
 inn, mic an Chalbaicch.

Ionmhuin an laoió léagáir punn,
 Tis uair, a Chalbaig éugum,
 ní tré pún fallpa nó fear,
 áet do fúp annpa é'iccear.

I.

*Cucoigriché O'Clery that made this
 poem for the Calbhach Ruadh, the
 son of Maghnus, son of Conn óg,
 son of Conn, son of the Calbhach
 (O'Donnell).*

Beloved the lay which is read here,
 Which comes from thee, O Calbh-
 ach, to me,
 Not through a treacherous design
 I know, [poet.
 But to seek the affection of thy

AP. LXXIX.

Two Poems
by *Cu-*
coigiriché
O'Clery.

na ceapmólta tugraí ort,
na h-éiceirí rinne fúinn Chonnocht,
maire leam n'ar laíogais do éail,
'Sgurr árdais eirí dom anáil.

m'aoir ionnuine ó' r' ias rin,
léigis leam ina lictuibh,
bair tteirte do ghnáit ó'n dáimh uil,
ir ní nár cáit ó'a éluimrin.

A ninnirí rígel rígorra mé,
ó 'táir agam mar fínné,
ní fóbraim a ccló 'rni éel,
ní raó fóbraim a naibear.

Da ráo ar túr ag teacht éort,
mar éirí Saill go críe Chon-
nocht,
tré fálairé suairmín naé glan,
bair raíamail ó'uairlibh ulaó.

Da nglóir an éiríe do éarair,
duirí naé fáit fáltanair,
'Sgorra gar oile ó taoí treabair,
Cair mhoirge doí ar aitreabair.

Maéaire Chonnocht na ccaé,
zéir b'rao é 'na fárach,
de n'ar ríguir, a gneé geal
Suir éirí é fá fóirgneam.

Comráo a eólach uile,
D'aoir aitreabair an mhaéaire,
Dóir na b'áitne é fá bail,
Soo pé áitneigei a Chalbhais.

'S gur éirí tú pá érom eallais,
laé oirdeir an fínn-beannais,
ir maé doí ó'n réim i raibí,
Soo léir gaé laoi a lompaire.

A ráo ríe ní ráo náireach,
Do beir caiteimeac conáireac,
'Sgo ccaite, ga raoinne réal?
Sgaite maoinne gan maoríear.

ir gur ghnáit teaglaé it éagha,
mar bu réil i pé ar rínnreap,
'Soo beir ann fá doib gan oimé,
in gaé am óaoib go daoimé.

Re'o linn im Chruscáin na ccean,
ní fuil uapal nó íreal,
naé léir ina éac muirín mór,
ima réac cuirm ir cóimól.

The praises they have bestowed on
thee, [Connacht,
Those learned men of the land of
Well pleased I am that thy cha-
racter is not lessened, [breath.
And that it has heightened my
My beloved friends are these,
They convey to me in their letters,
Thy common report, from the dear
band, [hear it.
And it is no shame that all should
To tell their story I shall forbear,
As now I have them as witnesses;
I don't propose to publish them,
nor conceal,
No forbidden words do I speak.
Of their contents at first, speaking of
thee, [nacht's land,
How the foreigners sent to Con-
By a dangerous enmity, not pure,
Thy like of the nobles of Ulster.

Part of their words—the country
thou hast loved, [mity,
To thee shall not be a cause of en-
And that shortly again, as thou art
prudent, [in.
Till thou lovest *Magh Aoi* to dwell
Machairé Connacht of the battles,
Though long it had been a desert,
From it thou didst not cease, thou
bright of aspect, [closure.
'Till thou didst put it under en-
The conversation of all its learned,
Of the residents of the *Machairé* is
That never did they see it pros-
perous, [ach.
Until the spending time of *Calbh-*
And that thou hast placed under
heavy stock [nach;
The noble land of the *Finnbhean-*
And brought *Magh Aoi* from its
former state, [pastures.
That every day sees its well-grazed
To say of thee is no shameful saying,
That thou art spendive, hilarious,
And that thou spendest,—what
happier time?—
Flocks of kine without boasting.
And that company is frequent in thy
house, [ancestors,
Such as was seen in the days of our
And that thou art with never a
frown,
At all times with crowded people.
In thy time around *Cruachain* of the
loves, [ferior,
There is not a superior nor an in-
In whose house there is not great
merriment,

íomóda aca eide fíeanga,
 fíon, fleadó-ól i' fíchealla,
 'Sbúirto leatna gac laoi 'na
 ttoisg,
 Gan peacna ar daei nó ar donoir.

íonann íoméaró bar noipe,
 in gac áit é'ar íonnoime,
 'Spóo maréar im Chruachain
 Chuinn,
 'Sa ttuatáib íaréar umuill.

Da maó íao é'ollamhár féin,
 Do cuirpead do élú in iméin,
 'Dóib ní peapaoi, a beó ar mban,
 a beptaóí gop leó an leanam.

Ar é'ipeadé féin fuair tura,
 an pó oirpéiric anma ra,
 O tá an gairm gac dú, ní oíé,
 bar naimm i' bar cclú i ccoic-
 cmch.

Cia 'o' é' fíemh níg nó fuiré,
 Da léaghtá a Réim Ríoghuiré,
 fuair an tapba óo 'o' é'leat,
 nó pó anma gan oirbeap.

Da bíem ím a íeic ím,
 maó áil bar naimm do éluimín
 bean ne bunadur 'o' beap,
 lean 'o' ímhuir i' é'ipeadé.

na deac fínb, a fíir ímne,
 a naméiré, a naimmne,
 doia fíor-énuir bar nguaó
 ngeal,
 Rob tuar fíoréim a rillead.

mo páo ra deóiró pe'ó é'peid
 nouinn,
 na bí céoluitéach comunn,
 gan fáé na búr é'annra ar fíor,
 déé panna íur 'o' íoi-éion.

ní clú páp le a éup i ccém,
 adóclor ingine uatéir,
 ar báro i' ar barí cemil,
 ní náp an tam 'o' áibeilín.

bíóó go mbeir ar beagán éuiró,
 ní clumtear uaté a hearburó,
 gac ar éar 'o' éuaró ó éár,
 'Sa maie gan uail gan allár.

With circling bowls and social
 drinking.

Many with them are graceful steeds,
 Wine, banqueting, and chess-play-
 ing, [in their houses,
 And wide-spread boards each day
 Without avoidance of road or high-
 way. [den

Alike do they bear thee as their bur-
 In all places,—those who love thee,
 And thou art sung out at *Com's*
Cruachain,
 And in the lands of the west of
Umaill.

Were they thine own *Ollamhs*,
 That had sent thy renown afar,
 They would not be noticed, thou
 life of our maidens, [own.
 It would be said the pet was their
 It is from thine own good sense thou
 hast received

This most illustrious name,
 Since it is hailed everywhere, it is
 no harm, [ing territories!
 Thy name, and thy fame in border-
 Who of thy stem, king, or chief—

If thou wilt read the kingly succes-
 sion— [rited,
 Received the reward which he me-
 Or an illustrious name, without il-
 lustrious deeds?

On that account, my active son,
 If thou desirest thy name to be
 heard,
 Adhere to thine original deeds,
 Follow nationality and prudence.

Let it not molest thee, thou Man of
 the *Finn*,
 The evil hearts, the malignity
 Of those who envy thy bright brow;
 Their gaze is the omen of secret
 peace.

My last words to thy noble mien:
 Be not the first to fly from friend-
 ship; [with man;
 Causeless break not thy affection
 But share with him thy highest
 love.

No empty renown to be sent afar,
 Is the fame of the daughter of
 Walter; [ture,
 For friendship and for best of na-
 No shame is the time to *Aibhei-*
lín.

Though she may be of chattels scant,
 From her her wants are never
 heard, [out regret,
 What she has spent is gone with-
 And her goodness is without pride,
 without ostentation.

AP. LXXIX.

Two Poems
 by Cu-
 coigcriché
 O'Clery.

AP. LXXIX.

Two Poems
by Cu-
choigeriché
O'Clery.

Ráó dáig i ccluar a déile,
Go mbi gan dúil doiméme,
Go faoilteac, gá dáil ir oile?
'Sgo rgaoilteac, ráim, rimplíóe

Da h-airróib tugram ar ttoil,
Ir da maic, gan méin uabair,
Ir da gnaoi na ngoipe roin,—
Ní marí mnaoi oile ar ionmhom!
Ionmhom.

[NOTE. This poem commences at page 323 of the volume, and the following poem at page 336.]

II.

Cuchoigeriché O Cléirig do rinne
an dán ro, do Thoirrdealbhaé O
Doimnaill, mac Caébharr.

mo mallact ort a faogail,
maic nac tuig do ró-baoğarl,
'Sgo cuipie féin a céill dúinn
nac díol grádaigte t'fortúin.

Síó iomóa ní ar a ratb meap,
fuair uait nige agur flaitear
'Sda ttugair muinn, féaróa, ir
fleao,
féactar a ceiríoc fá óeipeao.

iomóa flait ar fearac linn
iomóa airpigh doob ingill,
Ra ngem Chrioro tarla ar do
muin,
'Soo éparğnar ríor go talmuin.

Ríoga ir Monarc an doimain,
O tá a míl 'nár nupcomair,
mar fiaona rairte na nong
Deapbaro go ríor a nabrom.

Ríoga na nárrapóa ir meao,
tugair díob real n'ar ro-beag
Callacóa ir pearra n'ar lag,
fuairreat real, cáit ar gabrat?

Alexander, Monarc mór
Céo Imperi Trés na nglan-
flógh,
Séir mór a meap 'ra po-neap
Níri éian a pé oo mapcoigeadt.

Iúliur Caesar go nágh,
Céo Imperi péil na Román,
ar ngabail an doimain lair,
a faogail créao fa'p éparğnar?

The words of all men in each other's
ears :

[ill-temper,
That she's ever without shade of
Cheerful—what state so lovely?—
And disbursive; placid, simple !

To her appearance we have given our
approval, [of pride,
And to her goodness, without ore
And to her mien along with these;
It is not like any other woman she
is beloved ! Beloved.

II.

*Cuchoigeriché O'Clery that made this
poem for Toirdhealbhaé O'Donnell,
the son of Cathbarr.*

My curse upon thee, O world !

Woe is he who understands not
thy great dangers, [sensible
And that thou thyself makest us
That thy fortunes are not an object
to be loved.

Tho' many a king who had been
esteemed [reignty ;

Received from thee reign and sove-
And to whom thou gavest mirth,
feast, and banquet :

Behold their fate at the end !

Many a sovereign that we know,
Many a high king who was their
equal

Before Christ's birth, mounted thy
back, [ground.

Whom thou didst cast down to the
The kings and the monarchs of the
world,

Whose knowledge we have at hand,
If the histories of the parties be
witnesses,

They prove truly what I say.

The kings of the Assyrians and
Medes, [small ;

Thou gavest them a space not very
The Chaldeans and Persians,—not
weak,— [they gone ?

They had their time,—where have

Alexander, a great monarch,
First Emperor of the Greeks, of
noble armies,

Tho' great his esteem and great
strength, [thee.

His time was not long for riding

Julius Caesar of renown, [mans,

The first real Emperor of the Ro-
On the world having been con-
quered by him,— [him?

O world ! why didst thou prostrate

nín eiríú neac éiar nó éoir,
ar oruim do rotha a faogail,
nac é a deiread iar gac róó,
a éur faoi an poe pa dubróin.

boíet an tfaogail imarad,
óiot ar beite óóib bírdeac,
ní tabra ní óóib doo' maoin,
'Sní beana óíob do éomaoin.

Cóir a buíde ne Dia oíl,
ar mbreir i naimirín creioin,
ir Críoto d'ar leigíor ó'p cooir,
'Sgan dóradó óuitrí a faogail.

a rgeal mar atá i leabrais,
na Monaircín, a Thoirdealbhais,
ní ba meirí ag Dia bar náit,
gan doil oib na ccompráit.

Cráo liom do gheimliúgao dooir,
'Sgan taóall óuit ar mítaom,
acé ríor-fuac mar 'tá ne tpeall
eacétrann ar uairlib éireann.

Sióeac, déana oimbrúg óe,
da mairia ríb mear roirpe,
do beir óraib éall 'ra bur,
glóir do Dha, atá ar do éumur.

Smuain ó éur go rugao ríb
i nam crábair ó'p creioin,
mar nac rugao (mor ne a mear),
na Monairc éuar, do airínear.

Tabair roigeroe ro bpoio,
gab comairle ó gac capio,
da bfuilnge martra gan éoir,
buaine óuit beacá fuéain.

Táimic topa tré uar cooir,
do mii anuar ó'n átoir,
'Soo doirp fuil a éuirp uile,
ar ár ngráo tré érócuirpe.

Ar doirp gac martín d'a bfuil
O éur go deiread doimuin,
do bu mó rgeal bpaon do'n fuil
do doirp topa tré ar cciontuib.

Fuair Críoto bá'p éroide ar ár ion,
do iarr oruim ar cpoac d'iom-
éoir,
'Sar toil do éuma ne a éoil,
ásur é péimio leaníom.

No person has arisen, west or east,
On the back of thy wheel, O world!
Whose end is not, after all hap-
piness, [sorrow,
To be buried under the wheel in
The poor of the earth all around,
To thee they have cause to be
thankful; [wealth,
Thou givest them nothing of thy
And thou deprivest them not of
thy gifts.

It is proper to thank the loving God,
That we are born in the time of
religion, [our sins,
And that Christ has healed us of
And not worshipping thee, O world.
Their story, as it is found in books,
Of these monarchs, O *Toirdheal-*
bhach, [with God,
Thy place will not be the worse
Not to follow them in comparison.

I am grieved at thy being cruelly
fettered, [trust,
And thou hast not merited dis-
But true hatred, as there is for
some time, [of Erinn.

By the foreigners against the nobles
However, make little matter of it,
If thou seekest perfect esteem
To be upon thee yonder (in heaven)
and here: [power!

Glory be to God, it is in thy
Reflect, firstly, that thou hast been
born
In an age of piety and religion,
As were not born (highly is it to
be prized) [named.

The above monarchs, whom I have
Bear with fortitude thy captivity;
Accept counsel from every friend;
If thou shouldst suffer martyrdom
without guilt,

More lasting to thee is eternal life.
Jesus came, through our guilt,
From heaven down, from the Fa-
ther, [body

And He shed the blood of His whole
For our love, through mercy.
What all the martyrs have shed of
their blood, [the world,

From the beginning to the end of
A greater loss one drop of the blood
Which Christ has shed for our
crimes.

Christ received death on the cross for
us;
He asked us to carry His cross,
And to shape our will by His
will,
And to follow Himself.

AP. LXXIX.

Two Poems
by Cu-
cigeri. há
O'Clery.

AP. LXXIX.

Two Poems
by Cu-
coigieriché
O'Clery.

Fuair túra, 'par cuirte a ruim,
a meic Caébharr tí Dhoimíll,
ní ó Dhia agur né pá raé,
ní ólúge 'beic ée oimóach.

Fuair raogal fada glan,
barr ar feachtmóga bliádan,
long an anma an corp go ngráin,
míeo do poir do gabail.

Re linn ríochtána ir roéna,
fuair beata ionmólta,
iar bplannúgáó it éir éall,
D'ambríne aintirín eactrann.

1 nam cogáó óa éir rin
gac ar lean ribh do't óaoimib,
do fadair iao ar gorta,
ar bár fuaéta ir fíorinoéta.

Cia hé an flait do fíréim Dhálaig,
do péiriúil na hannaalag,
tug oipeao cobaréta lib,
in am cogáó óa óaoimib?

Do fírir leó, ceann i cceann,
urimóir éóig ccóigiré Eireann,
óa noíoean ar gac feaóam,
do ghallaib, do ghaoiréalaib.

hir éairtírioó tír óioó ro,
i leic Chuinn, nó i leic Mhoóo,
nac bíoó tnué in gac baile
riu 'rgan iao na ccoimnaíoe.

Mó an fupraéct tugadair óóib,
nó a bfuairrioó uaéta d'onóir,
'sao lean óioó (ór rgél fíre)
Oream do luéct gac én tíre.

Do éorain tú iao amlaíó,
re né an éogáó éac-armaig,
ceirre bliáona ooirbe óég,
nar léigir faill 'na ccoiméo.

Sió móir óioó do bí beó boét,
ag teacé éugaib óa bfuirtoét,
'sao ttugair maoin tar an ccóir,
a doimáil aniu ar éóóig

Cuimain leam go muiméaoi rin,
tíri míle bó ar do muinntir,
agur iao uile ar bar ceur,
fa'ó leagáó ir fa'ó gearruó.

Rugair leat fóir, iar gac real,

Thou hast received, and it should be
valued,

O son of *Cathbarr* O'Donnell,
Gifts from God, and a time of pros-
perity; [ful to Him.

He does not deserve to be unthank-
Thou hast received a life, long and
pure,

Over seventy years; [soul:
The valiant body is the ship of the
It is time for it to take a port.

In the time of peace and prosperity
Thou didst receive a praiseworthy
life, [land within,

After there had been planted in thy
Strange, tyrannical foreign tribes.

In time of war after that,
All such of thy people as followed
thee, [tion—

Thou didst free them from starva-
From a death of cold and nakedness.

Who is the king of the race of *Dálach*,
According to the knowledge of the
annals,

Who gave as much relief as thou,
In time of war, to his people?

Thou hast traversed with them, one
with another, [of Erinn,

The most part of the five provinces
Protecting them from every party
Of the foreigners and of the Gaedhil.

They traversed no land of these,—
Of Conn's Half, or of Mogh's Half,—
That there was not envy in every
place

Of them, and they not residing.

Greater was the relief they gave to
them, [of honour,

Than what they received from them
And there adhered to them (since
it is a true story)

A party of the people of every land.

Thou didst defend them in that way
During the time of the battle-armed
war;

Fourteen inauspicious years,
That thou didst not neglect to guard
them.

Though many of them that were but
alive and poor,

At coming to thee for their relief,
And to whom thou didst give more
than proper means, [likely.

To acknowledge it to-day is un-
I remember when there were counted
Three thousand cows to thy people;
And all these at thy disposal,
Under thy laying down and thy dis-
tribution.

Thou didst bring still after all time

iao uile ag toil fá ólígead,
 Sup rgaoilreac riap agur roir,
 ag poir eirne fá'ó lámóib.

Ré beag mbliadán gá atá rib,
 ar fíir beagán do't muinntir,
 fuair beata gan náine,
 'Sníir mias leat a hiomláine.

Bíod na'r óiongmála laira,
 ar tteact go haoir arpaeta,
 beata meapara óeanar,
 Dob fearr í na bpaigheanar.

Treís do óiomar, na lean oe,
 miero ouit in eirr é'aoire,
 Saozal na meang do éuigrin,
 'Snae tú amáin do ro-éuigrig,

Caitréim 'rfeair fa gneim glom,
 do neoc da'r gem ar calmoin.
 'Sar buaine do éall iar nool,
 buaid ar óeamhan 'rar óomhon.

Trí naimhe an anma gac am,
 Diabal, raozal 'ra colann,
 Dámbeirne tura a mbuaid rin,
 Raéair go péro do'n Rígtig.

Suidim Dia mot, a pún oil,
 ná léis fuil Chríoro i nairgíoh,
 tuill pe haiteuge géir, glom,
 do ool irin ríth fuéom.

Déna an timépeadaó ólige,
 O éur go eirr é'aimrpe,
 Sgrúo a bfuair tú gac tan,
 'Sa noearnair iur 'ran raozal.

Bíod tuirir ir conguin éirde,
 Oir éré éuilleam oirbire,
 an tí ar a tteugao gan éoir,
 na mílte éréct éréo éionturb.

Má do éráirir neac ó éoil,
 i cclu, a maoin, na éré rgaannoil,
 Déana aipeas ann go éoir,
 do péir bpeirne an éonferóir.

Buó luaité liomra na lib,
 (Le toil Dé) o'fior an Rígtig,
 mo buille rguir aré ro,
 Uibre i noeirnead mo éearmo.
 mo mallact.

The whole of them to go under the law,
 [eastward,
 Until they dispersed westward and
 At Port-Erne under thy hands.

A small term of years though thou art,
 With only a very small part of thy
 people, [out shame,
 Thou hast received a living with-
 And thou wouldst not prize it in its
 entirety. [worthy,
 Although that thou wouldst not deem
 At coming to the age of seniority,
 A living of moderate extent,
 It were better than captivity.

AP. LXXIX.

Two Poems
 by Cu-
 coigieriché
 O'Clery.

Abandon thy pride, follow it not,
 It is time for thee at the end of thy
 age,
 To understand the world of wiles,
 And that it is not thee only it has
 distressed. [sun,
 The best triumph under the bright
 For any one born upon earth,
 And the most lasting for him yon-
 der where he goes, [world.
 Is a victory of the demon and the
 The three foes of the soul at all times,
 Demon, world, and body, [tory,
 If thou but gain of these the vic-
 Thou shalt go smoothly to Heaven.

I pray God for thee, my dearly be-
 loved;
 Let not Christ's blood go for nought.
 Merit by a sharp, pure repentance
 To go into the peace eternal.
 Make thou the necessary criticism,
 From beginning to end of thy life,
 Scrutinize what thou hast received
 in all time, [in the world.
 And what thou hast done with it
 Let there be distress and contrition
 of heart [rebuke
 Upon thee, for having deserved the
 Of Him, upon whom thou hast un-
 justly brought [faults.
 Thousands of wounds through thy
 If thou hast aggrieved any one, of
 thy will, [scandal,
 In fame, in wealth, or through
 Make thou restitution in it justly,
 According to the words of the con-
 fessor.
 Sooner shall I go than thee,
 (With God's will) to visit Heaven,
 My finishing blow it is this,
 In thy behalf in the end of my
 term.

My curse.

AP. LXXX.

APPENDIX No. LXXX. [Lect. IX., Page 182.]

Memoranda
in *Leabhar*
na h-*Uídhre*.*Original of two memoranda in Leabhar na h-Uídhre (R.I.A.); fol. 35.*

Oíait do Moelmúir Mac Ceileachair mac mic Cuinn na mBoët, no reub ocus porcput alebhaib egramlaib in le-buirra. Oíait do Domnall mac Muircheartaigh, mic Domnall, mic Taróg, mic Buiain mic Ainriar, mic Buiain Luighnigh, mic Toirrdhelbach mór. Irre in Domnall rin no fúair aithnuidiú na peapainnir in leir reubad in ream-lebairra, ar Shigrair na Cuinnidín; ocus ca fepir duinn ar mbeandacht do chur ambel duine go fepir in liubairra na a fagbail aigi; ocus rectmúin onú do ratarin Cárc, ocus rectmúin onú do háine in cerda, ocus dá áine oída uirri .i. aen na féil Muir, ocus áine in cerda, ocus ir ingnad moir rin ic aiaile d'eolcáib.

Oíait anro do Aoð Ruad mac Néill Gaib 1 Dhomnall do tobair co poragna an leabairra ar Chonnaictaib, ocus in leabair Gaib maille fup, iarna mbeir nar necmúir o aim-rir Caatáil óig 1 Concobair co haimir Ruairi mic Buiain; ocus dechneabur tigeir na etoirri fop Cairbre.⁽⁹⁸⁾ Ocus anaimir Concobair⁽⁹⁸⁾ mic Aoð hi Domnall pucaó riariad; ocus ir mar feo pucaó iad .i. in leabair Gaib a fup-cloó 1 Doctarraig; ocus leabair na h-Uirri do dul a fup-cloó mic Ollamon 1 Domnall pe reancur, aia gábil do Chaatáil angill fup. [ocus deir m] ar Cenel Conaill fup rin o Concobair co hAo.

APPENDIX No. LXXXI. [Lect. IX., Page 183.]

Original of entry in the "Annals of the Four Masters", at 1470.

Cairlen Slieciú do gábil la h-ua n-Domnall fop Domnall Mac Eogain Uí Concobair, iari m-beir aiair foda in iomruide fair, agus a bheir fein d'fágail do comtoib d'ua Domnall don eir rin la taob uila, agus eiof ána o loctar Connaet. Bá don eir rin do madao do an leabair Gaib, agus leabair na h-Uirri, agus caatáirra do Domnall óicc pucaó riari pe linn Sheain Mic Concobair oicc Uí Domnall.

(98) The following Extract from a list of the Obits of the Chiefs of Tir-Chonaill in a Book transcribed in 1727 by James Maguire for Hugh O'Donnell of Larkfield, now in the possession of the present writer, will explain this. The abovenamed Concobhar, son of Aedh O'Donnell, ob. 1367; after whom were: Niall, son of Aedh, ob. 1376; Aenghus, ob. 1382; Feidhlímídh, son of Aedh, ob. 1386; Seán, son of Concobhar, ob. 1390; Toirrdhelbach of the Wine, ob. 1414; Niall Garbh, ob. 1456; Neachtain, ob. 1473; Rughraidhe, son of Neachtain, ob. 1486; Domnhall, son of Niall Garbh, ob. 1488; Toirrdhelbach Cairbreach, ob. 1490; Aedh Ruadh, son of Niall Garbh, ob. 1495.

Entry in
Ann. IV.
Mag., 1470.

APPENDIX No. LXXXII. [Lect. IX., Page, 184.]

LXXXII.

Original of entry in same Annals, at 1106.

maolmuire mac mic Cuinn na mbocht do marbhad ar lár
 doimhliacc Cluana mic nóir lá haor aóimillte.

Entry in
 Ann. IV.
 Mag., 1106.

APPENDIX No. LXXXIII. [Lect. IX., Page 184.]

Original of Memorandum in Leabhar na h-uíorpe (at the top of fol. 45).

Memoran-
 dum in
 Leabhar
 na h-Uídhre.

p̃robatio pennae maolmuir mic mic Cuinn na mbocht.

APPENDIX No. LXXXIV. [Lect. IX., Page 186.]

Original of Memorandum in the Book of Leinster (the MS. classed H. 2. 18., T.C.D.), at the end of fol. 202 b).

Memoran-
 dum in Book
 of Leinster.

Bẽta ocur pláinte o Finn Eppcop (.i. cillí daria) do deo
 mac Cumtáin, do f̃p̃leig̃ino aitho-m̃g̃ leithi Mõga (.i. nu-
 dat), ocur do Comairbu Coláim mic Cumtáin, ocur do
 p̃rim-fenchaid̃ laigen, ar zaer ocur eolur, ocur trebairie
 lebur, ocur ferra, ocur fõglomma. Ocur reibthar̃ dam
 deirẽ in p̃ceoil bice co cinnte d̃uit, a deo amhair, a f̃p̃
 corin naeboll-mair; cian mo m̃cem doo [?] hinghair, mian
 dam do bĩ cum domgnad. Tũctar̃ dam duanairie mic
 Lonain con faicem̃ir a cialla na ñouan f̃ilet ann, et uale
 in Christo etc."

APPENDIX No. LXXXV. [Lect. IX., Page 187.]

Original of Memorandum in the same book (at the top margin of fol. 200 a.).

Memoran-
 dum in Book
 of Leinster.

"[A Muire] ar moir in gñim do m̃ng̃neo in h̃ep̃ino iñoiu
 .i. hi calainn Augur̃t. Diaimair mac Donnchada mic
 Murchada, m̃ laigen agur gall, do innairba do f̃eair̃ib
 h̃ep̃ino [tar̃ in m̃uir̃ f̃air̃.] ũc, ũc, a com̃oiu cĩo do gñ."

APPENDIX No. LXXXVI. [Lect. IX., Page 195, Note ⁽⁴⁴⁾.]

An abridged List of all the Gaedhelic MSS. in the Libraries of the Royal Irish Academy and of Trinity College, Dublin.

MSS. in
 R.I.A. and
 T.C.D.

[It has become impossible for me to prepare the complete List I had originally intended to form this Appendix; and anything less than a complete List would not answer the purpose I had in view. The mere skeleton List itself of these MSS. would in any case occupy, indeed, a greater number of pages than could be properly devoted to it in the present volume. I can only hope to find another occasion to redeem my promise of publishing it, in some form sufficient to give students of Irish History an idea of the immense mass of reading these great MS. Libraries contain for those who will qualify themselves by some preliminary study of the language to avail themselves of it.]

LXXXVII.

APPENDIX No. LXXXVII. [Lect. X., Page 216.]

Title and
Introduction
to Mac Fir-
biss' Book of
Genealogies.

Original of the Title and Introduction to the Book of Genealogies of Dubalta Mac Fhirbiris.

Craobha coibneara aghar géuga geneluis gaca gabála var
gab Epe ón amra go hAdam (aet Fomoriais, Loelannais
aghar Saxgail amáin, lámam o éangadara vári tti) go
naomíenear, aghar réim míochnaíoe Foöla fóp, aghar fa
deóis clári 'na ccuimrisítear (iar nupio aibgíope) na Slointe
agh na háite oirdearica luaitear ipin leabarra, vo teaglo-
maó leir an Dubalta Mac Fhirbiris leacain. 1650.

Bioet umoppo, gupab fon ramail rin ar gnaitee tabairt
tiobail vo leabrais ie lin an lineir, ní léisream lois ar
Sean, an Seangnár ghuanae, Gaordealae óinn, oir are ar
roiléipe, mapro.

Loc, aimpír, pearra, aghar tugair rgnibne don leabarra.
Loc vo, Colairte S. Niocol i nGailim, aimpír vo, aimpír an
éogaó éreomíis eoir Chatoilcib Epienn, aghar Eitcib Epienn,
Albun, aghar Saxan, go háimíoe ipin mbliadain vo aoir
Cuir. 1650; Pearra vo Dubaltae mac Giollaiora Mhoir
Mhec Fhirbiris, Seancaí, etc., a leacain Mhec Fhir-
biris i tti Fhiacrae Muaroe; aghar tugair rgnibne an
leabair ceurona, vo móruaó glóipe De, aghar vo geunam
iúil vo cae i coitcínne.

Tegeumáó tria go mearraó neac egin iongnao ipin obairri
tie aióble aghar foirleicne na Sengenelaera riari ar na
ceurais cineao coirsitear ann go hAdam iar nupio a nGaol
ie maile, uair ad cluinim fén vpongaib a veipio nae éoir
genealaig Gaordeal vo bpet go bun mar poin. Gibe fát ma
nabair rin vo bearmaoir baramuil va maó bpiis linn, air
ní vo adamio, aet vo éairpeunao na fipinne iar renrignib-
nib furióigte Suaó, Sean-naom aghar fpuir-jeancaó Epienn
ol-ceana, ó ceurotor na naimpíoir gur aniu, ní nae cuirte i
gcuntabairt, uair ar maó coitceann coimíonoraic vo glain-
leabrais Gaordealge aorua Epienn na bmaerao rior ag
foillriúgaó luét coimeua an Sheancair. Agro mar aoei:
Ma bet neae fiarraigeaer cia po coimeo an Seancaer? Bioet
a fíor ag cae gupob pearraig go réeib mofova, agur feanoipe
cuimneaca cianaorua vo deonaig Dia vo coimeuo agur vo
airneir Sheancair Epienn ileabrais diaig inuaig vo zach
vaine o óilinn go haimpír Naom Paorais (tainis ipin cea-
ramaó bliadain flaeta Laoúipe mec Nell), aghar Cholaim
Chille, aghar Chomgail beanncuir, aghar Phinen Chluana
hlopaio, aghar Naom Epienn ar ceana, po rgnioaó for a n-
gluinibíoe i luibria, ionnar go fpuil re ar altoraib naomíca,

ιττιζιβ ρζηεαβτμα, ι λαιμιυβ Σπυιτσαο αζαρ ρυαο, αζαρ ρεαν-
 αιρεαο οριν αμας ζο βρατ.

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 Introduction
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Ζο ριν ατα αν ραο ρεαμραιτε, αζαρ ατα νιαρ ροιρλειτνε
 ιριν Λεαβαρ Γαβαλα; λεαβαρ ριν βα λορ το οειμνιζεαο αν
 νετερι. Ταμυρ ριν, αζ ρο ρυννραο ανmann υζοαρ Seancuir,
 αζαρ εαλαοαν ele Erienn αζαινν ρε ζας Γαβαιλ οα τταινις
 ινnte, ιαρι ρεν-ρζηεαβτμαιβ cianaoi'oa cuirpear ριορ μαρι ρο.
 Αοερ Λεβαρ Γαβαλα,⁽⁹⁹⁾ βαοοριβ-Λαοιρα ceurona hoioe Erienn,
 ollam Phaircalain.

Figma, file αζαρ Seancaio elainne Nemeao.

Facac, file Fear m'bolz, το αναο Seancair, λαοιρε αζαρ
 ρζεαλυρεατ τοιβ.

Caibrie, Doi, αζαρ Eaoan, ρileaοa Thuac oe Ohanann ρε
 Seancairib αζαρ λαοιριβ, αζαρ ρζεαλυριοιςτ beor; αζαρ
 ρορ βα lan το eolur αζαρ οραιορεατ υμιορι uaral Thuache
 oe Oanann uile.

Ζαοιριλ τμα, ni hiao αζ nac ραιβε λυτ coimeua a Sean-
 cair ρζας αιτ ιμβαοαρ, uair Fenuir Fairair a ρεαναταιρ βα
 ρυομ-υζοαρ ρνα hil-beurluib e, ni maioite ari eolur a
 Sheancura ρen. Μαρι ριν beor το nel mac Fenuira ιριν
 Egipt; Cai Cear oiaoi ιριν Sciua, αζαρ ρνα Ζαοτλαιζιβ,
 αζαρ eaoi'ria ριν, ου ari ταμνζαιρ Epe τοιβ, etc. Μιλιο
 Eppaine οαρ b'ainm Solam ιαρι nool το a heappain ζο
 Sgiua, αζαρ αρ ριν ζο hEgipt, ρο ροζλυμριοο ροιρεανν
 οα μιντεαρ ρυομ-οana ινnte .i. Seuza, Suirze, αζαρ
 Sobairce ρυα ραιοιρι .i. ars .i. ealaοa (anu); Mantan, Ful-
 man, Cai Cear ρυα οραιορεατ. Βαοαρ buaοlainn, αζαρ
 baοαρ ριρβρεατας τμαρ ele οα μιντιρι .i. Zoiroen, Amiri-
 zin, αζαρ Donn (pec leat 91, 92). Amirzin Gluin-zeal
 mac Mileo, Caoin, αζαρ Cui mac Cui τμα ρileaοa Mhac
 Miliro. Fileaoa, bieteamin, ρeancario, αζαρ ρζεαλυρεοa,
 Amirzin, αζαρ Caoin, αζαρ Cui mac Cui ρε ριλιριςτ, αζαρ
 ρε ρζεαλυρετ; Onna ρε ceol, αζαρ Cui'iriceτ το Mhacairib
 Miliro, μαρτα ιριν Λεβαρ Γαβαλα: "Oa mac Miliro miao
 no'roan, etc.", l. 99.

Clann Ugoine moiri, βα lan ο'eolur ορεαμ τοιβ, μαρι αρ
 ρollar ari Roigne Ro'zaοac, mac Ugoine, αρ υζοαρ το
 ioμαο ρεαν-μαο Feneacair.

Ollam Foola ρι Erienn οαρ hainmniζioo ari aoble a
 eolapa, Ollam, uair Eoair a ceuoinn; ape το ρinne Fer
 Teaminac ari tur. Mo'roail ρεαρ nErienn ριν το moir
 Rioza Erienn ο ριν ζαα τρεαρ bliuona το coimeua ρεατa
 αζαρ ρυαζla, αζαρ το ζlanao Seancuir Erienn, αζαρ οa
 ρζυοβαο ι Saltair na Teaminac .i. ι λεαβαρ αιρτουζ Erienn.

(99) i.e. "The Leabhar Gabhala says": etc.

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Ḥar beaḡ rin řén do cōimeuo Seancuir moḡaḡta da meuo, nī heaḡ ḡo maibe taob leir, uair nīr haimieaḡ ḡo ttáinḡ aoinline in Eḡinn aḡ naḡ beḡ aor řoḡlomta me cōimeuo a Seancūra.

Feaḡt ann me lin Conḡabair badoar 1200 řile in aoin būrōin; uair ele mile, uair ele řeaḡt cceḡ, mar do bī me lin Aoḡa mic Ainmīeac, aḡar Choluim Chille: aḡar řor an ḡaḡ aon aimřir eatořio řin ba mo le hEḡinn a řabřao do ḡliaraib no do eiḡřib me heolur innte ina a ttearḡa uaḡa, ionnar tře na lionmūie, aḡar tře na ttromḡaḡt ḡur třiallaḡ a noioḡar a hEḡinn řo ḡří, ḡur řorḡaoar ulair ar řele iao, mar ar leir an Amřia Choluim Chille, do cōḡaib řa ḡeořḡ iao aḡar do cūir řile ḡaḡa tuaiḡe, aḡar řile leř an řuḡ oib (da neutttromuḡaḡ do ḡaḡ) ḡo řřuilro řoirne ar a lořḡ me linn ḡaḡ line aḡ cōimeuo dal na ōuirḡe ḡur an tanřa. Nī hiao řin amāir aḡt řuḡ, aḡar naoim, aḡar eaḡlur Eḡenn mar do řairḡear ceana, cōimeuoaro an Seancūr řor.

Feuḡ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ řiřciřtře řile; Seancā mac Ailella; Neḡe mac Aḡna; Aḡna, mac Uḡiř; Mořann mac Maoin; Aiḡiřne; Cořmac Ua Cuinn an tairtořuḡ; Cořmac Mac Cuilennāin řuḡ Muřan; Flann Mainřořeac; Eocharḡ Ua Flonn; ḡiolla na Naom Ua ōuinn, aḡar mar řin. Cřeo da mbiu da nairḡam nī heoir cineao ořia ḡan lain-leabair do řḡuobaḡ da nanmannairb, aḡar ḡan aḡt tioḡal na ttřacht do řḡuobřat do cūir me a ccoir amāin, mar do řonřam ḡeana řeme řo, aḡt do cōimeořioḡ an řeancūr ḡur na haimřiořuib ḡeḡeancāib timḡioll cuiḡ no ře ḡeuroaib bliadain o řin; řa ḡuairim na haimřie řin do ḡořaiḡřioḡ anar mo do na řloinnḡib ḡaořealḡa atair in Eḡinn anořa, aḡar do ḡabřao no řo hořořaiḡřo cineaoḡa do beḡ me Seancūr aḡar me healaḡnaib ele in ionbūiřōřin, ořonḡ oib řeal řeme, aḡar řeal iarřam ořeama ele, ionnar ḡo řřuilro i ttřuib Eḡenn aḡ řlaḡaib řareac me a Seancūr do řḡuobaḡ, aḡar me haimřuib, aḡar me hannalaib, aḡar me ōeunam ōuan noeairḡaiḡeac ar na Seancūraib řin beor, aḡar me cōimeuo aḡar teaḡarḡ ḡaḡ airḡeaoail řořōořca nḡaořealḡ ḡeana.

Aḡ řo ořonḡ ōona Seancāoib řin ḡur na hiaḡaib aḡar na haimo-ḡineaoaib da labřair iř in aimřir ḡeḡeanaḡ. Oī Maolḡonařie aḡ Siol Muřeaoḡaiḡ um Chřuaḡam; ořonḡ oioḡ i ttuaḡmūmain, aḡar apaile i Laiḡnib, aḡar iřin Anḡaile oib. Clann řiřbiřḡ in loḡtar Chonnaḡt aḡar in Ib řhiarḡac Muairḡe, aḡar in Ib Amalḡarḡ, aḡar Ceara, aḡar iḡ Uib řhiacřiac Aḡōne, aḡar Eaḡḡḡa, aḡar aḡ Sliaoḡt Cholla

Uair .i. Clann n'Domnuill. Muintirí Dubhgeannain a3 LXXXVII.
 Cloinn Mhaolpuanair, a3ar a3 Conmaicne Mhuige Ren. Title and
 Muintirí Chuirinn a3 Ruarcacáib, a3ar a3aile. Hí Dub- Introduction
 a3ain i Maíneacáib. Muintirí Chleirí, a3ar Muintirí Cha- to Mac Fir-
 nann a3 Cineul gConaill. Muintirí Luinn a3 Feapáib biss' Book of
 Manac. Muintirí Chleircen a3 Cineal Eo3ain. Muintirí Genealogies.
 Thuinnin irin Mumain do umóir .i. a3 Siol Eo3ain Mhoir,
 mar taro Clann Charrícais, Siol Suilleabain, a3ar a3aile.
 Mac an Shabann a3 Siol cCinneoirí in Urimumain. Muintirí
 Ríogbairdoin in Ele. Clann Chruicín a3ar Muintirí
 Bhuairdeada i tTuagmumain. Clann Mhec Siolla Cheal-
 lais in Iarcar Chonnaict a3 Uib Fhlaitbearcais, a3ar a3aile.
 Mairrin fa bairc cineada ele in Einn nír an ealaóain
 ceurona, a3ar o'fíacáib ar 3ac naon aca do bean ói oíog-
 luim fíoríglan do deanaí uirre.

Maille iuu rin do bhoir bpeiteamain na banba a3 caomna
 an cceurona, uair ní bpeiteam na3 Seancair, a3ar ní Sean-
 cair na3 bpeiteam i mbpeitáib Nimead .i. leabair deirí
 fao3air na Seancair, a3ar na mbpeiteamain beor.

Do bhu3 na mbuatai fíirre iun, daí nrois3 fearoa ní
 fíur3tearí doinneac eagnuiríe aiteumair na3 uirra genelce
 3aoirdeal do bpeit go naoi a3ar go hAdáin, a3ar muna
 ceiríe re rin, naí ceiríe re 3uio3 mac da a3air pen éfén,
 uair ní fuil iomíall irin Seancair genela3 a3t amail a3ar
 marí o'fagbairí an t-a3air a3 an mac é diais3 in diais3.

Daí nrois3 ceiríe3 ca3 an S3uibtuirí Dia3a do beir 3e-
 neala3 ionann do fearuibí doimain o Adáin anuar go naoi,
 a3ar genela3 Chruic, a3ar na naic3eac naom íarain marí ar
 leir irin Eagluir. Ceiríeac ré rin (no uulcairí Dia), a3ar
 ma3 ceiríeann, ceiríe na3 ceiríe3eac Seancair ele ar ambe3
 Fíorcoimeur marí Sheancair Erienn. Fíorcoimeur ono,
 doerum, uair ní heac amain go íab3ao íoirlionmair marí do
 íairíream ceana, a3 coimeur an cceurona, a3t do bí óirí
 a3ar ólígíeac aca, acar oirra ar naí eoirí oóib (3an oíoc
 adbal) bpeus na fallar do óenain ann, marí ar leir (i leab-
 raib Feneacura na Fo3la, a3ar ir na 3ra3aib íleacó fén) a
 noirí a3ar a nólígíeac, uair ní íaibe laocíarí, na clíarí
 cílle na tuairíe in Einn (3uic cumuir3eac an éiríoc) arí na3
 mbaoi óirí áiríe (da ngoir3eair 3ra3a .i. céimeanna); a3ar
 ólígíeac na n3ra3 rin o'fíacáib ar 3ac oiríois3 oíob do
 coimeur fa pen íma3ta a3ar a nonóia do cáilleam (marí do
 í3uibíram ináir Foclóirí Feneacair labíar go Fíurleacán
 oiríarín, a3ar ar ólígíeac 3aoiríol i ccoitcínne).

Seancair Erienn, umóirí, beas ma3 3eb3eair irin íeand-
 aimíurí oiríirí eatoríia a3ar íeirí3, a3ar an oiríois3 da ngoirí-

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teapí doir d'ana aniu, uairí ba haon-rgoíl go minic do egríb
Erienn uile an ionbuidírin, aḡar ar amluirí bídíar aḡar reáct
ngíaró aca .i. Ollam, Aníaró, Clí, Cana, Dor, Mac Fuirimíó,
aḡar Foclog, anmanna na reáct ngíaró ran, amuil atair
reáct ngíaró eagalra .i. Sagarí, Deoćain, Suibdeoćain,
aḡar ariale. Na ḡíaró fíleáó umoríro, do bíaró (maile le
ḡac ólígíaró cle) o'fíaróib oíria beć raorí ḡlan ar ḡoir aḡar
ar maríaró, ar aoríaró, aḡar ar aóultíar, aḡar ar ḡac ní ba
lot ra fíroḡluim, amuil aca írin íanníra:—

Íoóna laíne, líć ḡan ḡuim,
Íoóna beoil, ḡan aorí níomóuib,
Íoóna fíroḡlama ḡan ḡer,
Aḡar íoóna lanamíuir.

ḡíbe reanćaró tíra, maró Ollam [no] Aníaró, no ḡíbe ḡíaró
é aca nać ccoimíleáó na híoóna .i. na ḡlaine írin, do ćailíleáó
re a leteneacłann, aḡar a onoirí do íerí ólígíó, aḡar do beć
rímać aóbal ari beor. Ra bídíar írin beor, ní himíearra ḡo
fíuil dúine cellíóe írin ćíuinníe nać fíuinníe ba fonnímaíre
leirí do lúaró, muna beć o'fíar aige aćt eagla De, a onorí
aḡar a eneaćlann do ćailíleáó. Conaró de írin nać cormíuil
elaon do ćurí a letí na Seanćaró tíroḡća. ḡíroaró, ra
ríroobdaríar raoiníe eiríonríara bídíar aḡar a ćurí a letí
reanćaró do beorí a óul a míoćlu raona reanćaróib muna
íabuiró ari a ccoimíeoir, aḡar a fíećain an a íuimíleabíuib
uḡdarra ḡebíro an iul aḡar ar marí írin ar coirí do ćac uile,
eoirí ćuara aḡar fíeanćaró ḡac ní arí a mbí amíoríar aca
o'fíećain, aḡar muna fíarḡuirí dearíća íarí noḡleabíraib e,
a ćuntabáiríe íen do ćurí íe aćoir (marí do nímrí íeín íe
híaróile do fíleacłarb íaríarín írin leabáirra) aḡar marírin
íaríćarí na reanćaró arí reacłáín ćaríḡ ele ra ccumíirḡe
oíria (narí leḡe Dia).

Baorí do dúríacł ím raalarb Erienn do íomćoimíeoir aḡ na
reanćaróib narí ćuírće ím íongíaró oíria íorí ra fíuírlećne
ra fíuírííorí arí uairíleacł aḡar ar aronor ćaríḡ, áirí nírí lór
leo írin ḡan ríroobaró ari raoríneimíóib, arí leaḡarb, aḡar
íaróuib na reanaimííre, marí bídíar lérí íorána: o'fíollíru-
ḡaró dúríacłra na reanćaró, aḡar fíeacłáín ua oíroinge aóerí
nać íabírao oibíreacł cloć ím Erienn ḡo teacł ḡall, no
loćlonn ínníe. Aḡ ío marí aóerí an íeníloćć. Ceo
líaríḡ, ceo íarorí, aḡar ceo íarḡaríe, do bí ím Erienn ar tíur
íarí .i.

Capa íe leḡear ní laḡ,
Re íeíear ío ba coimíearí,

Is luadar an raor glic gle,
Agar laighe an t-iarfaipe.

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Eaba .i. bainliaig tainig ar don le Cearaig, an liaig tanairi. Slanga mac Parcalain an tpeap liaig, tainig la Parcalain in Einn. Feargna ua Cnēinbel an ceatpamāo liaig, tainig amāon le Nemrō in Einn. Leaḡa fheari mbolḡ sin, Dubra Dublorac, agar Coān Coimēirneac, agar Fingīn Firocōa, agar Maine mac Sierpac, [agar] Dongur Antepnamach. Leaḡa Thuacē ve Danann .i. Dianceacē, agar Aimeacō, agar Miach, etc.

Na raori umorrio, agro anmanna oiminge oib da ngair-
teari raori na b-pmuom-ēloch.

Ailian, cairleoiri Solmon. Cabar cairleoiri na Teamrac. Baimeib cairleoiri Eriuco. Bacur, om, pacbuiro Neam-
puarō Cingdorm cairleoiri Chonru. Cui cairleoiri Roma. Aronn cairleoiri, Iaruralem. Oilen (no Cleothoir) cairleoiri Constantinopol. Bolc mac Blair pacbuiro Chruacān. Goll Cloāir cairleoiri mic Naorriacō. Carruba cairleoiri Ailiac. Ringu, no Riḡru, agar Sablan mac ui Saib, no Saiban, dā cairleoiri Ailig. Tioigleacān pacbuiro Teamrac. Baincē, no Bailcne, mac Dobru, pacbuiro Eamna. Balur mac Buanlamāig pacbuiro Rača bperi. Cuiail mac Duib-
cuiro pacbuiro Rača Ailinne.

Conaō iao rin raori na b-pmuom-ēloč, amail arreit an
laorō.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

[TRANSLATION.]

Ailian la Solmain na rluag,
ba cairleoiri congbaig caom-
puarō;
Ag Neampuarō ba lučair leam,
Caur no ēruacig cairleall.

[Ailian, with Solomon of the hosts,
Was an erector of beautiful, noble
Caisels;⁽¹⁰²⁾
With Nimrod, I am pleased to say,
Caur it was that formed Caisels.

Barnab oiair bo mēirō do,
Cairleoiri cniēirō hērico,
Rug Rom Cui, ba caom a reang;
Arann, raor Iaruralem.

[Barnab, when it was his time,
Was the Caisel builder of the land
of Jerico;
Rome took Cui, gracefulhis chisel;
Arann was the builder of Jerusalem.

In Constantinopol ba ppiab,
Cleothoiri roba treun ḡalḡao,
Ag Neampuarō gan luāo lūroē,
Bacur puarō ba Račbuiroē.

[In Constantinople actively,
Cleothair, was a powerful cham-
pion;
With Nimrod, without poetic fic-
Bacus, the red-haired, was Rath-
builder.

Cairleoiri Chonru, Cingdorm cam;

[The Caisel-builder of Cu-roī [was]
the comely Cingdorn;

(101) These words are not translated in the text (page 222): "And these were the builders of the chief stone buildings, as the poem says". [This poem (by Domhnall, son of Flannacán, who flourished about A.D. 1000) is not translated in the text. See at page 222. A literal translation of it is therefore inserted here. It is but a repetition in verse of the names previously given in prose.]

(102) A Caisel (pronounced "Cashel") was a Raith, or fortress, of stone.

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Δὲς μακ Νάτφραοιχ Γόλλ Κλοχάρ;
Carruba cairleoip na cnech
Δὲς ἄ μβιὸ βραϊρ-βεοίλ βλαϊτ-
leac.

Θῆα εἰρλεοίρ ἀλῖς ἄν ἀίρμ,
Rígriu aḡar ḡarḡan mac nḡarḡb;
Troigleathan aoluis deallba,
Raḡbuiḡe tuip tḡen Teamha.

Bolc mac blair ó aḡ blair binn,
Raḡbuiḡe Cruacna Chro-mo,
Baince na mbriḡ ḡa beaḡba,
Raḡbuiḡe iḡ ḡuaiḡ eamha.

Balur, roba uiolmuis de,
io éum raḡ mbriḡmuis mbḡerḡ,
Cricel mac Duib, raḡ ḡan ḡinn,
Roba raop aḡe for aillinn.

Do raḡar neam nuaral nán,
Do Doimnall mac Flannacán,
Do éum laoiḡ naḡ laimḡiar linn,
O éa ailian ḡo haillinn.
ailian.

With the son of *Natfraech*, was
Goll of Clochar; [builder,
Casruba was the high-priced *Caisel*—
Who employed quick axes to
smoothen stones. [armed,

[The two *Caisel*-builders of *Ailech* the
Rígriu, and *Garbhon*, son of *Ugarbh*;
Troiglethan, who sculptured images,
Was the Rath-builder of the hill of
Teamhair.

[*Bolc Mac Bláir*, from sweet *Ath-
bláir*, [Cro-shinn.
Was the Rath-builder of *Cruachain*
Bainché, the gifted, from the
Berbha, [of *Emhain*.

Was Rath-builder to the noble king
[*Balur*—it was worthy of him,—

That formed the strong Rath of
Breas. [without satire,
Cricel, the son of *Dubh*, a saying
Was the acute builder of *Aillinn*.

[May high happy heaven be given
To *Domhnall*, son of *Flannacan*,
Who has formed a lay which to us
is not awry,

[Extending] from *Ailian* to *Aillinn*.
Ailian.]

Do ḡeubmaoir iliomad do oibneacáib doḡra Eḡenn iḡe ḡa
nainmniugad maille iḡu ḡin, aḡar na raoir do ḡin iad, aḡar
na iḡḡ, aḡar na ḡo-flaite da nḡearnuio acḡ ḡomad eimile ḡa
naḡneir ḡunn; ḡec an leabari ḡabala maḡ áil ḡa ḡḡaḡail;
aḡar ni ḡuil aḡmḡar aḡainn ḡo ḡabḡad oenta, maḡ oibneacá
i ḡoḡaḡtaib ele im an am i nḡearnaḡ iad; aḡar cḡeud an
raḡ naḡ beoir, uairi ni tainiḡ ḡabalḡar in Eḡinn acḡ on
uomian anoir, maḡta Sbáin, aḡar aḡaile, aḡar ar ionḡnaḡ
cḡeud an earpaḡ intleacḡa do na uḡongaiḡ éanḡadai in
Eḡinn aḡail baoi do imerḡiḡ ionnta Eḡe do ḡabail naḡ beḡ
do cuibnear leo aḡḡur ḡa haḡiḡḡe aḡar ḡa hiorḡad do cúr ḡa
ccorḡuilleacḡ ḡur an tḡi or éḡuallḡad iari mbunaḡur, no iari
nuomuille; uairi ní heoir naḡ ar beol uoib nḡeall aḡḡeab
uḡmoir Eorpa aḡar ḡiad ar tḡeacḡ (ḡḡac ḡligiḡ maḡ ḡab-
raḡ) ḡa ḡḡiḡia, ḡa heḡipt, ḡa ḡḡeḡ, ḡa haḡḡnearḡa, ḡa ḡelirḡine,
ḡa hearḡain, aḡar aḡaile, ḡo hEḡinn.

Aḡar ma do ḡonḡad na ḡabala uo Eḡenn oibneacá innte
in ionnaḡail obari na tḡalmann tḡe ḡa tḡanḡadai, maḡ ar
corḡail ḡo nḡearḡad, cḡeud ina ḡḡuileai uoib. Ni ḡuil
acḡ tḡer naḡ ḡḡaḡḡeai ballaḡa aolḡa ina ḡearam iḡ na
haḡiḡ do tḡḡbaḡ mile ḡo leḡ, no da mile, nó tḡi mile, aḡar
ni ar mó do bliaḡnuib oḡin: ni naḡ ionḡnaḡ ḡan abeḡ, uairi
ar ḡiorḡa ina ḡin an aḡmḡi 'na tḡiḡ talaḡ éar oibneacáib
óo bḡurḡeai iad, no o cuḡiḡ uacḡa uḡen tḡe aḡḡaḡeacḡ.

Da uḡearḡad ḡin do cḡonnarḡ ḡen taḡb aḡḡiḡ do ḡe bliaḡ-

núib' deug, cairlen aroda aolta uile, ar na n'oeunán do éloic aolta, aghar aniu (ar na tuitim) ní fuil aét muta talman da ttiopuairi, aghar ní moir go naitheónaó aineolaó go riab'rao oibhe ann roir.

Sinteari rin aghar na hoibhe do monao na ceuda aghar na milte bliadain ó rin ie éele, aghar ní hiongnao (da n'oeuntari) muna be' feabhar na sean-obari (reac oibrib na haim-rípe ri) gan cloc na áro úipe do aithe ina náitib; gíúeao ní hamlaio ata (do ariac'taioe na nobari naorao) ataro ma'cu mo'g'ua ro moirai, aghar leara go lionmari ar fuo Erienn 'na p'fuiio iolari cloc rnaite, r'leamán, aghar roiléuri, no teagarr fa talmain fa a muirib, mar ata i Raic Mhaoil-éata, ic Cairlen Choncabairi, baile Uí Dhubhá i tTir Fhí-aé'raó ar b'ru'g na Muaróe. Ataro naoi roileir éloc ccom-f'leamuin fa m'úi na ma'ca rin; aghar do ba'ar ir'ci'g innte aghar raoilim go b'fuil, ar ma'cuib iomaor'a Erienn; aghar ar maic an airoe ba'ob'úuin ata 'na muir. Fasbaim rin aghar ioma' a ionnamail ele 'gun aor eaghuiróe ie a b'neac'ugao, aghar rilleam go ar cceuo-aig'neao uime ro .i. cor'naí f'p'uinne an t'reancuir ar a n'oeunao aineolaig' eugóir ele ag ma' go mbeieann f'ri Erienn uile go Macaib Milio.

Ar'oeumaro iao pen fallra ann rin da b'feucaro a p'fui do eac'ta'ic'ineulaib' ir in leabari fa pen naó ber'teari go Macaib Milio, mar bur lei pomuinn i ccuip an liubairi in iol-a'itib; aghar feucaro ro ma na éele.

Arí ro raine (.i. nemionannar) ao r'ao'aro mo-eolaig' an t'reancuir in eaxamlaet an da [na t'ri?] éineao neugra-muil r'ileo in Erienn .i. eoiri iarrma Fhear m'bolg, aghar Fear n'Dominann, aghar Shailuin, aghar Thuata de Danann, aghar Mhac Milio.

Fac aon ar geal, ar donn, ar dana, ar enig, ar deudla, ar rona, ar tió'naic'teac' reuo aghar maome, aghar oir'uiri, aghar naó eagal r'ua cat na comlann; ariao ran iarrma Mhac Milio in Erienn.

Fac aon ar rionn, ar inich, ar moir; fac aig'teac', fac ceolmari; luco téobinnioira ciuil, aghar aip'roig, ir maricac fori fac ceap'ro o'raoi'oeac'ta, aghar fac ma'ocuin'ce ar éana; ariao ran iarrma Thuac de Danann in Erienn.

Fac aon ar ouib, ar labari-g'lo'raó, beudac, r'geulaó, engec, eucarioe; fac dona oir'giri, oar'gairi, uomall, an'f'oruir, ain'uir, ain'it; fac mo'g, fac mo'g-laor'ain, fac úaoi'ceari-naig; fac aon na contuairi f'ri ceol, na aip'roio'ó; luco buai'oeap'ra faca caingne, aghar fac aipeac'ta, aghar iom'eo-paroe caic, ariao iarrma Fhear m'bolg, aghar Shailuin, aghar lio'g'maine, aghar Fhear n'Dominann in Erienn; aet éana, ar

LXXXVII. *Iapirma fhear mholg ar lia tob rin amuil arperit an rean-
cáró.*⁽¹⁰³⁾

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Fionnair reancára fhear ffaíl,
na bío uime in iomarráin,
saine mhac mílro 'ra cclann,
fhear mholg, ir thuat de Dan-
ann.

ḡac ḡeal, ḡac ḡana, ḡac ḡonn,
ḡac calma, cruair 1 ccomlann,
ḡac ḡarraig 1 ngmóm ḡan ḡlór,
tarḡar mhac mílro mblaó-mór.

ḡac fionn-áirḡeac mór ar muḡ,
ḡac ceapac ceolmar cuburó,
luet reuḡ ḡac tuairle eall,
Orong rin thuat de Danann.

ḡac ḡlopac, beupac, maó nḡle,
ḡac bpar, breuḡac, eucaróe,
Iapirma na ttri tuat anall,
ḡhaileon, fhear mholg, fhear
nDomnann.

Tuḡar rnaite comḡne cam,
im faine na ttri nong raim,
Iar rpet reancára naḡ laḡ,
amuil ao ríarao fionnair. f.

Slíocht reanleabair rin, ḡíóeac aítne fíne aicmeac ar a
naigeantair, aḡar cpoḡair, n1 cúim ḡo cinnḡe ríom arao
ḡíó ḡo maó eoir a beḡ fíor ir na ceuairmíoruir (no ḡur
cumairḡeac na cineara ar a cele ḡo minic iaram), uair ao
éimíro ḡo laetearmíul reir linn, aḡar aoclunmíro ḡo minic
ór reanair, ramluḡac cpoḡa aḡar cáile, aḡar beur beor ro
beḡ aḡ ríne innḡe fen ro Eíinn re aroile; aḡar n1 heac
amain ḡo mbi rin ramluir, acḡ a derḡear ḡo mbi cormailear
aḡḡac luēt én críce innḡe fén re cele, aḡar ḡo mbi ein beur
abain ar a naíḡḡeair iao aca uile, mar ar eoir a cúirí
ar an laoró rí:—

Cuimac na nluaríeac narp,
aḡar a fformao ríor-ḡarḡ,
méao na naírmianac ḡan feall,
aḡar ronairḡe Saircenn.

Amairí 1 nḡreugair ḡo nḡail,
Roi-ríumur aḡ Romanair,

[TRANSLATION.]

[Be it known to the Historians of the
men of *Fáil*,—

Let them not be about it in error,—
The difference of the sons of *Milidh*
and their children, [*Danann*.]

Of the *Fir-Bolgs*, and *Tuath De*
[Every white, every bold, every brown
[man], [bat,

Every brave [man], hardy in com-
Every [man] valiant in deed with-
out noise,

Is of the colony of the sons of
Milidh of great renown.

[Every fair great cow-keeper on the
plain,— [nious,—

Every artist, musical, harmo-
The workers of all secret necro-
mancy,—

They are of the people of the *Tuath*
De Danann. [tinction clear,—

[Every blusterer, wrong-doer,—dis-
Every thief, liar, contemptible
wretch;

[Such] are the remnants of the
three peoples hitherto, [*nann*.]

The *Gaileoin*, *Fir-bholg*, *Fir-dom-*

[I have placed in a synchronic line
The differences of these three par-
ties, [historians not false,

According to the arrangement of
As they relate, be it known to ye.]

[TRANSLATION.]

[For building, the noble Jews,
And their truly fierce envy;

Large size [is characteristic] of the
guileless Armenians;

And strength of the Saracens.

[Cunning [is] in the Greeks, with
valour; [Romans;

Excessive haughtiness with the

Duille na Saxan rnámað,
aḡar burba earpanað.

Santaíre i ffrangsaib fneacraíḡ,
aḡar fearḡ i ffrí-bhreatnaib;
aḡ ro eolur na ceann ḡo ceart,
Craor gáll aḡar ceannuíreáct.

Moir-méanma Cruíneáct ní éal,
aílle aḡar eactrað ḡaoríeal,
aóber ḡiolla na naom tpe nað,
a Chriḡt rob caoin an cumáct. C.

Dullness [is the characteristic] of
the creeping Saxons;

And fierceness of the Spaniards.

[Covetousness [is] in the responsive
French,

And anger in the Britons;—

This is the knowledge of the trees,
justly;— [merce.

Gluttony of the Danes, and com-

[The high spirit of the Picts I cannot
conceal; [Gaedhil;

The beauty and amorousness of the
So says Gilla na Naomh through
verse, [pleasant.]

O Christ! may the composition be

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Dar nioiḡ ar coraire an cormairear uo o'faḡail in Eunn
mar ta do o'liḡeáð i Seanar Mor Pharaiaḡa da tteasmað
bean eoiri oir fear in aimirí coimpearta, ionnar nar ffear
oi cia oib aḡair an toirpíctí do ḡeb an uairín, aóer o'liḡíot
(munab eoirin leanab do cúri ar aḡair fíne ar moð ele)
erteaáct ler ḡo ceann teora mbliaaðan ḡo tti fine-áruáct,
fine-ḡuáct, aḡar fine-beura oó; aḡar ḡibe don daíori ne a
ttéo ḡo ttuḡann rin cunḡnam imíreanma don mnaoi air,
uairi mearaí ḡurab ler in fear len cormuile an leanab é;
aḡar dar liom aóo comíaraiaḡeáð rin i noliḡeáð S. Patraic
ar neimíongnao a beá na aro-comáraða ar cineaoib reá a
éle. Bioð nað eoiri a faḡail fíunneá ḡaá uairi, ní fuil
egnearpoáct eoluir ann; aḡar for ar ní é in aḡar na
uioinge aóer nað bi cineáð rin áruáct nað ceuiru reanáða
ḡo Macaib Milió: aḡar tar a éann rin da ma amlar do
beá niri ionḡnað é, uairi da ffeucaá feari ar Mhacaib Milió
fen (ḡur na clannuib raámaia do fíolrao uaá in Eunn,
aḡar in Albain, aḡar a laḡao maíear oib ann) ní cuir-
feáð in ionḡnað ḡan daoine ar uiríle máro (do bioð fúta
ne raða) do maíraín, ári ar ḡnaá dona háro-fílaírib (an uairi
iomraiaḡí a cclaanna aḡar a ccineula) foiríinge, feóuḡaáð,
aḡar fáruḡaáð a cceleáð aḡar a luáct leanamína.

Feuá Eiré, aḡar an doiman uile oia ttuḡrae fen, aḡar ní
foil foiríceann ar a ffríḡe do eirímlaíuib ann do rin, ar
nað ionḡnað da mað ḡo Macaib Milió do beuiráoi uiríeo
ḡenelaá raá in Eunn ann.

Do bḡuḡ ḡur bo beur do na reanároib flonnaá leabari
ar leir, do reri a raine, do faoríclannuib ḡaoríeal (abam,
dobioð anar uille ar a nairí do iomcoimíeo) mar ta leabari
Connaátaá, Ultaá, Laíḡneac, Muimíneá; do ḡeunam poimn
aḡar uiríuḡaá ar an leabari ra aḡa poimn a leabraib raine
ro lion ḡabal Eiréann né nḡaoríealaib, aḡar ro lion na
ttri Mac Milió Eirpaine or ḡabaá fláíteaí na Foula, lea-
bari do na naomíuib, aḡar leabari do fíomíoraib, do loálan-

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nuib, do Ghalluib, aḡar Saxḡalluib, reana aḡur nuaḡa
da nér.

1. an ceuto leabair do Pháirtalan no ceuto-ḡab Einnn iar
noilinn, ḡo ttoruḡaḡ an leabair, aḡar teaḡt Chearra beor
naḡ fíu a poinn. An daria leabair do Nemir, an tpear
o'phearuib bolḡ, an ceaḡmaḡaḡ do Thuair de Danann, an
cuḡeaḡ do ḡhaoirḡealaib, aḡar do Mhacair Míirḡ uile;
ḡirḡeaḡ ar do fíol Epeamoin labhair ḡo cmoḡnuḡaḡ ḡoib,
aḡar ar mo an leabair poim ináir reaḡt leabair iar pean-
poinn, uair ata ní ar mó ina rin ann ní ar lionmaire ina
mar do bi maḡ, mar bur ler don leuḡtóir riarru. An
perioḡ, do fíol Ii, aḡar do Dhair fíataḡ; o'fíul Epeamoin
beor iaoirḡe uair ar eun ḡuḡairḡ ḡoib in Ultaib re haḡair.
An reaḡomaḡ leabair do fíol Ebir, aḡar do éloinn luḡoeḡ
mic lḡe, uair ar eun ḡuḡairḡ ḡoib an Mhuma iar mbuna-
ḡur. An toḡtmaḡ leabair do naḡmaib Epeann. An noḡaḡ
aḡar anleabair deirneḡ, o'fomoirḡuib, do loḡlannḡuib, aḡar
do ḡhallair.

Suiruḡaḡ ár leabair (a leuḡtóir) munab loir leat tre
fíurḡuḡaḡ rorair re rinrioi: ní aomaim naḡ ain-mínic ata
inntib, o Fheniur Farrarḡ anuar; feuc clann Fheniura
rein 1. Nel an rorair ḡo hairmeḡaḡ aḡ reanḡairḡib o éoraḡ,
aḡar Naonbal an rinrioi ḡan no hairme, aḡar mar rin.

Epeimon mac Míirḡ ma ccuio ele do éloinn Míirḡ ar
rinne inár; ní fíul cineḡaḡ ar a fíul ann mar rin ḡur na
fíomntib deḡeanḡa atair aḡainn anu.

Feuc mar cuirḡ reanḡaḡa Muḡan Clann Chairḡairḡ re
fíol Suillebáin ar rinne ináir, fíol mbriain re cclloinn
Mhaḡḡamna ar rinne inar, aḡar mar rin.

Cuirḡ leabair ele 1 leḡ Cumn, aḡar cuirḡ Doctuir
Cetín, Niall Naorḡiallaḡ conna fíioḡt ar ró ré na briairḡib
baḡ rine inár.

Feuc ḡo noeaḡaḡ Duac ḡalaḡ mac Briain, an rorair mar
na tri macair fíceaḡ baḡ rine inár.

Cuirḡ reanḡairḡ Shil Muireḡaḡoirḡ fíol cConḡabair re na
rinrioiuib.

Cuirḡ Ultairḡ Maḡ Donḡura, do fíioḡt Chonuill Chear-
nairḡ ré fíioḡt an riḡ Conḡabair, mar ariar fíioḡt Chonuill
ba maḡmaire ann, aḡar mar rin do iomaḡ ele ba hemelt re
a náiream; aḡar ma leḡḡear leo ran a ḡeanaḡ iar ccoir,
cpeuo naḡ buḡ oleaḡt daḡra leanmum a luirḡ.

Tairḡ rin, dá raoileḡaḡ aoin neaḡ ḡomaḡ anḡnár ruo, ní
heḡ éana, uair ar minic naḡ eoirḡ ḡan a ḡéunaḡ tre airmé-
teaḡ iomaḡ na naicmeaḡ aḡar na mícmeul aḡ teaḡt anuar
ar ariale, aḡur doḡum a rḡaorlte o éle ar eḡin an rinrioi

do leagean feača fealaó, aḡar rḡmobaó ar an rorari, aḡar
arir ar an rinrioi, aḡar marí rin fapeaó ar uairib.

LXXXVII.
Title and
Introduc-
tion to
Mac Fírbís's
Book of
Genealogies.

Tuis tuille leat a leuḡtoir, ḡuob olíḡeaó in Einn
rórarí do cúir i fflaítear ar beulaib rinrii, marí aḡerí an
maḡail olíḡrú rí ar an Seanḡar Mór, aḡar ar an feneacúr i
ccoitcínne, marí ro: Sinrioi la fine, feabta la flait, eagna
la heagluir .i. an tí ar fine do fine do cúir i cceannar na
fine rin pen; aḡar an tí ar mó céleaó aḡar cumácta maó
com-uaral e me na rinrioi, do cúir ír in fflaítear, no ír in
tíḡearmar, aḡar an tí ar eagnaíre do cúir an uáctaríanaó na
heaglaire.

ḡíreao ma re an rinrioi ar mo toócúr, bí tíḡearmar aḡe,
no muna bfuil rorari com-éinel do ar mó toócúr marí ré don
truim aḡerí olíḡeaó, bí tíḡearmar aḡ an rinrioi; ionann ran
ra ní moime.

Ada rann coitcéann cantari do ḡearbhaó ḡuob oleaó
rorari oionḡbala do cúir i mḡe ar beulaib iomaó rinrioi naó
biaó i ttoócúraib olíḡteaó, ut dicitur:—

Da mbeó nonbairí do line,
Eoirí mác maíó ír mḡe,
Are a oionḡaó 'ran ceart coirí,
A moḡaó priab i cceuroirí.

Aḡar ór coirí marí rin rorari do cúir tar rinrioi i mḡe;
cmeo naó cuiríre (da ma áil le neaó) i tcur leabairí e;
aḡar for ba mionódaíl an nor an ró do cúir ar depeao buiró
aḡar cáó ele da ma íaó a ḡearbhaíteiríe ba fine do beó ann
do cúir ar toraó aḡar ḡan íaó na mḡoḡa.

Feuó for ḡo ccuirítearí daorí élanina (ní heaó amain) ar
beulaib raorí élan i ccemib arda in Einn tḡie éoice tal-
míre do beó aca; aḡar ar ionḡantaire rin na an nor meam-
maite, aḡar ar mo an tarí do uairlib Epeann é, ina ḡibe ar
bioó furóḡeaó do beiríre ar a reancúraib, 'ḡan ouair
ouinn da éionn ó aoin neaó aca. Aḡe rin íarriam do aó-
éingíró oḡma leḡḡeal do ḡabail, ḡa ffoḡantairí ḡo fallar.

Dubhaltach mac fírbhisigh.

APPENDIX No. LXXXVIII. [Lect. XI., Page 243.]

Original of passage in the "Book of Leinster" (a vellum MS. of the twelfth century, classed H. 2. 18., T.C.D.), fol. 151. a, as to the Historic Tales.

Passage in
Book of
Leinster as
to the
Historic
Tales.

Do nemḡíḡuo Fíleo i Scélaib ocur i Comḡnimaib inro rir,
da narníir do Ríḡaib ocur Fhlaḡib .i. feóó coicait Scel .i.
coic cóicait de ḡum-fcelaib ocur dá cóicait do Fho-
fcelaib, ocur ní hárimterí na fo-fceóil rin aó do éeḡrú

LXXXVIII.

Passage in
Book of
Leinster as
to the
Historic
Tales.

ḡiaḡaib tantum .i. Ollam, ocur Anraḡ, ocur Cli, ocur Cano. Ocur ir riatro na ḡrim-rceóil .i. Togla ocur Tána, ocur Tochmarca, ocur Catha, ocur Uaḡa, ocur Impama, ocur Oitte (.i. báir), ocur Ferra, [ocur] Fonbarrá, ocur Ecḡraḡa, ocur Aitro, ocur Aihḡgne.

Itiat ro tḡia na Togla.

[TRANSLATION.]

Of the qualifications of a Poet in Stories and in Deeds, here follows, to be related to kings and chiefs, viz.: Seven times Fifty Stories, *i.e.* Five times Fifty Prime Stories, and Twice Fifty Secondary Stories; and these Secondary Stories are not permitted [assigned] but to four grades only, viz., an *Ollamh*, an *Anrath*, a *Cli*, and a *Cano*. And these are the Prime Stories: Destructions, and Preyings, and Courtships, and Battles, and Caves, and Navigations, and Tragedies, and Expeditions, and Elopements, and Conflagrations. Here are the Destructions:—

APPENDIX No. LXXXIX. [Lect. XI., Page 243.]

List of
Historic
Tales in the
Book of
Leinster.

List of the Historic Tales named in the "Book of Leinster" (H. 2. 18, T.C.D.,—fol. 151. a.)—(in continuation of Passage in last Appendix).

toghla.

The Cuairt tigi liri.

Tuimre tigi buirḡ.
Smuḡal tigi Duma.

Deoḡair tigi Caḡbaḡ.
Togail tige neḡtam.
Togail bḡurone uí Derga.

Togail bḡurone bḡrim mic bḡrim.

Togail bḡurone h-uí Duile.

Togail bḡurone Da Choga.

tána.

Tam bo Chualḡne.
Tam teopa neḡc ecḡaḡ.

DESTRUCTIONS.

The Three Circuits of the House of *Lir*.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

The Possession of *Burach's* House.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

The Ears-Battle of the House of *Dumha*.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ [House.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

The Difference of *Cathbhadh's*

The Destruction of *Nechtain's* House.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ [*Derga*.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

The Destruction of the Court of *Ua*

The Destruction of the Court of *Bron*, the son of *Briun*.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

The Destruction of the Court of *Ua Duile*.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ [*Choga*.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

The Destruction of the Court of *Da-*

COW-SPOILS.

The Cow-spoil of *Cuailḡné*.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

The plunder of the three Cows of *Echaidh*.⁽¹¹¹⁾

(104) *Lir* appears to have been the Neptune of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*; but this Tale of the attack on his house is not known to us now.

(105) Nothing known of these tales.

(106) There is an account of such a Destruction as this in the *Táin Bo Chuailḡné*, and the house there mentioned was the old "fort" or Dun, near the present Netterville House, above Drogheda, in the county Meath.

(107) (or *Da Derga*); near Tallaght, in the county Dublin, where the Monarch *Conairé Mór* was killed, A.M. 5160. Copies of this tract are preserved in *Leabhar na h-Uidhré*, (R.I.A.), and in the "Yellow Book of Lecain" (H. 2. 16. T.C.D.).

(108) Nothing known of these tales.

(109) This Fort was in West Meath, and the occurrence took place about the time of the *Táin Bo Chuailḡné*, or about A.D. 20. There is a copy of the tale in the MS. classed H. 3. 18. T.C.D.

(110) An account of this Tale has been given in Lect. II. (*ante*, p. 32).

(111) A raid made on *Cenn-tiré* (Cantire), in Scotland, by *Cuchulainn* and the Ultonians. An abstract of this Tale is preserved in the MS., Egerton, 85, British Museum.

Tain bo Ruip.
 Tain bo Regaman.
 Tain bo Flidais.
 Tain bo Fraech.
 Tain bo Fithir.
 Tain bo Failin.
 Tain bo Sé.
 Tain bo Dairt.
 Tain bo Creban.

TOCMARCA.

Toemarc Merobe.
 Toemarc nEimip.
 Toemarc aIlbe.
 Toemarc Etaine.
 Toemarc Faepe.
 Toemarc Feribe.
 Toemarc Finnine.
 Toemarc Sineime finne.
 Toemarc Sineime Duinne.
 Toemarc Sarobe ingine Sercin.
 Toemarc Fithirne ocu Dairine,
 oá ingen Tuathail.

The Cow-spoil of *Ros*.⁽¹¹²⁾
 The Cow-spoil of *Regaman*.⁽¹¹³⁾
 The Cow-spoil of *Flidais*.⁽¹¹⁴⁾
 The Cow-spoil of *Fraech*.⁽¹¹⁵⁾
 The Cow-spoil of *Fithir*.⁽¹¹⁶⁾
 The Cow-spoil of *Failin*.⁽¹¹⁷⁾
 The Cow-spoil of *Ge*.⁽¹¹⁷⁾
 The Cow-spoil of *Dairt*.⁽¹¹⁸⁾
 The Cow-spoil of *Creban*.⁽¹¹⁹⁾

COURTSHIPS, OR WOOINGS.

The Courtship of *Medhbh*.⁽¹²⁰⁾
 The Courtship of *Emer*.⁽¹²¹⁾
 The Courtship of *Ailbhé*.⁽¹²²⁾
 The Courtship of *Etaine*.⁽¹²³⁾
 The Courtship of *Faepe*.⁽¹²⁴⁾
 The Courtship of *Ferb*.⁽¹²⁵⁾
 The Courtship of *Finnine*.⁽¹²⁶⁾
 The Courtship of *Grian* the Fair-haired.⁽¹²⁷⁾ [haired.⁽¹²⁷⁾
 The Courtship of *Grian* the Brown.
 The Courtship of *Sadhbh*, the daughter of *Sescenn*.⁽¹²⁸⁾
 The Courtship of *Fithirne* and *Dairine*, the two Daughters of *Tuathail*.⁽¹²⁹⁾

LXXXIX.
 List of
 Historic
 Tales in the
 Book of
 Leinster.

(112) Nothing known of this tale.

(113) *Regaman* was a chief in Burren, in the county of Clare; and his daughters as well as his herds were carried off by the sons of *Ailell* and *Medhbh*, King and Queen of Connacht, about the time of the *Tain Bo Chualigne*.

(114) *Flidais* was the beautiful wife of *Ailell Finn*, a chief and warrior of West Connacht; she was carried off with all her cattle, and her husband killed, by *Fergus Mac Roigh*, the exiled prince of Ulster, about the time of the *Tain Bo Chualigne*. Condensed copies of this tale are to be found in the Book of Leinster, and in the Yellow Book of *Lecain* (H. 2. 18., and H. 2. 16), T.C.D.

(115) *Fraech* was a chief and warrior of West Connacht; and while he was seeking the hand in marriage of *Finnabhair*, the beautiful daughter of King *Ailell* and Queen *Medhbh*, his children and all his cattle were carried off by a party of plunderers from the Alpine Mountains. There are copies of this tale in the Book of Leinster, and in the Yellow Book of *Lecain*, in T.C.D.; and another in the Book of Fernoy, now in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Todd.

(116) Nothing known of this tale. *Fithir* is a woman's name.

(117) There is nothing known of these tales.

(118) This spoil was carried off from *Dairt*, the daughter of *Eochaidh*, chief of *Cliaich*, in the county of Limerick, by the people of *Ailell* and *Medhbh*, about the time of the *Tain Bo Chualigne*. Copies of this tale are preserved in the Book of Leinster, and in the Yellow Book of *Lecain*, in T.C.D.

(119) There is nothing known of this tale.

(120) This was the celebrated Queen *Medhbh*, or Meave, of Connacht; but we have no detailed account preserved to us of her courtships, of which there were several.

(121) This was the celebrated courtship, by *Cuchulainn*, of *Emer*, the daughter of *Forgall Monach* of *Lusca* (Lusk, in the county of Dublin). A fragment of it is to be found in *Leabhar na h-Uidhré*, and I have a full copy in my possession, made by myself from the MS. Harleian, 5280, British Museum.

(122) This was the courtship of *Ailbhé*, daughter of the monarch *Cormac Mac Airt*, by *Finn Mac Cumhaill*. An abstract of this tale is preserved in the MS. H. 3. 17, T.C.D.

(123) The Courtship of *Etaine*, or *Edain*, by the monarch *Eochaidh Airemh*, took place about A.M. 5070. Copies of the tale are to be found in the Yellow Book of *Lecain* (H. 2. 16), and in the MS. H. 1. 13 (a paper MS.) in T.C.D.

(124) Nothing known of this lady or her courtship.

(125) *Ferb*, the daughter of *Gerg*, of *Glenneigir*, in Ulster, who was courted by *Mainé*, one of the sons of King *Ailell* and Queen *Medhbh*. There is a fragment of this most curious tale preserved in the Book of Leinster (H. 2. 18), T.C.D.

(126) There is nothing known of this lady or her courtship.

(127) There is nothing known of either of the ladies *Grian*.

(128) *Sadhbh*, a female proper name, in modern times altered into "Subina". Nothing is known of this lady or of her courtship.

(129) These were the daughters of the Monarch *Tuathal Techtmhar*, who were courted and betrayed by *Eochaidh Ard-cheann*, King of Leinster, whence arose the war which caused the infliction of the Boromean Tribute, about A.D. 90. Copies of this tale are preserved in the Book of Leinster, T.C.D., and in the Book of *Lecain*, R.L.A.

LXXXIX.

Toémarc mna Cruinn.

Toémarc Eithne uaéaige,
ingine Crimthann.

CATHA.

Caé Muige Tuiredh.

Caé Tailten.

Caé Muige Mucruimh.

Caé Oroma Doiaé Dapa
oiaé Cruithnig.

Caé Maige Raé.

Caé Corann.

Caé Cláire.

Caé Toiden.

Caé Tempaé.

UAETHA.⁽¹⁴¹⁾

uaé Angeoa.

uaé Ecalpa imcummaip.

uaé licce blava.

uaé belaiḡ Conglaip.

(130) This, I believe, is the tale of *Crunn*, a farmer of Ulster, and his wife *Macha*, whose curse was the cause of the Debility of the Ultonians at the time of the *Táin Bo Chuailgne*. She is referred to in the *Diunsenchus*, in the article on *Ard Macha*, in the Book of *Lecain* (R.I.A.); and the whole tale is preserved in the MS. Harleian, 5280, British Museum.

(131) The daughter of *Crimthann*, King of Leinster, who was wooed and won by *Aengus*, son of *Natfraech*, King of Munster. They were both killed in the battle of *Cill-Osnadh*, in the county Carlow, A.D. 489. No detailed account of this courtship is preserved.

(132) *i.e.* of *Magh Tuiredh*, near *Cunga* (now Cong, in the county Galway), fought between the Fírbolgs and the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, in which the former were defeated, A.M. 3303. A copy of this celebrated tale is preserved in the Yellow Book of *Lecain*, H. 2. 16., T.C.D. There is a second tale, perhaps included in that named in the List in the Book of Leinster;—the Battle of *Magh Tuiredh na bhFomhorach*. This Second Battle took place at the Northern *Magh Tuiredh* (in the county Sligo), between the *Tuatha Dé Danann* and the Fomorians, and the latter were defeated. Of this Battle an account is preserved in a separate tale, of which there is a copy in MS. Harleian, 5280, British Museum.

(133) This Battle took place at *Tailten*, now called Telltown, in Meath, between the Milesian Brothers and the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, about A.M. 3500, in which the latter were subdued. The mere fact only of the occurrence of this battle is given in the Book of Invasions; and there are some details given in the MS. H. 4. 22., T.C.D.; but the full tale has not come down to us.

(134) The Battle of *Magh Mucruimh* was fought between *Art*, the monarch of Erin, and his nephew *Mac Con*, a Munster prince, in which the former was slain, A.D. 196. Several paper copies of the tale are preserved among the MSS. in the Royal Irish Academy, and there is a good copy in my own possession in the handwriting of Andrew McCurtin (about 1710).

(135) A great battle, in which the *Cruithneans*, or Picts, were defeated. No existing account of the battle is known to me.

(136) This battle was fought between the Monarch *Domhnall* and *Congal Claen*, and the latter was defeated in it, A.D. 634. This tale was published with an English translation by the Irish Archaeological Society in 1842.

(137) This battle was fought in Connacht, about A.M. 4532. The Tale is lost.

(138) A battle in East Munster, about A.M. 4169. The Tale is lost.

(139) There is no account of this battle remaining.

(140) I do not know what Battle of Tara is referred to.

(141) *Uatha*, plural of *Uath*, a word not easily translated. *Uath* is evidently formed from *Uaimh*, a cave, or cellar; and signifies some deed connected with, as the attack or plunder of, a cave. It is only in the last name of this list (*Uath Uama Cruachan*) that a difficulty arises, where *Uath* is made to be a deed referring to the *Uaimh*, or Cave, of *Cruachain*; and I believe this deed to have been the Plunder of the Cave of *Cruachain* by the men of Connacht in the time of *Ailill* and *Medhbh*, as told in the old tale of *Táin Bo Aingen*.

(142) This, I believe, is the Tale of the Cave of *Cruachain*, which is preserved under the name of *Táin Be Aingen*, in the Yellow Book of *Lecain* (H. 2. 16.), T.C.D.

(143) Not known to me.

(144) That is, the Rock, or Flagstone, of *Bladh*; of which I know nothing. The Tale is lost.

(145) *Cu-glas* was the son of *Donn Desa*, King of Leinster, and Master of the Hounds to the Monarch *Conairé Mór*. Having one day followed a chase from Tara to this road, the chase and hounds suddenly disappeared in a cave, into which he followed, and was never seen after. Hence the cave was called *Uaimh Belaiḡ Conglaip*, or the Cave of the Road of *Cu-glas* (now Baltinglass, in the county of Wicklow). It is about this cave, nevertheless, that so many of our pretended Irish antiquarians have written so much nonsense, in connection with some

The Courtship of the Wife of
Crunn.⁽¹³⁰⁾

The Courtship of *Eithne* the Hateful,
the Daughter of *Crimthann*.⁽¹³¹⁾

BATTLES.

The Battle of *Magh Tuiredh*.⁽¹³²⁾

The Battle of *Tailten*.⁽¹³³⁾

The Battle of *Magh Mucruimh*.⁽¹³⁴⁾

The Battle of *Druim Dolach*, in which
the Picts were defeated.⁽¹³⁵⁾

The Battle of *Magh Rath*.⁽¹³⁶⁾

The Battle of *Corann*.⁽¹³⁷⁾

The Battle of *Cláire*.⁽¹³⁸⁾

The Battle of *Toiden*.⁽¹³⁹⁾

The Battle of *Teamair*.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

CAVES (INCIDENTS OF).

The Cave of *Ainged*.⁽¹⁴²⁾

The Cave [or Cellar] of the Church
of *Inchummar*.⁽¹⁴³⁾

The Cave of *Leac Bladha*.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾

The Cave of the Road of *Cu-glas*.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾

uāt maige uāta.
 uāt maige imboly.
 uāt beinne etair.
 uāt locha lurgan.
 uāt Depcece Ferna.
 uāt uama Cruachan.

IMRAMA.

imram maeleoun.
 imram hua corpa.

imram luinge Muircheartaig,
 mic Erca.
 longer bneg leir.
 longer breacan.
 longer labraidh.
 longer focharo.

OITTE.

airoeo conpui.
 airoeo concuainn.
 airoeo phiroeao.
 airoeo conaill.

Imaginary pagan worship to which they gravely assure the world, on etymological authority, the spot in question was devoted. The authority for the legend of *Cu-glas* is the *Dimm-seanchus*, on the place *Bealach Conglais* (Book of *Lecain*). The full Tale has not come down to us.

(146) Nothing is known about either of these caves or plains.

(147) *Beinn Edair*, now the Hill of Howth. This was the great cave in which *Diarmaid* and *Grainne* (the daughter of the Monarch Cormac) took refuge, when pursued by that lady's affianced husband, *Finn Mac Cumhaill*. There is a copy of this short tale in the MS. Harleian, 5280, British Museum.

(148) Nothing is known to me about this cave.

(149) Now the Cave of Dunmore in the county Kilkenny. There is an allusion to the trampling to death of some sort of monster, in the mouth of this cave, by a Leinsterwoman, in a poem on the Graves of Heroes who were killed by Leinstermen, preserved in the Book of Leinster (H. 2. 18., fol. 27), T.C.D.

(150) I have in my own possession a poem in the Ossianic style, which gives an account of a foot race between *Caillé*, the celebrated companion of *Finn Mac Cumhaill*, and an unknown knight who had challenged him. The race terminated by the stranger running into the Cave of *Cruachain*, followed by *Caillé*, where he found a party of smiths at work; etc. No copy of the full Tale has come down to us. I think, however, that it is the *Táin Be Aingen*, already referred to.

(151) There are copies of this Tale in *Leabhar na h-Uidhré*, and in the Yellow Book of *Lecain* (H. 2. 16., T.C.D.).

(152) This Tale is preserved in the Book of Fermoy. See account of it in Lecture XIII.

(153) He was grandson of that *Eoghan* from whom *Tir Eoghain* is named, and from whom descend the Clann *Neill*. See some account of him in the Irish Nennius (publ. by the Ir. Archæol. Soc.); and of his death, in the Yellow Book of *Lecain* (H. 2. 16. in T.C.D.). There is a short sketch of his Navigation in the MS. H. 3. 17., T.C.D., p. 798.

(154) i.e. *Brigh Leith*. Nothing is known of this Tale.

(155) This *Breacan* was the son of *Parthalon*, who came towards Erin before his father, but was drowned with his ship in the well-known eddy called *Coiré Breacain*, between the north-east coast of Erin and Cantire in Scotland. The fact only is recorded in the *Dimm-seanchus* name *Coiré Breacain* in the Book of *Lecain*. The Tale is lost. There is a sketch of it preserved in Cormac's Glossary, however, where *Breacan* is said to be the son of *Mainé*, son of *Niall* of the Nine Hostages. See Lect. XII., p. 257.

(156) This was *Labraidh Loingsech*, whose wanderings from Erin to Gaul have been described in Lecture XII. The Tale (or an abstract of it) is preserved in the Book of Leinster (H. 2. 18.), and in the Yellow Book of *Lecain* (H. 2. 16.), T.C.D.

(157) This Tale is not known to me.

(158) This was the great *Curoi Mac Dairé*, King of West Munster, who was killed by the champion *Cuchulainn*. (See Lecture XIII.) The story is told in Keating, and a very ancient version of the Tale is preserved in the MS. Egerton, 88, British Museum.

(159) The Death of *Cuchulainn*, by the necromantic arts of the Children of *Caillitín*, in the *Briséach Mhor Mhaighé Mhuirthemhné*, or Great Battle of *Briséach* in *Muirthemne*. A paper copy of this Tale is preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. No. 1. 1.

(160) Killed in fight by *Cuchulainn*. This Tale must be part of the *Táin Bo Chuailgne*.

(161) That is, the champion *Conall Cearnach*, who fell at the hands of "the Three Red-Heads of Munster" (See Appendix III). There is a copy in the MS. H. 2. 17. T.C.D.

The Cave of *Magh Uatha*.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾
 The Cave of *Magh Imboly*.⁽¹⁴⁶⁾
 The Cave of *Beinn Edair*.⁽¹⁴⁷⁾
 The Cave of *Loch Lurgan*.⁽¹⁴⁸⁾
 The Cave of *Dearc Ferna*.⁽¹⁴⁹⁾
 The Plunder of the Cave of *Cruach-*
ain.⁽¹⁵⁰⁾

NAVIGATIONS.

The Navigation of *Maelduin*.⁽¹⁵¹⁾
 The Navigation of the Sons of *Ua Corra*.⁽¹⁵²⁾
 The Navigation of the ship of *Muir-cheartaich Mac Erca*.⁽¹⁵³⁾
 The Navigation of *Brigh Léith*.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾
 The Navigation of *Breacan*.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾
 The Navigation of *Labraidh*.⁽¹⁵⁶⁾
 The Navigation of *Fothadh*.⁽¹⁵⁷⁾

TRAGEDIES (OR DEATHS).

The Tragical Death of *Curoi*.⁽¹⁵⁸⁾
 The Tragical Death of *Cuchulainn*.⁽¹⁵⁹⁾
 The Tragical Death of *Ferdiadh*.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾
 The Tragical Death of *Conall*.⁽¹⁶¹⁾

LXXXIX.

List of
 Historic
 Tales in the
 Book of
 Leinster.

LXXXIX. Aitheo Celteair.
Aitheo blai Briugao.

List of
Historic
Tales in the
Book of
Leinster.

Aitheo loegaire.
Aitheo fergura.
Aitheo Conchobair.
Aitheo Fhiamain.
Aitheo Maelpatairais mic Ronan.

Aitheo Taidhg mic Cein.

Aitheo mic Samain.

ressa.

Feir tige fipblai.
Feir tige bidair.
Feir tige Tulcinnne.

Feir tige Triuin.
Feir tige Li.
Feir tige Line.
Feir tige Suir.
Feir tige Gnair.
Feir tige tri mic Demonchata.

Feir tige Aircle.
Feir tige Melloolais.

Feir Cruachan.
Feir Emna.
Feir Alenno.
Feir Temra.
Feir Duin bolg.
Feir Duin buchet.

forbossa.

Forbair fer falga.
Forbair Etair.

The Tragical Death of *Celteair*.⁽¹⁶²⁾
The Tragical Death of *Bla Briugad*.⁽¹⁶²⁾

The Tragical Death of *Laeghairé*.⁽¹⁶²⁾
The Tragical Death of *Fergus*.⁽¹⁶²⁾
The Tragical Death of *Conchobhar*.⁽¹⁶³⁾
The Tragical Death of *Fiamain*.⁽¹⁶⁴⁾
The Tragical Death of *Maelfathartaigh*, son of *Ronan*.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾
The Tragical Death of *Tadhg*, the son of *Cian*.⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ [ain.⁽¹⁶⁷⁾
The Tragical Death of *Mac Samh-*

FEASTS.

The Feast of the House of *Ferblai*.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾
The Feast of the House of *Bichar*.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾
The Feast of the House of *Tulchinn*.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ [chim.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾
The Feast of the House of *Tri-*
The Feast of the House of *Li*.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾
The Feast of the House of *Line*.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾
The Feast of the House of *Got*.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾
The Feast of the House of *Gnarr*.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾
The Feast of the House of the Three Sons of *Demonchatha*.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾
The Feast of the House of *Ausclé*.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾
The Feast of the House of *Melldo-laigh*.⁽¹⁶⁸⁾
The Feast of *Cruachain*.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾
The Feast of *Emhain*.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾
The Feast of *Ailenn*.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾
The Feast of *Temair*.⁽¹⁶⁹⁾
The Feast of *Dunbolg*.⁽¹⁷⁰⁾
The Feast of *Dun Buchet*.⁽¹⁷¹⁾

SIEGES.

The Siege of the Men of *Falga*.⁽¹⁷²⁾
The Siege of *Etair*.⁽¹⁷³⁾

(162) These Tales are lost; but Keating has made use of them in his History.

(163) i.e. of *Conchobhar* (or *Conor*) *Mac Nessa*. This Tale is preserved in Keating, and in H. 3. 17., p. 794 (see Lecture XIII.).

(164) (Son of *Forrai*). Nothing known of this Tale.

(165) King of Leinster, who died A.D. 610. This young prince was slain at the instigation of his father. There is a copy of the Tale in the Book of Leinster (H. 2. 18), T.C.D. (See back Lecture XIII.).

(166) i.e. *Tadhg*, the son of *Cian*, son of *Oilell Oluin*, King of Munster, A.D. 266. This prince was killed by a deer on the brink of the Boyne; but we have no details, the Tale being lost.

(167) No account of this personage is known to me.

(168) Nothing known of these Tales.

(169) *Cruachain*, *Emhain*, and *Temair* were the chief royal residences in Erin; those of the Kings of Connacht, of *Uladh*, and of Erin. *Cruachain* was in Roscommon; *Emhain* near Armagh; and *Temair* (now called Tara), in Meath, about sixteen miles west of Dublin. *Ailenn* was near Kildare.

(170) *Dunbolg*, i.e. (literally) the Fort of the Sacks. This Tale, I believe, is part of the tract on the Origin and History of the Boromean Tribute. The Feast took place A.D. 594, when *Aedh*, the son of *Ainmiré*, monarch of Erin, was killed at *Dunbolg*, in or near *Balltinglas*, by *Bran Dubh*, the celebrated King of Leinster [See Annals of the Four Masters, at this year].

(171) *Dun Buchet*, i.e. Buchet's Fort. *Buchet* was a celebrated Farmer of Leinster, who kept an "open house" of free entertainment for all men [See Annals of the Four Masters at A.D. 593, for some account of the Feast]. The full Tale is lost.

(172) *Falga* was, I believe, an old name for the Isle of Man; and the "siege" against it was by the men of Ulster, with *Cuchulainn* at their head. There is a trifling, obscure sketch of it in the MS. Harleian, 5280, British Museum; but no full copy of this Tale has come down to us.

(173) Of *Etair*, or *Edair*, now the Hill of Howth. See Story of *Aithirné*, Lecture XII.

Forbair Aicle.
 Forbair Duin bapc.
 Forbair Duin Binní.
 Forbair per Froga.
 Forbair life.
 Forbair Laoirann.
 Forbair Opoma Damgaire.

echtaraí.

Ectra nera.
 Ectra Fiamain.
 Ectra Conpui.
 Ectra Conculamn.
 Ectra Conaill.
 Ectra Conchobair.
 Ectra Crimthann Nianair.

Ectra Macla ingine Aeda Ruadh.

Ectra Nechtain mic Áilpoinn.
 Ectra Ailcín mic Amalgair.

Ectra Finn a nDeircefearna.
 Ectra Aedain mic Gabrain.

Ectra Maeluma mic Baitain.
 Ectra Mongain mic Fiachna.

aitheoda.

Aiteo Mugaine re Fiamain.

Aiteo Deiríorinde re Macaib Uir-
 nig.

The Siege of *Acaill*.⁽¹⁷⁴⁾
 The Siege of *Dun Barc*.⁽¹⁷⁵⁾
 The Siege of *Dun Binné*.⁽¹⁷⁶⁾
 The Siege of the Men of *Fidhgha*.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾
 The Siege of the *Liffey*.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾
 The Siege of *Ladhrann*.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾
 The Siege of *Drom Damhghaire*.⁽¹⁷⁹⁾

LXXXIX.

List of
 Historic
 Tales in the
 Book of
 Leinster.

ADVENTURES.

The Adventures of *Nera*.⁽¹⁸⁰⁾
 The Adventures of *Fiamain*.⁽¹⁸¹⁾
 The Adventures of *Curoi*.⁽¹⁸²⁾
 The Adventures of *Cuchulainn*.⁽¹⁸³⁾
 The Adventures of *Conall*.⁽¹⁸⁴⁾
 The Adventures of *Conchobhar*.⁽¹⁸⁵⁾
 The Adventures of *Crimthann Nia Nair*.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾
 The Adventures of *Macha*, daughter of *Aedh Ruadh*.⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ [*Alfronn*.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾
 The Adventures of *Nechtain*, son of
 The Adventures of *Ailcinn*, son of
Amhalgaidh.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ [*fearna*.⁽¹⁸⁹⁾
 The Adventures of *Finn* in *Derc*.
 The Adventures of *Aedhan*, son of
Gabhrán.⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ [*Buethan*.⁽¹⁹¹⁾
 The Adventures of *Maeluma*, son of
 The Adventures of *Mongan*, son of
Fiachna.⁽¹⁹²⁾

ELOPEMENTS.

The Elopement of *Mugain* with *Fiamain*.⁽¹⁹³⁾
 The Elopement of *Deirdré* with the
 [Sons of *Uisnech*.⁽¹⁹⁴⁾

(174) (qu., of *Acaill*, near Tara?) I believe there is nothing known about this siege.

(175) That is, the Fort of the Ships. Nothing is now known about this place or siege.

(176) Not known.

(177) This was probably the Battle of *Ardlemnachta* (or "New-milk Hill"), in the county Wexford, fought in the reign of *Eremón*, by *Crimhthann Sciath-bhét*, a Firbolg chief, against a tribe of Britons who infested the forests of that country. See *Dimmsenchus* (on the name *Ard-lemnachta*), Book of *Lecain*, fol. 234. The full Tale is lost.

(178) Neither of these is known to me.

(179) Literally, the Hill of the Ox-Bellowing; now called Knock-long, in the county of Limerick. This siege was laid by the Monarch *Cormac Mac Airt* against the Men of Munster. A copy of the Tale is preserved in the Book of Lismore, R.I.A. (see Lecture IX.).

(180) This Tale is not known to me, unless it be the *Tain Be Aingen* already spoken of.

(181) This Tale is not known to me.

(182) i.e. *Curoi Mac Dairé*. The Tale is not known to me.

(183) This probably was the champion's journey into Scotland to finish his military education under the lady *Seathach*. If so, it is included in the "Courtship of Emer", already described.

(184) i.e. *Conall Cearnach*. This Tale is not known to me, but it is spoken of in the account of the Battle of *Ross na Rígh*, in the Book of Leinster (H. 2. 18), T.C.D.

(185) Not known to me.

(186) i.e. those of the monarch *Crimhthann-Nia-Nair* in Britain. See Annals of the Four Masters, at A.D. 9. No copy of the Tale is now known.

(187) Probably this was her journey into Connacht. See Appendix, on the Founding of *Emania*. The Tale is lost.

(188) Neither is known to me.

(189) That is, of *Finn Mac Cumhaill* in the Cave of Dunmore, anciently called *Dere Fearná*. This Tale is now lost.

(190) King of Scotland, about A.D. 570. The Tale is not known to me.

(191) Not known to me.

(192) King of Ulster, killed A.D. 621. The Tale is not known to me.

(193) Not known to me.

(194) Published by the Gaelic Society of Dublin in 1808; and by me in the *ATLANTIS* for July, 1860.

- LXXXIX. List of Historic Tales in the Book of Leinster.
- Aiteo Aife ingen Eogain pe mer-
 dead.
 Aiteo Naise ingen Fergus pe
 neartach mac ui Leith.
 Aiteo mna Gaiar mic Derg
 pe Glas mac Cimbaeth.
 Aiteo Blathnait ingen Pall
 mic Froais pe Conculainn.
 Aiteo Grainne pe Diarmaid.
 Aiteo Muirne pe Dubhuir.
 Aiteo Ruithcearna pe Cuana
 mac Cailcin.
 Aiteo Eirce ingine Loarn pe
 muirbach mac Eogain.
 Aiteo Dige pe Laidnen.
 Aiteo mna Ailella mic Eogain
 pe Fothu Canann.

AIRGNE.

- Argain Muige Cegala mic Feba.
Argain Aea hi.
Argain Dune Dubglairpe.
Argain Dinn Rig.
Argain Aea Clae.
Argain Dune Delga.
Argain Tuir Conainn.
Argain Ailig for Neit mac Inna.
Argain Belcon Breifni.
Argain Cairpri Cinn-Cat for
raep-clannaib hepen.

- The Elopement of *Aife*, the daughter
of *Eoghan*, with *Mesdead*.⁽¹⁹⁵⁾
The Elopement of *Naise*, the daugh-
ter of *Fergus*, with *Nertach*, son
of *Ua Leith*.⁽¹⁹⁵⁾
The Elopement of the Wife of *Gaiar*,
the son of *Derg*, with *Glas*, the son
of *Cimbaeth*.⁽¹⁹⁵⁾
The Elopement of *Blathnait*, the
daughter of *Pall*, son of *Fidhach*,
with *Cuchulainn*.⁽¹⁹⁶⁾
The Elopement of *Grainne* with *Diar-
maid*.⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ [*ruis*.⁽¹⁹⁸⁾]
The Elopement of *Muirn* with *Dubh*.
The Elopement of *Ruithcearn* with
Cuana, the son of *Cailcin*.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾
The Elopement of *Erc*, daughter of
Loarn, with *Muireadhach*, the son
of *Eoghan*.⁽²⁰⁰⁾ [*cnen*.⁽²⁰¹⁾]
The Elopement of *Dighe* with *Laid*.
The Elopement of the wife of *Ailell*,
the son of *Eoghan*, with *Fothudh*
Canann.⁽²⁰²⁾

SLAUGHTERS.

- The Slaughter of *Magh Cegala*, of
(by) the son of *Feba*.⁽²⁰³⁾
The Slaughter of *Ath-hI* [*Athy*].⁽²⁰³⁾
The Slaughter of *Dun Dubhghlaise*.⁽²⁰³⁾
The Slaughter of *Dinn Righ*.⁽²⁰⁴⁾
The Slaughter of *Ath Cliath*.⁽²⁰⁵⁾
The Slaughter of *Dun Delga*.⁽²⁰⁶⁾
The Slaughter of *Conaing's Tower*.⁽²⁰⁷⁾
The Slaughter of *Ailech* upon *Neit*,
the son of *Indai*.⁽²⁰⁸⁾ [*ne*.⁽²⁰⁹⁾]
The Slaughter of *Belchu* of *Breif*.
The Slaughter by *Cairpre* "Cat-head"
of the Nobles of *Erinn*.⁽²¹⁰⁾

(195) These three Tales are unknown to me.

(196) I presume the same story as that classed as the "Tragical Death of *Curoi Mac Dairé*".

(197) A current version of this Tale has been lately published, by the "Ossianic Society", edited by Mr. Standish H. O'Grady.

(198) Not known to me.

(199) *Ruithcearn* was the daughter of *Aedh Bennan*, King of West Munster, about A.D. 600. (*Cuana* was King of Fermoy in the county of Cork). There is a short copy of this Tale preserved in the Book of Leinster (H. 2. 18), T.C.D.

(200) *Loarn* was King of Scotland. The *Eoghan* mentioned here was the ancestor of the *Cinel Eoghain*. There is a short sketch of this Tale in the MS. H. 3. 17. (p. 798), T.C.D. See the edition of Nennius, published by the Irish Archaeological Society.

(201) This Tale is not known to me.

(202) There is an abstract of this Tale preserved in H. 3. 17., T.C.D.

(203) These three Tales are unknown to me.

(204) See the Exile of *Labhraidh Loingsech* (See Lecture XII.).

(205) i.e. of the Ford of the Hurdles, i.e. Dublin. The Tale is not known to me.

(206) i.e. Dundalk. The Tale is not known to me.

(207) On Torry Island, off Donegal. It was a victory of the Nemedians over the Fomorians, and is told in the Book of Invasions.

(208) A chief of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, who was surprised and slain by the Fomorians. The Tale is lost.

(209) *Belchu* and his sons were surprised and slain by *Conall Cearnach*. The Tale is preserved in MS. H. 2. 17., T.C.D.

(210) This was the celebrated Revolution of the *Aitheach Tuatha*, or "Attacots". There is a copy of the Tale in the MS. H. 3. 17., T.C.D. (See also Lecture XII.).

Arġain Echad̄ for a macaib.

Arġain Caille Conaill.
Arġain Donnán Eġa.

Arġain mic Dato.
Arġain mic Maġad̄.

Arġain Sioe Nenta.
Arġain Spaċa Cluada.
Arġain Sleibe Soilġed̄.
Arġain Raċa Riġbaip̄o.
Arġain Raċa Ruirġuill.
Arġain Raċa Tuaiġe.
Arġain Raċa Tuairle.
Arġain Raċa Tobad̄eta.
Arġain Raċa Timc̄ill.
Arġain Raċa Cuinge.
Arġain Raċa Cuilleno.
Arġain Croċan.
Arġain Caġraċ Boirċe.
Arġain Raċa Blai.
Arġain Raċa Ġaila.
Arġain Raċa Uillne.
Arġain Raċa Naip̄.

Arġain Raċa Benne Ce.
Arġain Raċa Ġranair̄o.
Arġain Raċa Buirġ.
Ĥraflang Scóine.
Aġroed̄t Arġuir̄.

(Amail ġrim-rcela ōna. aġrim-
ther na rcela ro ġir .i. Tomaċma,
ocur ġir, ocur Ġerca, ocur Ġlua-
ġio, ocur Toċhomlaoa .i.

Tomaġom loċa Eċad̄.

The Slaughter by *Echadh* of his
sons.⁽²¹¹⁾ [nall.⁽²¹²⁾ LXXXIX

The Slaughter of the Wood of Co-
The Slaughter of [St.] *Donnan* of
Eg.⁽²¹³⁾ List of
Historic
Tales in the
Book of
Leinster

The Slaughter of *Mac Dutho*.⁽²¹⁴⁾
The Slaughter of the Sons of *Ma-
gach*.⁽²¹⁵⁾

The Slaughter of *Sidh Nenta*.⁽²¹⁶⁾
The Slaughter of *Srath Cluada*.⁽²¹⁷⁾
The Slaughter of *Shabh Soilgech*.⁽²¹⁸⁾
The Slaughter of *Ráith Righbard*.⁽²¹⁹⁾
The Slaughter of *Ráith Rosguill*.⁽²²⁰⁾
The Slaughter of *Ráith Tuaiġe*.⁽²²¹⁾
The Slaughter of *Ráith Tuaisle*.⁽²²¹⁾
The Slaughter of *Ráith Tobachta*.⁽²²¹⁾
The Slaughter of *Ráith Timchill*.⁽²²¹⁾
The Slaughter of *Ráith Cuinge*.⁽²²¹⁾
The Slaughter of *Ráith Cuillenn*.⁽²²¹⁾
The Slaughter of *Ráith Crochain*.⁽²²¹⁾
The Slaughter of *Cathair Boirċe*.⁽²²²⁾
The Slaughter of *Ráith Blai*.⁽²²³⁾
The Slaughter of *Ráith Ġaila*.⁽²²³⁾
The Slaughter of *Ráith Uillne*.⁽²²³⁾
The Slaughter of the *Ráith* of
Nuas.⁽²²³⁾ [Ce.⁽²²⁴⁾

The Slaughter of the *Ráith* of *Binn*
The Slaughter of *Ráith Granard*.⁽²²⁵⁾
The Slaughter of *Ráith Buirġh*.⁽²²⁶⁾
The Treachery of *Scone*.⁽²²⁷⁾
The Visitation of [King] *Arthur*.⁽²²⁸⁾

(It is as Prime Stories these below
are estimated; namely, Irruptions,
and Visions, and Loves, and Expe-
ditions, and Marches, namely:

The Irruption of *Loch Echach*.⁽²²⁹⁾

(211) *i.e.* *Eocháidh Feidhlech*. This was the Battle of *Ath Cumair*. A copy is preserved in the MS. No. 1. I. 1.; (H. and S.) R.I.A.

(212) Not known to me.

(213) *Eg* was an island in the Hebrides, in which St. Donnan was martyred (see *Félire Aengusa*, at April 17). The Tale is lost.

(214) See note on *Dubhthach's* land (*ante*, App. III.).

(215) These were Connachtmen of the time of *Ailell* and *Medhbh*. The Tale is lost.

(216) This was a fairy mansion in Connacht, of which *Sigmall* was the lord. This man was charged with the murder of the Monarch *Eocháidh Aireann*, A.M. 5084; and I believe the slaughter of his people by the men of Erin was the consequence (see the *Cathreim* of King *Dathi*).

(217) Now Strath Clyde in Scotland. Nothing is known to me of this particular Tale.

(218) *i.e.* Sally-Hill; a place not known to me. The Tale is lost.

(219) This was one of the earliest Milesian Courts; but I know nothing of its "Slaughter". The Tale is lost.

(220) There is no record of this "Slaughter" that I know of.

(221) These seven Tales are all of them unknown to me.

(222) In the county Down. This Tale must be a part of the "Triumphs of *Congal Clairin-
gnech*" (this hero was monarch of Erin, A.M. 5017). Of the last mentioned piece there is a copy in the MS. classed H. and S. No. 205, in R.I.A.

(223) These four Tales are now unknown.

(224) *i.e.* the Peak of *Cé*. The Tale is now unknown.

(225) Not known.

(226) *Burach* was an ancient chieftancy in Ulster. This Tale however is not known to me.

(227) This, I think, was a Pictish Tale, but it is not known to me.

(228) Not known.

(229) *i.e.* *Loch Neagh*. See the *Dinnsenchus* on the word *Loch n-Echach* (Book of *Lecain*, fol. 252).

LXXXIX. ΤΟΜΑΙΟΜ ΛΟΔΑ ΕΙΡΝΕ.

List of
Historic
Tales in the
Book of
Leinster.

Ἰρ μνα Νεϊμνιρ,
Ἰρ Conchobair [i. Τοῦμαρς Φεϊρ-
βε?]
Ἰρ Cuinn i. baile in Scail.
Ἰρ Fuppa.

Sepc Callige beppe ro potao
Chanano.

Sepc Dubilača ro Mongan.

Sepc Gormlaith ro Niall.

SLUAGIO.

Sluagio Augaine moir co hecail.

Sluagio Dathi co Sliaib neipa.

Sluagio neill mic eadac co muir
ict.

Sluagio Fiachna mic baitein co Dun
nGuairne i Saxanaib, ocuf pprim-
rluagio heppenn olcena.

TOCHOMLAOA.

Tochomlao partholoin ro cum
neppenn.

Tochomlao nemro co heppinn.

Tochomlao pheppmbols.

Tochomlao Tuace De Danano.

Tochomlao mile mic bile co heppain.

Tochomlao mhac milro a heppain i
neppinn.

Tochomlao Cruithneac a Tpacia co
heppinn, ocuf a tochomlao o heppinn
co halbain.

The Irruption of *Loch Eirne*.⁽²³⁰⁾

The Vision of the Wife of *Neimidh*.⁽²³¹⁾

The Vision of *Conchobhar*.⁽²³²⁾ [qu:
the *Tochmarc Feirbe*?] [*Scail*.⁽²³³⁾

The Vision of *Conn*, i.e., *Baile an*

The Vision of *Fursa*.⁽²³⁴⁾

The Love of *Caillech Berré* for *Fo-
thadh Chonann*.⁽²³⁵⁾ [*gan*.⁽²³⁶⁾

The Love of *Dubhlacha* for *Mon-*

The Love of *Gormlaith* for *Niall*.⁽²³⁷⁾

EXPEDITIONS.

The Expedition of *Ugainé Mór* to
Italy.⁽²³⁸⁾ [pine Mountains.⁽²³⁹⁾

The Expedition of *Dathi* to the Al-

The Expedition of *Niall*, son of *Eoch-
aidh*, to the Ictian Sea.⁽²⁴⁰⁾

The Expedition of *Fiachna*, the son
of *Baedan*, to *Dun Guaire* in Bri-
tain, and the prime Expeditions of
Erinn besides.⁽²⁴¹⁾

PROGRESSES.

The Progress of *Partholan* to
Erinn.⁽²⁴²⁾

The Progress of *Neimidh* to Erinn.⁽²⁴³⁾

The Progress of the *Firbolgs*.⁽²⁴⁴⁾

The Progress of the *Tuatha Dé Da-
nann*.⁽²⁴⁵⁾ [*of Bilé*, to Spain.⁽²⁴⁶⁾

The Progress of *Milé*, [Milesius,] son

The Progress of the Sons of *Milé* [or

Milesius] from Spain to Erinn.⁽²⁴⁷⁾

The Progress of the *Cruithneans*
[Picts] from Thrace to Erinn; and
their progress from Erinn to Al-
bain.⁽²⁴⁸⁾

(230) In the *Dinnsenchus*, (Book of Ballymote, fol. 209).

(231) Not known to me.

(232) i.e. *Conchobhar*, or *Conor*, *MacNessa*, King of Ulster; (qu. in the Courtship of *Ferb*, daughter of *Gerg*, in the Book of Leinster, fol. 189?).

(233) The Vision of *Conn* of the Hundred Battles. See Lecture XVIII.

(234) This Tale is not known to me.

(235) A Tale of the third century; not now known. See back in this List of Tales;—the last of the *Aitheda*, or Elopements, *ante*, p. 590.

(236) *Mongan* was King of Ulster, and slain A.D. 622. There is a copy of this Tale in the Book of Fermoy, in Dr. Todd's possession.

(237) This is the Tale of Queen *Gormlaith* referred to in Lecture VI.

(238) About A.M. 4590.

(239) A.D. 428. There is a copy of this Tale in my possession.

(240) A.D. 405. Some account of this Expedition is preserved in the Book of Ballymote.

(241) About A.D. 580, *Baedan* was King of Ulster. Of this Expedition there is some account in the Book of *Lecain*.

(242) This is given in the *Leabhar Gabhala*.

(243) Given in the *Leabhar Gabhala*.

(244) The coming of the *Firbolgs* into Erinn; given in *Leabhar Gabhala*, and also in the Tract on the Battle of *Magh Tuiredh*.

(245) i.e. into Erinn; also given in the *Leabhar Gabhala*.

(246) Given in the *Leabhar Gabhala*. *Milé*, or *Mileadh*, Latinised "Milesius".

(247) Given in the *Leabhar Gabhala*.

(248) Given also in the *Leabhar Gabhala*. And as to the Picts, see the Irish version of *Nennius*, published by the Irish Archæological Society, 1848.

Тоѡмлао longri fergus a hul-
taib.

Тоѡмлао murpaige oe maiḡ
bpeḡoin.

Тоѡмлао na nDeḡi o Thempaig.

Тоѡмлао cloinne echaḡ muig-
meḡoin a mīoe.

Тоѡмлао taig mic Cem o Cai-
riul.

Тоѡмлао Dail Riatai i nalbain.
Ocuḡ in m po hoḡe ocuḡ po biḡ
ocuḡ atbaḡ. m fili naḡcomḡne
comaḡapnao pcela uile.

The Progress of the Exile of *Fergus* LXXXIX.
out of Ulster.⁽²⁴⁹⁾

The Progress of the *Muscraigians* into List of
Magh Breugain.⁽²⁵⁰⁾ [air.⁽²⁵¹⁾ Historic
Tales in the

The Progress of the *Deisi* from Tem- Book of
The Progress of the Sons of *Eochaidh* Leinster.

Muighmhedhóin out of Meath.⁽²⁵²⁾

The Progress of *Tadhg*, son of *Cian*
[son of *Oilill Oluin*], from Cashel
[into Meath].⁽²⁵³⁾

The Progress of the *Dail Riada* into
Scotland.⁽²⁵⁴⁾ And all that were kil-
led, and wounded, and died. He is
no poet who does not synchronize
and harmonize all the stories.

APPENDIX No. XC. [Lect. XIII., Page 276.]

Of the place of the Death-wound of Conchobair Mac Nessa. Death of
Conchobair
Mac Nessa.

The clearest authority, as to the place where *Conchobhar*, or *Conor Mac Nessa*, received the blow which was the eventual cause of his death, is that of Father MICHAEL O'CLERY, the chief of the "Four Masters". The following marginal note, in his handwriting, occurs in the Index to the Martyrology of Donegall, the MS. of which is among those preserved in the Burgundian Library at Brussels:—

baile at in uiréair i cCinél Fiachair, atá Tempall
Dáidhi. i. baile ar buailead innéinn Meirgeḡra ar Chonchobair
Riḡ nUlad.

[TRANSLATION.]

"The Town of the Ford of the Cast, in *Cinél Fiachaidh*, where is Temple *Dáidhi*, i.e. where the brain of *Mesgedhra* was struck upon *Conchobhar* [or *Conor Mac Nessa*], the King of Ulster".

[For an account of the occurrence referred to, see *post*, APPENDIX No. CLVI. The spot referred to is now Ardnurcher, barony of Moycashel, county of Westmeath, sheet 31, Ordnance Map.]

APPENDIX No. XCI. [Lect. XIII., Page 293.]

Original of stanza in a Poem of S. Moḡolmḡs about the Ua Stanza as
Corra (from the Book of Fermoy, fol. 105). to the *Ua*
Corra.

Ua corra do Chonnaḡtaib

San time fua tonn-ḡoḡtaib,

Oḡ ḡuan maḡa monḡair-ḡḡéin

Ar fḡoḡ anaḡoḡ ionḡantaig.

(249) That is, of *Fergus Mac Roigh*, out of Ulster into Connacht. This Tale is lost.

(250) In Tipperary.

(251) There is an account of this in *Leabhar na h-Uidhré*; and another in the Book of Leinster, fol. 208, b.

(252) Related in a poem by Flann of Monasterboice. Copy in my possession.

(253) Related in the Battle of *Crinna*, in the Book of Lismore, R.I.A.

(254) Not known to me.

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APPENDIX No. XCII. [Lect. XIV., Pages 302, 303.]

Poems by
Finn Mac
Cumhaill.

Originals of the first lines of six Poems attributed to Finn Mac Cumhaill.

“Lige súill i maiz Raighe”.—[*B. of Leinster; (H. 2. 18, T.C.D.); fol. 159. b. a.*]

“In lia no theilgim do ghéir”.—[*Ib., fol. 153. b. a.*]

“Inmain tainis ó thui tenn”.—[*Ib., fol. 153. b. b.*]

“Rof m-bhoc mōiu iʳ conair cuan”.—[*Ib., fol. 211. a. b.*]

“Móir in gnim do mōnead ruid”.—[*Ib., fol. 211. b. b.*]

“Foinocht do óinn a Oghuim Ocan”.—[*B. of Lecain, fol. 231. b. a.*]

APPENDIX No. XCIII. [Lect. XIV., Pages 306, 307].

Fenian
Poems.

Original of first line of a Poem attributed to Fergus Finnbeól, the son of Finn Mac Cumhaill (from Dinnreanúr, in the “Book of Ballymote”, fol. 202 a. a.); and of first line of a Poem attributed to Cailte Mac Ronáin (from the Dinnreanúr, in the “Book of Ballymote”, fol. 200. b. a.; and the “Book of Lecain”, fol. 236. a. b.).

“Tipra Seangaimna fo a rnar”.—

“Clróna ceinóirio, buan in béo”.—

APPENDIX No. XCIV. [Lect. XIV., Page 308–11.]

Cael Ua
Neamhainn,
and the Lady
Credhi.

Original of passage from the Agallam na Seanóiríac concerning Cael Ua Neamhainn and the lady Credhi (from the Book of Lismore, fol. 206. b. a.).

Tuair acam dia haine
 Seóec iʳ am firi aóe
 Co tech Credhi ní ruid ruail,
 Re huét in tpleibe anoir-tuaid.
 Atá a cinneó óam óul ann
 Su Credhi a Cichairb Anann,
 Co mabair ann ró deachairb
 Ceṛma lá ocur leir feachtmuid.
 Aibinn in tech in atá
 Ioir firi iʳ maca iʳ mná,
 Ioir óruiró ocur aer ceóil,
 Ioir óailuim iʳ óoirpéoir
 Ioir sílla ruid naṛ rceinn,
 Ocur rionnaire me rionn;
 Atá a comair rin uile,
 Ag Credhi ruid, folc-buid.

A.D. XCIV.

*Coel Va
Neannanion,
and the Lady
Creolla.*

Buò aibinn òaìna na tóin,
 Ioiri cóleais ocur éluín,
 Maóáil do Cpeòí mo clor,
 Buò aibinn òaìn mu thuror.
 Sithal aici a ril rúg rub,
 Ar do gnieò ablaí [briai?] òub,
 Dabca glaine, gairi òearca,
 Cupáin aice ir caemh-earca.
 A òaé amairi òaé an aeil,
 Coileig eturria ocur aein,
 Síoa eturria ir briat goim,
 Deris óri eturria ir glan còrn.
 A ghuánán, a cloé cuíre,
 D'arcat ocur d'óri buíre,
 Tuiği òmuimneé gan doéma,
 D'eitib òonna ir òeris còrca.
 Dhá uirain uainíoi aoci,
 A cómla, ní doémarò hí,
 Aicet echtda cian mo clor,
 In cianò bui na forrogor.
 Catháiri Chieíoi doot lánm élí,
 Ba ruarica fá ruarica hí,
 Capairi uirre d'óri Ealpa,
 Fa còruib a caemh lepta.
 Leabarò lucairi 'na líne
 Fuil or cinn na catháiri,
 Do monao ac Tuile éairi,
 D'óri buíre ir do lic lógmairi.
 Leabarò eile doot lánm òeir,
 D'óri ir d'arcat gan eirleir,
 Co pubuill co [pellaib] mbuga
 Co caemh-plataib crieouma.
 An teqlach atá na tig,
 Ar dóib ar aibne mo chin
 Inoat glara, plíma a mbuirt,
 At capa pinna a for-fuile.
 Do còrveltar firi gonta,
 Cona taercaib trom-fola,
 Re hénuib fíoi ac pianán
 Or bóruib a glan ghuánán.
 Máó am buíreóra don minai,
 Do Chieíoi dá ngáipenn cáí
 Meiarò níbur lia a laíoi,
 Máó dá noíla a commaine.

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*Cael Ua
Neammainn,
and the Lady
Credhi.*

Máó áil le hingim Chaiḃḃre,
Níroam éuipḃe ar cóirí cáipḃe,
Cu nabḃa féim jum ábur,
Ir mo móipḃéin doo éuipḃ.
Céó traidḃíó i tig Chieróí
O'n cuipḃi gu roic a céile,
Ir píet traidḃíó tómup
A leicet a deḡ-dóupḃ.
A huónaet ir a tuigí
D'eitib én ngoim ir mbuóí
A huipḃar thair ac tobar,
Do ḡlain ir do éarim ocal.
Cethḃa huaitne um ḡac leabairó,
D'ór ir d'arcat cóirí-necair,
ḡem ḡlaine eróir ḡac uaitne,
Níroac cenn anḡuairce.
Dabaé ann do éruan flaḃa,
A rileann ruḡ ruaric bḃacha,
Ábull or cinn na daibḃe
Co nimat a éiomthairce.
In uair línar corin Chieróí,
Do mḡ na daibḃa déne,
Tuicir irin éorin co ceir
Na ceḡra húbla a naéinḡeacé.
An ceatḃar úo do háimḡeao
Eirḡit ar in ḡuithóáileam,
Taibḃat don ceatḃar anúnn
Deoc ḡac ḡir ocur úball.
In ti ḡá táit ḡin uilí,
Ioir éráig ocur éuilí,
Ruc Cieróí a tulchailḃ trí mbeann,
Eó uipḃair do mḡailḃ Eirḡeann.
Lairḃ ḡunn éúice, ní cḡoḡ car
Ní ḡier luigḃi co luatḃḃar,
Co Cieróí cḡuḃailḡ ábur,
Buó luchair lé mo éuipḃ.
Tuipḃ.

Ocur ir ar ro do éuamairne do éur Catha Finn-traidḃha, ocur atconncamar oclac do muinntir Finn dar ninnḡaidḃíó .i. Cael cḡoḃa, céo-ḡuinech Ua Neamḡainn. Can ar a tanacuir a Chaeil, ar Finn. Ar in bḡuḡ bḡaenaé atuaró, ar Cael. Cḡét do iarair ann, ar finn. D'acallaim Muipḃe, inḡine Deirḡ, mo muime féin. Cio a dobar ḡin, ar Finn Ar biéin leannain trḡe, ocur aró-nuaḃair, ocur torao air-

linge .i. Creòe, inžen Chairebhu Chnearbáin, inžen mǫǫ Ciarraige Luachra. In breathair a Chaeil, ar Finn, comu hirim bain-mhealltóir ban Erienn, or ir tere rét maith a neimhinn nar bréc cum a tounair ocu a déǫ-aruir. Ocu in friu tu ǫa comu iaruir ar các, ar Cael. Do fedaí, ar Finn .i. ǫibé aǫ ambeic do óán, no o'filióect tuan do óénam ói, ocu tuarurebáil a cuac, ocu a coru, ocu a cupao, ocu a hian, ocu a hairu-learuar, ocu a mǫǫ-éech mo móir. Ata uilum acumra, ar na tabairt dam o Mhuirinn inžen Deirǫ, om buime fein, [ar Cael].

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Cael Cu
Neamhainn,
and the Lady
Credhi.

[LITERAL TRANSLATION.]

And it was from this we went to fight the battle of *Finntráigh*; and we saw a warrior (one) of *Finn's* people coming towards us, namely, *Cael*, the valiant *O'Neamhnainn*. "Where hast thou come from, *Cael*?" said *Finn*. "From the teeming *Brugh*, from the North", said *Cael*. "What didst thou seek there?" said *Finn*. "To converse with *Muirinn*, the daughter of *Derg*, my own nurse", said *Cael*. "What was the cause of that?" said *Finn*. "On account of an enchanting favourite, noble wife, and the fruits of a vision, namely, *Crédhi*, the daughter of *Cairbré*, the White-skinned, the daughter of the kings of *Ciarráighe Luachra*". "Dost thou, O *Cael*", said *Finn*, "know that she is the chief deluding woman among the women of *Erienn*? for scarce a valuable jewel in *Erim* that she has not inveigled to her court (*Dún*) and beautiful residence". "And dost thou know what conditions she puts to each person?" said *Cael*. "I do", said *Finn*; "namely, whoever should have the gift, or poetic genius to compose a poem for her, and describe her bowls and her (drinking) horns, and her cups, and her pans, and her (other) noble vessels, and her very great kingly house". "I have it ready, having brought it with me from *Muirinn*, the daughter of *Derg*, my own nurse", [said *Cael*].

APPENDIX No. XCV. [Lect. XIV., Page 315.]

Of the ancient monuments called Cromleac.

Of Cromlechs.

The subject of the remarkable monuments popularly but improperly called "*Cromlechs*" (including those to which modern story-tellers have fancifully applied the name of *Leabacha Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne*, or Beds of *Diarmid* and *Gráinne*), is too extensive and too important to admit of a complete and satisfactory notice in a short note. It will, besides, come to be discussed in full in its proper place in the Course of Lectures I am now engaged in,—On the Life, Customs, Manners, etc., of the ancient Gaedhil. I shall therefore content myself here with the mere statement of my opinion regarding all these monuments,—that they never were intended and never were used as Altars, or places of Sacrifice, of any kind; that they

APP. XCV. were not in any sense of the word "Druidical"; and that they were, in every instance, simple Sepulchres or Tombs, each marking the grave of one or of several personages.

Authority
as to the
Domnach
Aírgid.

APPENDIX No. XCVI. [Lect. XV., Page 325.]

Original of passage in the "Tripartite Life" of St. Patrick (my copy, p. 102; Egerton MS., 93, British Museum, p. 26), describing the presentation by him to S. Mac Cairéann of the relic called the Domnach Aírgid.

Ní tairiúil patrúic in machaí uin chuppin, áit ipé do choro hí curch na Cieméann. Forótaigertarí cella, ocur congála anó. Féet ann occ tuiseet do patrúic do Chloéurí antuait, da fuaricarb a éien-féi dárí uoríaró anó .i. Eppcop Mac Cairéinn. Ippé dárubairt íarí tuicbail patrúic: Ué, uch. Mu Debríot, ol patrúic, ní bu gnath in foculpin do maó uuitriu. Am penoiu, ocur am lobuú, ol Eppcop Mac Cairéinn. Fariachairiu mu éomaltu hí cellaib, ocur meiri fhorí forí conairí. Fotuigebra, dána, ol patrúic, hí cill napa mo ocur, arí napa uimicmí, napa mo cian dána, corioartarí immathigíó etíonó. Ocurí forí-acarb patrúic íarum, Eppcop Mac Cairéinn hí Clochurí, ocur in Domnach aígíó leir, do maíaró do patrúic do nim, oia mboi forí muirí oc tuiseet do éum nEíenn.

APPENDIX No. XCVII. [Lect. XV., Pages 329, 330.]

Prayer of
St. Colum
Cille.

Original of first stanza of the Prayer of Saint Colum Cille (Leabairí Buíóe Iecain, MS. H. 2. 16. T.C.D., col. 320).

m'oenuríán dām ír in ríab,
A mʒ gíuan mopí roríaró réo,
Noéa n-eaglaigí dām ní,
Na da m-beinó tui ríéit céo.

Authority
as to the
Cathach.

Original and Translation of passage concerning the Cathach, in O'Donnell's Life of S. Colum Cille (MS. classed 52.2., R.I.A., page 196).

An Cathach imoipio, ainm an leabairí tref a ttugad an cath, ocur afe ar aro-míonn ag Colum Cille, í tTiri Chonaill; ocur ata fe arí na éumóac d'áigíó, ocur ní oleagáirí a forígláó, agarí da ttugtarí tui huairíó deiríol í tTímíollí flúagí Chinel Chonaill ag uol do éum catha uoib, arí ual go ttiueparíorí fa buaró; ocur an uét Comaríba, no cleimʒ gán péacáó maríbéa arí (marí arí fearí arí fearí leir), arí cóirí an Cathach do beirí ag tímíolláó an tflúagí rin.

[TRANSLATION.]

The *Cathach*, indeed, is the name of the book on account of which the battle was fought; and it is it that is *Colum Cille's* high relic in *Tir Conaill*; and it is ornamented (or covered) with silver, and it is not lawful to open it; and if it is carried three times to the right around the army of the *Cenel Conaill* when going to battle, it is certain that they would come out of it with victory; and it is upon the breast of a *Comharba*, or a Priest without mortal sin upon him (as well as he can), it is proper for the *Cathach* to be at going round that army.

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Authority
as to the
Cathach.

APPENDIX No. XCVIII. [Lect. XV., Page 331.]

Original of Inscription on the Shrine of the Cathach.

Shrine of
the *Cathach*.

OROIƿ DO Cathbairi ua Domnaill laƿ i nƿeƿnao in
cumtach [ra] ocuƿ DO SITTƿUC mac Meic Aeda DO ƿugne,
ocuƿ DO Dom[nall] Mac Robairtaig, DO comairba Cenannra
laƿ i nƿeƿnao.

APPENDIX No. XCIX. [Lect. XV., Page 334.]

Original of entry in the Annals of TIGERNACH, concerning the Cuilebad (at A.D. 1090). (MS. H. 1. 18., T.C.D.)

The Cuile-
badh of
St. Colum
Cille.

Mionno Colum Cille .i. Cloƿ na Ríƿ, ocuƿ an Chuil-
lebaig, ocuƿ in da ƿoƿceolo DO eabairt, a Tíƿ Chonoill, ocuƿ
reƿt ƿíeƿt uinge d'airgíao; ocuƿ Aonguƿ ua Domnaillán
iƿpe doƿ ƿuc auaíao.

APPENDIX No. C. [Lect. XV., Page 335.]

Original (with Translation) of reference to a Cuilebad of Saint Eimin (in a vellum MS. of the year 1463, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, classed 43 G., fol. 17).

The Cuile-
badh of
St. Eimin.

MO CATTARÍ CAO BRO CAIME
Fíƿ CÁM íƿ Fíƿ COMAIRGE,
DEARÍ LINN, FO DOO ƿHEOAN,
MO eLAR íƿ MO Cuilebad.

[TRANSLATION.]

My pure quatuor (Gospels) is strong,
For law and for sanctuary;
We bestow, they are good for your valour,
My *clar* (calendar?) and my *Cuilefadh*.

APPENDIX No. CI. [Lect. XV., Page 336.]

Original (with Translation) of passage from the Leabair Buíoe Uecain (H. 2. 16., T.C.D., col. 312), concerning the Mísa.

Of the
Mísa.

[According to this authority, *Muircheartach Mac Erea*, monarch of Erin, who died A.D. 526, having been captivated by *Sin*, a *Ben-Sidhe* [Benshee], drove his own wife *Duaibhsech* and her children

APP. CL.

Of the
Misach.

and friends of the *Cenel Conaill* and *Eoghain* out of the palace of *Cleitech* on the Boyne. The Queen went to St. *Cairnech* of *Tuilen*, who took them all under his protection, and:—

Ro epcain Cairnech tpa in tóin annrín ocur no bennach locc ann, ocur tainic ar ríarín fo bión, ocur fátoirí. Ro maíoret ummoirio, Clanna Neill fíur: bennais rínne, ol-riac anora, a cleirg, conoirgíum daí tiri ferín, uairi in cínatá rínne iuit.

Ro bennais Cairnech íat ocur no fágaib fagbala dóib .i. do clandaib Conaill ocur Eoghain: In uairi nac biao aipe-
éar Erienn, nó a iuge acu, a ríraice fíur caé cúiceó na tim-
cell, ocur comairbar Oilis, ocur Temraé, ocur Ulaó acu;
ocur cen tuairtaral do gábail o neach, ar íre a iuróler
ferín iugi nErienn; ocur cen glar fíur gíall, ocur mead fíur
na gíallu dia neláó; ocur buao catha acu aét co tucao fa
aóbarí coirí, ocur co iabat tñí meirgí acu .i. in Chačach; ocur
in Clog Phatrais .i. [clog] in Uačhta; ocur in Mírach Cair-
nig; ocur no biaó a íač rín uile ar oén mino dóib íe hučt
cača, amail no fágaib Cairneac dóib.

[TRANSLATION.]

Saint *Cairnech* then cursed the palace, and blessed a certain place there, after which he departed from it in grief and sadness. The *Clanna Neill* said to him then: Bless us, said they, O Cleric, that we may depart to our own country, for we are not guilty towards thee.

Cairnech blessed them, and he left them gifts, *i.e.* to the clans of *Conall* and *Eoghan*, that when they would not have the sovereignty of *Erinn* or its monarchy, that their power should extend over every province around them; and that they should have the successorship of *Oilech*, and *Temhair*, and *Ulaidh*; and that they should not receive wages from any person, because the sovereignty of *Erinn* was their own absolute right; and that no hostage of theirs should require to be locked; and that such hostages should decay if they eloped; and that victory of battle should be theirs, provided they gave it in a just cause; and that they had these three standards, namely, the *Cathach*; and the *Cloc Phatraic*; and the *Misach Chairnigh*; and that the virtue of all these should be upon any one relic of them against battle; such as St. *Cairnech* left them.

APPENDIX No. CII. [Lect. XV., Page 338.]

Of the
Bachall Isu.

Of the *Bačall íru*, or *Staff of Jesus*. (*Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*; my copy, p. 17; *Egerton MS.* 93, *British Museum*, p. 5).

The following is the ancient tradition respecting the *Bachall Isu*,—how this great relic was originally obtained by St. Patrick,—from the *Tripartite Life*:

Celebhar Patraic do *Serman* íarín, ocur do beirt beno-

[illegible]

[TRANSLATION.]

Patrick took leave of German (his tutor) then, and he gave him his blessing ; and there went with him a trusty senior from German, to take care of him, and to testify to him ; Segetius was his name, and a priest in orders, and it was he that performed the offices of the Church under German. Patrick went then upon the sea, nine in his number. It was then the tide cast him on an island, where he saw a new house and a young couple in it ; and he saw a withered old woman at the door of the house by their side. “ What has happened the hag ? ” said Patrick ; “ great is her debility ”. The young man answered ; this is what he said : “ She is a grand-daughter of mine ” said the young man ; “ even the mother ”, said he, “ O Cleric, of that daughter, whom you see, she is more debilitated again ”. “ In what way did that happen ? ” said Patrick. “ It is not difficult to tell it ”, said the young man. “ We are here since the time of Christ. He happened to visit us when He was among men here ; and we made a feast for Him. He blessed our house, and He blessed ourselves, and the blessing did not reach our children ; and we shall be without age, without decay here to the Judgment (day) ; and it is a long time since thy coming was foretold us ”, said the young man ; “ and God left (us information) that thou wouldst go to preach to the Gaedhil :

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Of the
Bachall Isu.

and He left a token with us, namely, a bent staff, to be given to thee. "I shall not receive it", said Patrick, "until He Himself gives me His staff". Patrick staid three days and three nights with them; and he went then to Mount Hermon in the neighbourhood of the island; and the Lord appeared to him there, and said to him to come to preach to the Gaedhil, and that He would give him the Staff of Jesus; and He said that it would be a deliverer to him in every danger, and in every unequal contest in which he should be.

So much for the first and earliest authority concerning the relic.

Most of the historical vestiges concerning the *Bachall Isu*, or "Staff of Jesus", are collected in the Introduction, by the Rev. Dr. Todd, S.F.T.C.D., to the edition of *The Book of Obits and Martyrology*, of Christ Church, Dublin, published by the Irish Archæological Society in 1844.

"The BACULUS IHESU", he says, p. viii., after speaking of some other celebrated Irish relics, "'quem angelus beato Patricio conferebat', stands next on the list, and is of still greater celebrity. St. Bernard mentions it in his life of St. Malachy, as one of those insignia of the see of Armagh which were popularly believed to confer upon the possessor a title to be regarded and obeyed as the successor of St. Patrick; so that some who had no other claim to the Primacy than the power or fraud which gave them possession of these relics, were received by the more ignorant of the people as the true bishops. Speaking of Nigellus, the intruding prelate, who was finally driven out by St. Malachy about the year 1134, St. Bernard says:

"'Porro Nigellus videns sibi imminere fugam, tulit secum insignia quædam sedis illius, textum scilicet Evangeliorum, qui fuit beati Patricii, *baculumque auro tectum, et gemmis pretiosissimis adornatum, quem nominant Baculum Jesu*, eo quod ipse Dominus (ut fert opinio) eum suis manibus tenuerit, atque formaverit. Et hæc summæ dignitatis et venerationis in gente illa. Nempe notissima sunt celeberrimæque in populis, atque in ea reverentia apud omnes, ut qui illa habere visus fuerit, ipsum habeat episcopum populus stultus et insipiens'.—[De Vita S. Malachiæ, c. xii. Opp. Ed. Bened. vol. i. c. 675]"

"Thus it appears", continues Dr. Todd, "that the Baculus, in St. Bernard's time, was adorned with gold and precious stones. It was, therefore, most probably a crozier (still always called *bachall* in Irish),⁽²⁵⁵⁾ and having been held in such veneration in the twelfth century, there is no reason to doubt its great antiquity. It is mentioned also by Giraldus Cambrensis, who tells us, that in his time it was removed by the English, perhaps for greater security, from Armagh to Dublin."⁽²⁵⁶⁾

"'Inter universos Hiberniæ baculos', he says, '*lignæque naturæ Sanctorum reliquias, virtuosus ille et famosus (quem Baculum Jesu vocant) non immerito primus et præcipuus esse videtur. Per quem, vulgari opinione, Sanctus Patricius venenosos ab insula vermes eiecit. Cujus siquidem tam incertus est ortus, quam certissima virtus. Nostris autem temporibus et nos-*

(255) *Baculus Pastoralis* was the usual name given to a crozier all over Europe in the middle ages; see Du Cange in voce. [Dr. Todd's note.]

(256) Armagh was burned in 1178, with its churches and sanctuaries. (Colgan, from the Four Masters, Trias Thaumnat., p. 310; and Annal. Ulton, in 1179.) [Dr. Todd's note.]

trorum opera, nobilis thesaurus ab Armachia Dubliniam est translatus.'— APP. CII.
[Topogr. Hib., part iii. c. xxxiv.]

Of the
Bacall Isu

Dr. Todd then mentions the existence of another account of the translation of the Baculus Jesu to Dublin, as having been accomplished by Strongbowe himself, who is stated (in the "White Book of Christ Church", and in Archbishop Alan, or Allen's Register) to have brought it not from Armagh, but from Balliboghall,—a church, in ruins, near Swords, in the County of Dublin, which is supposed to have derived its name from the possession of some crozier or baculus of St. Patrick; ⁽²⁵⁷⁾—but this account assigns the proper date (1180) to the translation, and thus proves its own inconsistency, since Strongbowe died in 1176. The statement of Giraldus is borne out by three authorities quoted by Dr. Todd (pp. 9, 10); the first, an "entry, in a hand of the early part of the sixteenth century, in the 'Black Book' of Christ Church, fol. 214. a"; the second, another passage of Giraldus, where, speaking of William Fitz-Adelm or Aldelm, he says: "Nihil egregium in Hibernia gessit, præter hoc solum quod baculum virtuosissimum, quem Baculum Jesu vocant, ab Armachia, Dubliniam transferri procuravit" (Hib. Expugn. lib. ii. c. xviii.); and the third, the MS. Annals of Innistallen (II. 1, 7; T.C.D.), under the year 1180, as follows:

Bacall pasparis do bper o apo maea go h-aecliae le h-uil- liam mac doelm.	"The Staff of Patrick was brought from Armagh to Dublin by Wil- liam Fitz Adelm".
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Dr. Todd then gives the story of the Baculus, from the Tripartite Life, in Colgan's Latin; and proceeds (p. 13):

"Frequent notices of the BACULUS JESU are to be found in Irish history. In the ancient Irish poem by St. Fiech [*Fiacce of Slebhthe*], which Colgan has published as the first life of St. Patrick, mention is made of St. *Tassach*, from whom the saint received the holy viaticum on his death-bed. *Tassach* was of *Rathecolptha*, now Raholp, near Down, and is said by some of the lives to have been a bishop when he administered the communion to the dying Patrick. He was skilled in the art of a goldsmith; and in the ancient notes to St. Fiech's [*Fiacce's*] Hymn it is particularly stated, that the BACULUS JESU was by him first adorned with a precious covering: 'Thassachus fuit faber ærarius S. Patricii. Fuit primus qui baculum JESU pretioso tegumento obvelavit. Ecclesia ipsius est Rath-Colptha juxta Dunum ad Orientem'".

Several instances are then given by Dr. Todd (pp. xiv. xv. xvi.) of records of occurrences respecting this Baculus, which prove the singular veneration of which it was so long the object; he quotes from the Annals of *Tighernach* two passages (under the years 1027 and 1030),—from the Annals of the Four Masters (under 1080 and 1143),—and from English authorities, an instance in Champion's "Historic of Ireland", at A.D. 1316, one from Archbishop Alan's

(257) St. Patrick appears to have left more than one staff. In the list of relics preserved in the monastery of St. Alban's are mentioned, relics "De Sancto Patricio, et baculis ejusdem sancti". Dugdale's Monasticon (by Carey, Ellis, and Bandinel), vol. ii., page 245. [Dr. Todd's note.]

APP. CII. Register, citing a grant from John Earl of Moreton to John Comyn, Archbishop of Dublin, confirmed on this relic, and a curious paper (No. 53, in the bag marked "Ireland") in the Chapter-house of Westminster Abbey, "containing 'an examination of Sir Gerald Machshayne, knight', sworn 19th March, 1529, 'upon the Holie Masebooke, and the great relicke of Erlonde, called *Baculum Christi*, in the presence of the Kynges Deputie, Chancellour, Tresoror, and Justice' [State Papers, vol. ii. p. 146]".

Of the
Bachall Isu.

Lastly, Dr. Todd quotes the records of the wilful destruction of this "great relicke" by fire, at the hands of the fanatics of the "Reformation", in the reign of the English King Henry the Eighth, A.D. 1538. The first of these is from Sir James Ware's *Annals* (p. 99). The second is the following Irish account, from a MS. in T.C.D., there "lettered *Tighernaci Continuatio*", says Dr. Todd in a note, and long "supposed to have been the same as the *Annals of Kilronan*, quoted by the Four Masters". (These are the *Annals* now for the first time proved to be the *Annals of Loch Cé*. See *ante*, Lecture V., p. 93). This account is as follows (at A. A. 1538):—

Dealb muirne no miorbuiligh oo bi a m-baile ata trum, dar cperseodar eipennuigh uile le cian o'aimprip poime rin, oo planaisgead ooil, agus bo'adair, agus bacais, agus sad amceir apcena, oo lor-gaob le Saxanuib. Agus an ba-call iora oo bi a m-baile ata cliath, ag denam pept agus miorbuile iomda i n-eipinn o'aimprip phaspaig gur an p'erin, agus oo bi a lamh eiport fein, oo lor-gaob le Saxanuib mar an ceana. Agus in heao amain, aet in paibe croc naomh, na dealb muirne, na iomais oipproic i n-eipinn ar a n-dea-chara a g-cumaeta gan lor-gaob. Agus in mo oo bi a g-cumaeta ar oir oo na peet n-o'prouib nar r'gmo'adair. Agus in papa, agus in eglair toir agus abur oo beir a connelbathaob na Saxan tro rin, agus gan ruim na topaob oo beir aca-ran air rin etc. Agus in deirb liom nac ar an m-bliadain am diaob tuar ata lor-gaob na mionn rin.

The most miraculous image of Mary, which was at *Bailé Atha Truim* [Trim], and which the Irish people all honoured for a long time before that, which used to heal the blind, the deaf, the lame, and every disease in like manner, was burned by the Saxons. And the Staff of Jesus, which was in Dublin, and which wrought many wonders and miracles in Erin since the time of Patrick down to that time, and which was in the hand of Christ Himself, was burned by the Saxons in like manner. And not only that, but there was not a Holy Cross, nor an image of Mary, nor other celebrated image in Erin, over which their power reached, that they did not burn. Nor was there one of the Seven Orders which came under their power that they did not ruin. And the Pope, and the Church in the East, and at home, was excommunicating the Saxons on that account, and they not paying any attention or heed unto that, etc. And I am not certain whether it was not in the year preceding the above [A.D. 1537] that these relics were burned.

I may add here, perhaps, the account in the Four Masters, though founded only on the foregoing authorities, as characteristic of the period in which their great Book of Annals was written. It is quoted by Dr. Todd (p. xvii.) "as a curious specimen of the light in which the Reformation was regarded by a native Irish writer of the

reign of Charles the First"; and it will probably be recognized as containing an expression equally correct of the opinions and of the feelings of the "native Irish" even down to the present day.

APP. CII.

Of the
Backall Ins.

A.C. 1537. *Εἰρητισσεαὲτ, ἀγυρ*
ρεῖπαν νῦα ἡ Σαχαὶβ τρια ὀν-
μυρ, ἀγυρ ἰοννοcebáil, τρια acco-
bar, ἀγυρ antoil, ἀγυρ τρε ἰοματτ
calatáan néccpamail, co nroa-
éattar pīr Saxon in accáir an
Phapa, ἀγυρ na Róma. Aēt atá
ni éena, po atáttar do baran-
laib examlaib, ἀγυρ do fenpeaēt
maori ar aētūr an cinró ἰυδαίε,
ἀγυρ po ḡairiot áipō-ceann ecc-
laip De na flaitēr pēm doon pīg.
Do rónaō lār an pīg, ἀγυρ lār an
cComaiple, oligēe. ἀγυρ ptauiti
nuarōe iar na o-toil pēm. Ro
repiopar leó na huipō d'iar bo
ceoaigēēē realb paogaolta do beir
occa, eōon, manaiḡ, cananaig, cal-
leaāa tūba, ἀγυρ braitēr cpoiri,
ἀγυρ na ceirpe huipō boēta, eōon,
an torpo mīmūp, pperiorūp, Car-
muliti, ἀγυρ augurtimani. Ro
tócebaō a ttiēcepnur, ἀγυρ a
mbeatapo uile gur an pīg. Ro
būpēō leó tōnā, na mainipteēa.
Ro peacpat a cecinn, ἀγυρ a
celucca, co ná baoi aon mānīptēr
ó apainn na naom co Muip nloēt
gan būpēō, gan buanpēbaō, aēt
maō beccán namá i nēpinn na tucc-
pat ḡoilḡa oia nuīoh, náē oia naipē.
Ro loipepet beop, ἀγυρ po būp-
pett ἰomáige oipoeapca, pēpine,
ἀγυρ tairi naem ēpenn, ἀγυρ Shax-
an. Ro loipepet map an cēōna
iar pīn dealb Muipē oipoeapc
baoi i naē tpuim do ḡnīōō pēpta
ἀγυρ mīopbala, do flanaigēō oīll,
būōip, ἀγυρ bacaiḡ, ἀγυρ aor ḡaāa
teōma apēena; ἀγυρ an baēall
ἰopa baoi i naē Cliaē acc tēnam
mīopbal beop ó aimpīp pātpaice
gur an pē pīn, ἀγυρ baoi illām
ēpōrt oia mbaoi etīp tōaomīb.
Do rónaō leó tpa aipoeprcoip,
ἀγυρ pūibeprecoip aca pēm, ἀγυρ
ḡē'p mōp ingreim na nīmpēō
Rōimanaē in accharō na hēccailp,
ar puaill má tamie a cōmmōpō
ón Rōm anoir pūam, co naē ēttip
a tuaparebail d'fāpnēr no d'inn-
ipīn muna naipnēōēō an tī do
cōnnaipe ī.

A.D. 1537. A heresy and a new error broke out in England, the effects of pride, vain-glory, avarice, sensual desire, and the prevalence of a variety of speculative compositions, so that the people of England went into opposition to the Pope and to Rome. At the same time they followed a variety of opinions, and the old Law of Moses, after the manner of the Jewish people, and they gave the title of head of the Church of God, in his own realm, to the king. There were enacted by the king and council new laws and statutes after their own will. They ruined the orders who were permitted to hold worldly possessions, viz., monks, canons, nuns, and brethren of the cross, and the four mendicant Orders, viz., the Minor Order, the Preachers, Carmelites, and Augustinians. The possessions and livings of all these were taken up for the king. They broke the monasteries. They sold their roofs and bells, so that there was not a monastery from Arann of the Saints to the Iccian Sea, that was not broken and shattered, except only a few in Erinn, which escaped the notice and attention of the English. They further burned and broke the famous images, shrines, and relics of Erinn and England. After that they burned in like manner the celebrated image of Mary, which was at *Ath-Truim*, which used to perform wonders and miracles, which used to heal the blind, the deaf, the lame, and the sufferers from all diseases; and the Staff of Jesus, which was in Dublin, performing miracles from the time of Patrick down to that time, and which was in the hand of Christ whilst He was among men. They also made archbishops and sub-bishops for themselves; and although great was the persecution of the Roman Emperors against the Church, it is not probable that so great a persecution as this ever came at this side of Rome hither. So that it is impossible to tell or narrate its description, unless it should be told by him who saw it.

APP. CIII.

APPENDIX No. CIII. [Lect. XVI., Page 343.]

St. Fiacc as
to the
desertion
of Tara.

Original (with Translation) of passage in the Poem of Saint Fiacc of Sleibte, alluding to the promised decay and desertion of Tara (from the Liber Hymnorum; MS. E. 4. 2, T.C.D.; p. 31, stanza 22).

In Ard-macha fíl iuge,
Ír cian doirepacht Émain
Ír cell moí Dun Leth-glasse,
Nimroil ceo dithiub Temair
.i. in hinmair lem Temair cío fár.

[TRANSLATION.]

In *Ard-Macha* there is sovereignty,
Long since *Emain* has passed away,
A great church is *Dun Lethghlassé*,
I like not though *Temair* be desert,

I.e., It is not desirable to me that *Temair* should be desert.

APPENDIX No. CIV. [Lect. XVI., Page 344.]

Of Saints
Patrick,
Sechnall, and
Fiacc; and
the chariot
of Saint Pa-
trick.

Original of passage in the "Tripartite Life of St. Patrick" (my copy, p. 144; Egerton MS. 93, British Museum, p. 36).

Fecht naiti luro Sechnall do Ard Macha, ocur ní maibi
patraic hi forr, conaccai daech cairpuit la muintiri
patraic for a chiunn for rcuri; ocur mo máoi Sechnall
ba coru inoich ucut do bheir don eprcop .i. do Fiacc.
Uairi do muaeit patraic, atchuar do anírin. Ro inleo a
cairpait for na echu, ocur nuppoíoi patraic cen duine
leó, co feotarí innanóiriuit la Mochtae. Lotari deirell
arabárac co Domnach Sechnaill. Lotari iar nairteri do
Chill Auxili. Lotari iarruioiu co Cill Monach. Lotari
iarlam co Fiacc co Sleibti. Iri tucait in cairpait do
bheir co Fiacc, arí no teiged dia Sathairno Inroí combit
oc Cnucc Oromma Coblai. Uaim dó ann. U. bairgin
leir, ueio fama ept. Dia Sathairno Carc do taiged do-
chum Sleibti, ocur do tuairti bóimm leir deu .u. panibur.
Iri tucait in cairpait do bheir do Fiacc, mo chnai dail
a éoirr combu comochraib barr dó.

[LITERAL TRANSLATION.]

At a certain time *Sechnall* went to *Ard Macha*, and Patrick was not at home, and he saw two chariot horses with Patrick's people before him, unyoked. And *Sechnall* said: It were more proper to give those horses to the bishop, that is to *Fiacc*. When Patrick returned he was told that thing. Their chariot was [then] yoked upon the horses, and Patrick sent them without any person with them, until they were in his Desert with *Mochtae*. They went southward the following day to *Domhnach Sechnaill* [*Dunshaughlin*].

They went by the east to *Cill Auxili*. They went after that to *Cill Monach*. They went after that to *Fiacc* to *Sleibhté*. The cause of giving the chariot to *Fiacc* was because he used to go on Shrove-Saturday until he reached [*i.e.* used to go to] the Hill of *Dromm Coblai*. He had a cave there. Five cakes he had with him, vera fama est. On Easter Saturday he used to come (back) to *Sleibhté* [*Sletty*], and used to bring with him a bit of his five loaves. The cause of giving the chariot to *Fiacc* was that chafers had gnawed his leg so that death was near him. [*Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, p. 144, my copy; *Egerton MS.* 93, p. 36, British Museum.]

APP. CIV.
Of Saints
Patrick,
Sechnall, and
Fiacc; and
the chariot
of Saint P-
trick.

The following is the passage in the Book of Armagh (*fol.* 18. b.):

Passage in
Book of
Armagh

LURO SECHNALL IAPTAIR DUCHÚIRAGAS PÁTRUCE INCHAPPA-
BOIE LAIR. DÍRIN DUFOIR PÁTRUCE INCHAPPA CU SECHNALL
CENAPUTH .N. ANO AET ANGIL DUTRIODAR. FOIRIR SECHNALL
ÓRUAN .III. AITHGÍ ANO LAIR CUMANCHÁN OCUR ANIR .III.
AITHGÍ LAPURDE. FOIRIRURDE CUFACC. OLOMIR FIACC DÓIB.
LAIRIM ITÉ IMMELOTAR IMMU ANECLIR FUTHÍÚ, CONEPERT IN
CANGEL, IR DUTRIU TUCAS Ó PÁTRUCE Ó IURITIRI DULOBIR.

[TRANSLATION.]

Sechnall went afterwards to rebuke Patrick on account of a chariot which he had. Then Patrick sent the chariot to *Sechnall* without a charioteer in it, but it was an angel that directed it. *Sechnall* sent it, when it had stopped three nights there with him, to *Manchan*, and it remained three nights with him. He sent it to *Fiacc*. *Fiacc* rejected them. After that, where they went to was around the church three times, when the Angel said: It is to you they have been given from Patrick, when he came to know your disease.

APPENDIX No. CV. [Lect. XVI., Page 346.]

Original of entry at the end of the "*Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*" (my copy, p. 160; *Egerton MS.*, British Museum, p. 40).

Entry at end
of *Tripartite*
Life of Saint P-
trick.

ANÓALA IN TIGERMA IRA CURT IN BLIAÓAIN DO REUBAD IN
BETA RO PPAIRAC, 1477; OCUR OIRCHÍ LUGNURA IMAPAC,
OCUR A MBAILI IN MÓMIN A TIG HÍ TPOIGTIS DO REUBAD RO,
LE DOMNALL ALBANAC O TPOIGTI; OCUR DEO GMAICAR IERU.

APPENDIX No. CVI. [Lect. XVI., Page 347.]

Original and translation of a passage at the end of first and third parts of the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, where *St. Ultan* is mentioned as one of the writers of his Life; (my copy, pp. 34, 155; *MS.* *Egerton* 93, British Museum, pp. 9, 39).

Passage in
Tripartite
Life of
St. Patrick,
referring to
St. Ultan.

ITÉ RO FEPETA DOCHÚROETAR IJÚIRÉ HÉIENN, OCUR DOIRIATPAT
POGLONATHI NAIRNEPEN. ACHUARO CECTUR FEPETA PÁTRAC, OCUR

APP. CVI.

Passage in
Trip. Life of
St. Patrick
referring to
St. Ultan.

μoρcυμαi Colum Cille mac Feidlimidh; Ultan mac oi Chon-
cobaui; Adamnán o Atinni; hEleran in Ecnai; Ciaran
belais Duin; Eppcop Emedach o Chlochui; Colman Ua-
mach; Cruimthui Collait o Druim Roilgech.

[TRANSLATION.]

These are the miracles which the learned of Erin related, and which they put into order of narration. *Colum Cille* [*Cildi* at p. 155], the son of *Feidlimidh*, firstly narrated and compiled the miracles of Patrick; *Ultan*, the son of *oi Conchobhar*; *Adamnan*, the grandson of *Atinni*; *Eleran* the Wise; *Ciaran* of *Belach Duin*; Bishop *Ermedach* of *Clochar*; *Colman Umach*; *Cruimthir Collait* from *Druim Roilgech*.

NOTE.—The names of Bishop *Ermedach* and *Colman Umach* are not in the first list.

The following is the passage from *Tirechan's* Annotations (from the Book of Armagh, fol. 9, a. b.):—

Tirechán Episcopus hec scripsit ex ore vel libro Ultani episcopi, cujus ipse alumpnus vel discipulus fuit.

Inveni quatuor nomina in libro scripta Patricio apud Ultanum episcopum Conchuburnensium, Sanctus Magonus qui est Clarus, Succetus qui est [deus belli], Patricius, Cothirthiacus quia servivit iiii. domibus magorum, et empsit illum unus ex eis cui nomen erat Miliuc Maccuboin magus.

APPENDIX No. CVII. [Lect. XVI., Page 350.]

From the
Trip. Life of
St. Patrick.

Original of concluding words of First Part of the "Tripartite Life" of St. Patrick (p. 35, my copy; Egerton 93, British Museum, p. 9).

"Ἰατ na pēpta co po inoiu".

APPENDIX No. CVIII. [Lect. XVI., Page 350.]

From the
Trip. Life of
St. Patrick.

Original of Observations, by the original writer, on the opening passage of the Third Part of the "Tripartite Life" of St. Patrick (p. 100, my copy; MS. Egerton 93, British Museum, p. 25).

Oen uin, dona noebaib ocur dona pīénaiib, tper a táníc molað ocur Adamnuðas in Choimreos, fiað uoiuib, tper (no tpu) na pīpu, ocur tper na mībuli uo mīgnī Dia [faiu], oc toiuircað maib, oc glanað chlam, oc inuaprað uemna, oc hicc uall, ocur baccac, ocur boðuui, ocur cech teoma olcena, in pīpen huapal aīmītneð uiaatá aīptach in ecmong na [pīee ocur na haimpēpapa] .i. Sanctur pātpiciur Epīrcopīr.

[TRANSLATION.]

One, indeed, of the saints and of the righteous men, through whom came the praise and magnification of the Lord before men,

through the wonders and through the miracles which God wrought [for him], resuscitating the dead, cleansing lepers, banishing demons, healing the blind, the lame, and the deaf, and every other disease; was the righteous, noble, venerable man, for whom there is commemoration [at this time and period], namely, Sanctus Patricius Episcopis.

APP. CVIII.

from the
Trip. Life of
St. Patrick.

[NOTE.—There is some confusion in the original text here, and the words in brackets have been taken from other copies of the Life.]

APPENDIX No. CIX. [Lect. XVII., Page 360.]

Original of the first two lines of the second stanza of the spurious Saltair na Rann; and original of the first line of that poem; (Egerton MS. 185, British Museum).

from the
spurious
Saltair na
Rann.

Ṗṣaltair na rann b'ar mar ainm.

Ar mo d'án, ní gairim nac' gaet.—

Dó d'éan d'án do muintir d'é.—

APPENDIX No. CX. [Lect. XVII., Page 362.]

Original of first two lines of the Martyrology of MacLmairc na Gormain (from MS. vol. XVII., Burgundian Library, Brussels; and my copy in the private Library of the Rev. Dr. Todd, S.F. T.C.D.).

from the
Martyrology
of MacL-
mairc na
Gormain.

Foṛ callano áro Enair

Fo riecht Iru eirgna.

APPENDIX No. CXI. [Lect. XVII., Page 363.]

The Pedigree of Aengus Céile Dé; (Leabair Mór Duna Doighe, now called the Leabair Breac, R.I.A., fol. 28. a. a.)

Pedigree of
Aengus Céile
Dé.

Aengus, mac Aengobano, mic Oiblein, mic Fíorui, mic
Diamuta, mic Ammírech, mic Cellair, mic Oengusa, mic
Natrluaid, mic Coelbuid, mic Cunnobadui, mic Echac
Cobai.

APPENDIX No. CXII. [Lect. XVII., Page 364.]

Original of the "Canon" of Fothad na Canóine; (from same book, same folio and page).

The "Canon"
of Fothadh.

Eclap Dé bí,

Léic sí, na rnaí,

B'ro a ceip foṛ leath,

Fieb ar deach ro bui.

APP. CXII.

The "Canon"
of *Fothadh*.

Cech fíu-manach fíl,
Fóir a chubur nglan,
Don eclair dian oíu,
Súro amail cech moḡ.
Cech oílmáin iarrín
Fíl cen pect cen peir,
Ceat cia teir fíu baig,
Aeoa maíu mic Neill.

[This poem consists of four stanzas, and the following, the fourth, was left out in the text,—by mere oversight:—

Írhi in maḡail cheit,
Sech ní moir, ní bec;
Foghao cach a moḡ,
Cen on ír cen ec.

[TRANSLATION.]

"This is the proper Rule,
Certain it is not more, not less:
Let every one serve his lot
Without defect, and without refusal".

APPENDIX No. CXIII. [Lect. XVII., Page 365.]

"Invocation"
from the
Feliré
Aengusa.

Original of the "Invocation" from the Feliré Aengusa (from the Leabhar Mór Duna Doiríne, now called the Leabhar Breac, R.I.A.; fol. 28. a. b.).

Sén a Cuir mo labra[ro]
A Choimrde pect nime,
Romberthar buair leir,
A ní gréni gile.
A gel-grian fornoirna^(a) [a. i. roillirger, illuminates.]
Richeo cu meit noemi,
A Rí conic Ainḡliu,
A Choimrdu nandóine.
A Choimrdu nandóine,
A ní fíruan fíu-maith,
Conamraib cae rólao,
Arí mólao doo mḡraio.
Do mḡrao nomolair,
Ol ír tu mo mḡre,
Dorailur arí m'áire,
Sperchi oc do guirde.
Suirdu itge doib,
Romain ariat rogbur,
Cain-popul cu lig-dath
In mḡrao imroirour.

APPENDIX No. CXIV. [Lect. XVII., Page 367.]

APP. CXIV.

Original of first stanza of the Félire Aengusa, at January 1; (from the same).

*Félire
Aengusa;
Jan. 1.*

Re ríl dálach dóine,
Táirgeo in Rí némain;
Luro pó mecht áro ériáil,
Cuirte i callainn Enairi.

APPENDIX No. CXV. [Lect. XVII., Page 368.]

Original of stanza of the Félire Aengusa, at March 17 [St. Patrick]; (from the same).

*Félire
Aengusa;
Mar. 17.*

Larran gniéni aine,
Aipal Epienn oige,
Patriaic, co met mile,
Rob uitiu diai tpoige.

APPENDIX No. CXVI. [Lect. XVII., Page 368.]

Original of stanza of the Félire Aengusa, at April 13 [the festival of Bishop Tarrach]; (from the same).

*Félire
Aengusa;
Ap. 13 (St.
Tassach)*

In iug-erroc Tarrach,
Do beirt, ó do nainc,
Copp Cuirte, in iug Fíu-bailc,
La Cumainn do Patriaic.

APPENDIX No. CXVII. [Lect. XVIII., Page 373.]

Original of the "Canon of St. Patrick", from the "Book of Armagh" (fol. 21. b. b.).

*The "Canon
of Saint Pa-
trick", from
the Book of
Armagh.*

Item quicumque similiter per industriam atque injuriam vel nequitiam malum quodque opus contra familiam seu paruchiam ejus perfecerit aut prædicta ejus insignia dispexerit ad libertatem examinis ejusdem Airdmachæ præsulis recte judicantis perveniet caussa totius negotiationis cæteris aliorum judicibus prætermisissis.

Item quæcumque causa valde difficilis exorta fuerit atque ignota cunctis Scotorum gentium judicibus ad cathedram archiepiscopi Hibernensium, id est Patricii atque hujus antestitis examinationem recte referenda.

Si vero in illa cum suis sapientibus facile sanari non poterit talis caussa prædictæ negotiationis ad sedem apostolicam decrevimus esse mittendam, id est ad Petri apostoli cathedram auctoritatem Romæ urbis habentem.

Illi sunt qui de hoc decreverunt, id est Auxilius, Patricius, Se-

AP. CXVII. cundinus, Benignus. Post vero exitum Patricii sancti alumpni sui valde ejusdem libros conscripserunt.

The "Canon of Saint Patrick", from the Book of Armagh.

[TRANSLATION.]

Moreover, whosoever in like manner, of malice prepense, and wrongfully or wickedly, shall do any injury to his family or parish, or shall treat his aforesaid *insignia* with contempt, the case of the entire matter at issue shall be submitted to the free investigation of the same prelate of Ardmacha, duly judging thereof, other judges of other (tribunals) being passed over.

Moreover, if any case should arise of extreme difficulty and beyond the knowledge of all the judges of the nations of the Scots, it is to be duly referred to the chair of the archbishop of the Irish, that is to say, of Patrick, and the jurisdiction of this bishop (of Armagh). But if such a case, as aforesaid, of a matter at issue, cannot be easily disposed of (by him) with his counsellors in that (investigation), we have decreed that it be sent to the apostolic seat, that is to say, to the chair of the Apostle Peter, having the authority of the city of Rome.

These are the persons who decreed concerning this matter, viz., Auxilius, Patrick, Secundinus, and Benignus. But after the death of Saint Patrick his disciples carefully wrote out his books.

[The last two paragraphs are printed in Part 3 (but not correctly) by Archbishop Ussher (1631), who translates the passage as follows:—"Whensoever any cause that is very difficult, and unknown unto all the judges of the Scottish nations, shall arise, it is rightly to be referred to the see of the archbishop of the Irish (to wit, Patrick), and to the examination of the prelate thereof. But if there, by him and his wise men, a cause of this nature cannot easily be made up, we have decreed it shall be sent to the See Apostolic, that is to say, to the chair of the apostle Peter, which hath the authority of the city of Rome"—*Religion of the Ancient Irish*, cap. viii.; *Works*, vol. iv., p. 330. He cites the original in the note, and gives it as an extract from *Vet. Codex Ecclesiæ Armachanæ*.]

APPENDIX No. CXVIII. [Lect. XVIII., Page 374.]

The "Rule of St. Colum Cille".

Original of the last sentence of the "Rule of St. Colum Cille"; (from MS., Vol. XVII., Burgundian Library of Brussels; see App. No. CX.).

"An na beten meppa, ut Dominus ait, Non apparebim ante me uacuum".

[This little tract is published, with my translation, by the Irish Archæological Society; in the volume [for 1850] containing Primate Colton's *Visitation*, edited by the Rev. Dr. Reeves (p. 109).]

APPENDIX No. CXIX. [Lect. XVIII., Page 376.]

AP. CXIX.

Original of extract from an Ancient Treatise on, or Exposition of, the Mass (from the Leabhar Mór Duna Doighe, commonly called the Leabhar Breac; R.I.A.; fol. 126).

*Ancient
Treatise on
the Mass.*

Conno hepin foča na hiiyre olegari da ceð cypcarioe do
cúimniugao. Conno foipin focharin cumtaiger ceð ruad-
lais, ocup ceð noegsnim do gēna.

Uairi ir tuiarin comlantuiyryn na hiiyri, conoéyic me-
tenis, co fpiereerin fonairt, ílanaisgēri ceð fíien; uairi iri
moyierpa .i. moyier Cathalacda, íonaicfer na fíieniu corin-
gné .i. co fegao De irin toóroecht, ocup irintinpiuo hitá.
Ire in fegao rin taiyungiyter ar focmaice foioioa dona
fíienaisb iari neferis.

Ire humoyio, gell foiaebao iconoclair ipur coléic fuyrin
féguo rin, in Spiyut Noem nor aittiebanó, ocup nor com-
óionano, ocup nor neitano fpi ceð rualais. Ire inSpiyut-
pa foolar adána uilri ferrin dá ceð iuyech irinooclair
amail ir áil leir, ocup amail conno anaiutin uao; uairi ir
on Spiyut Noem tionaictheri na dāna oiyegwara doneclair
itiri na dāimib aicēna .i. baičer, ocup aicēuge, ocup fpiereiriu
deapic ocup treblati.

Ir do dānaib aiyegwai in Spiyutu noib in Scryptuiy
Diaoa o ninoyéaigtheri cech naineolur, ocup ocomóuantari
ceð toiyri íaegulla; onadainteri ceð follii rpiyutalwa, o
fonaitnaigtheri ceð ninolobua. Uairi ir tuiarin Scyub-
tuyri noib oíéuytheri iuyre ocup inóluigče onnooclair, íé-
laisgtheri cechwebaro ocup ceð wechetraro. Irinnre fo-
gabuyri comayile foibēi ocup foiceoul comadair do cech
ceimium foleich irinooclair; irtyche inoayibthari ino-
tleou demna ocup dualach o cech iyerach irinooclair.
Uairi iri in Scryptuiy Diaoa ir mačairi ocup ir mume
ailgen donahulib iyerachaisb nor ninoyēimiget ocup nor
nimyaroet; ocup aiteri conoat meic éoga do Dia tuiā na
comayile. Uairi toadālio ino eena co heynevach oia macu
hilblara inoleenna fomilir, ocup aiyeria inbio rpiyutalwai
oninniercthari, ocup ofailtimiget do grier.

Ir pānn ele omi, don gillirin foiaebuo iconoclair oia
comóionao .i. Coyp Cuyt, ocup a fūil iobairtheri foialtoyib
na cypcarioe. In coyp on moyenairi o Muire óis ingine, cen
óich nóige, cenycailiuo ninoyuta, cen lathairi fepiwa; ocup
mo epochao o iudairuib amuyrecharib. ar enúē ocup foymat;
ocup itiaacē iaytpeoenur a báy, ocup fūuēy foy deir Dé
Athari inlim, hi nglóyri ocup inmiadamlai, fiadainglib
Nime. Ir he in coypirin, amail atá irin moy-ghoiyri, do me-

The second prayer begins [at fol. 337]:—

AP. CXXI

Δ ἱρὺ Νοεβ, ἀ Χάρα κοεμ, ἀ Ρετλὺ μαρινοῦα, ἀ Σῆμαν
 λαν λαίχρθε κυμοαχῶαι, ἀ βρεο ἄν ἰνα ῖπην οὔρ, ἰνα
 ῖπινθε, οὔρ ἰνα βιθβηθαῶ, οὔρ ἰνα βιθῖρuthaineταῶ.

Prayers of
 Colgu Ca
 Dutrechda.

APPENDIX No. CXXIII. [Lect. XVIII., Page 380.]

Original of commencement of an Ancient Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary; (from the **Λεαβὰν Μόρι Ὀυνα Ὀοιζῆ***, now* **Λεαβὰν βρεαδ***, R.I.A., fol. 121.).*

Ancient
 Litany of
 the B.V.M.

Δ Μυρε μόρι, ἀ Μυρε ἀρ μό ὄνα Μυριβ, ἀ Ρομορι να
 μβαν, ἀ Ριζαν να νᾶινγελ.

APPENDIX No. CXXIV. [Lect. XVIII., Page 381.]

Original of commencement of the Litany of Aengus Céile Dé (from the same book, fol. 11. a. b.).

Litany of
 Aengus
 Céile Dé.

Τῷ καεκατ κυρχα ὁο αἰλὶχρὺβ Ρομαν γαβρατ .h.
 ἡμελε um Νotal, um Νεμρενχαιρ, um Χορνυταν, περ
 Ιερυμ [etc.] Τεορια mile anchaiρῶ πορτεclampat λα Μυ-
 main ῖπυ hoen-ḗιρτ um Ερποc Ιβαιρ, οἰα ταβαρῖχатарι αινγελ
 Ὀέ ἰν ῖλεῖρ μαῖρ ὁο ῖγνε Sanct βῖργῖτ ὁο ἱρὺ ἰνα κυρῖου,
 περ Ιερυμ [etc.] Τῷ καεκατ αἰλὶθερῖ αἰλε Ιοταρῖ λα
 ἡᾶlbain, ἡυα ὁο ῖεπαρβ Ρομαν, οὔρ Ἴεῖτα, περ Ιερυμ.
 [etc.] Τῷ καεκατ ῖεῖ Σῆμαρ, ῖῖρῖαγλᾶχ ceḗ oen, ὁο
 Σοεοεlu, Ιοταρῖ ἀ νοἰλὶχῖρῖ ἰνοενῖρηνυῖρ, um Ἀββαν mac
 ἡυι Κορμαῖc. περ Ιερυμ [etc.]

[LITERAL TRANSLATION.]

Three times fifty canoes (full) of Roman pilgrims, who took up
 in *Hi Imele*, with Notal, with *Nemhsenchaidh*, with *Cornutan*, per
 Jesum [etc.]. The three thousand father confessors who congreg-
 ated in *Mumhain* to consider the one question under Bishop *Ibar*,
 by whom to the angel of God was ascribed the great feast which
 St. *Brigit* made for Jesus in her heart, per Jesum [etc.]. The other
 three times fifty pilgrims, who went into Scotland (*Albain*) third
 in succession to the men of Rome and *Letha*, per Jesum. . . .
 The three times fifty men in holy orders, each of them being a man
 of Rule, of the Gaedhil who went into pilgrimage in one synod with
Abban, the son of *Ua Cormaic*, per Jesum [etc.].

[The following poem, ascribed to St. *Brigid*, is the only tract that I have
 met which could throw any possible light on the circumstances of the synod
 held in Munster under Bishop *Ibar*. The poem is undoubtedly an ancient
 one, and must, I am sure, have been in existence in the time of *Aenghus*. (It
 is taken from the MS. Vol. XVII., Burgundian Library, Brussels):—

Poem by
 St. Brigid

AP CXXIV.

Brighide (cet.)

Poem by
St. Brigid.

Ropað maite lem corum-lino mór,
 Do rugh na rí,
 Ropað maite lem muinnter nimhe
 Acca hól tre bite fír.

Ropað maite lem taupte
 Creitme crabaid glain,
 Ropað maite lem rúrta
 Ceta oc mo éreib.

Ropað maite lem fír nimhe,
 Im tighdaí féin.
 Ropað maite lem dábá
 Annneit do aréir.

Ropað maite lem leiriu
 Deirce do dái,
 Ropað maite lem eirca
 Triocaire dia dáim.

Ropað maite lem roichell,
 Do bith ina lurr.
 Ropað maite lem íru
 Beór do beir írurr.

Ropað maite lem na teora
 Maíu, maó a clú,
 Ropað maite lem muinnter
 Nime da ceó sú.

Ropað maite lem corbam
 Círaige don flait,
 Maó cheir imneo
 Fórra tírpeó benoáct maith.

Ropað maith lem.

Brigid (cecinet).

I should like a great lake of ale
 For the King of the Kings;
 I should like the family of Heaven
 To be drinking it through time
 eternal.

I should like the viands
 Of belief and pure piety;
 I should like flails
 Of penance at my house.

I should like the men of Heaven
 In my own house;
 I should like kieves
 Of peace to be at their disposal.

I should like vessels
 Of charity for distribution;
 I should like caves
 Of mercy for their company.

I should like cheerfulness
 To be in their drinking;
 I should like Jesus,
 Too, to be here (among them).

I should like the three
 Marys of illustrious renown;
 I should like the people
 Of Heaven there from all parts.

I should like that I should be
 A rent-payer to the Lord;
 That, should I suffer distress,
 He would bestow upon me a good
 blessing.

I should like [etc].

APPENDIX No. CXXV. [Lect. XVIII., Page 383.]

Address of
Athairné to
Neidhé.

*Original of passage in the Agallam an dá Shuaḡ (the Address
 of the Arch-Poet Adairne to Neróe). (From the Book of
 Leinster; H. 2. 18., T.C.D.; fol. 148. b. a.).*

Cíaru fíli fíli immaí Tugen.

APPENDIX No. CXXVI [Lect. XVIII., Page 386.]

from the
Baile
Chuinn.

*Original of two passages in the Baile Chuinn (MS. Egerton 88,
 British Museum, fol. 11. b.).*

Íbúir Arí íer cethaircaite arióci; comnaíe caurí con-
 bebat mucruime.—

Co laogaire lonn lenfeáir ítíu, do Tailcenn techt .i.
 Patraic; tairgi tairna .i. eclara; Cioinn cioma beirtur
 blátha do dinn.

APPENDIX No. CXXVII. [Lect. XVIII., Pages 386, 387.] AP. CXXVII.

Original of passage in the "Tripartite Life" of St. Patrick, (my copy, p. 21; MS., Egerton 93, p. 6, British Museum), as to the word Tailcenn, or Tailgenn, quoted from the Baile Chuinn, of the word Tailcenn, or Tailgenn.

Ticpat tailcinn, conucpat ruama, noipit cella ceoilrige benoaca (.i. léo, i.e. by them), benochopairi, ilí flait imbacla.

The following explanation of the word *Tailginn*, or *Tailcenn*, is from the opening of the ancient Law compilation, called the *Senchus Mór*, or Great History, in the completion of which St. Patrick took part along with King *Laeghairé* and others (vellum M.S., H. 3. 17., T.C.D., p. 1), where this prophecy of the Druids is quoted, with an interlined gloss, as follows, [and see another version in APP. No. CXXXIII., post, p. 624.]

Tiucpario tailginn,^(a)
 Tar muir meirginn,
 A cionn cionn-cinn,^(b)
 A cinn toll-cinn,^(c)
 A mair^(d) in iairtar [read airtair] aige,
 Avequit uile amen.

(a) .i. inluét da tuluigfe caé a cinn ag pléctum, i.e., the parties to whom all persons will humble their heads in genuflexion.

(b) .i. imbacla croma ina lámair, i.e., their bent staffs in their hands.

(c) .i. a cionne ina cennair, i.e., their coronas (tonsures) upon their heads.

(d) .i. a naltair, i.e., their altars.

The connection or relation between the words *Tuluigh*, to humble, and *Tailcenn* or *Tailginn*, the person or persons (for the last form is plural) may be seen from the following example, taken from the vellum M.S., H. 3. 18., T.C.D., p. 653:—

in muir tpechnaé tailgiteir pe
 naibnib ip .i. umla no cenruaó
 .i. noéa tulaigenn in muir tpen-
 tonnaé ip na haibnib pergaéa, no
 ruéame.

It is not the tempestuous sea that abates to angry rivers, i.e., that humbles, or is pacified; that is, the powerful-billowy sea does not humble itself to [either] the angry or placid rivers.

And yet it is difficult to avoid thinking that there is as much natural relation between the word *Toll-cinn*, tonsured-head, and *Tailcinn*, as there is between the latter and *Tuluighenn*, to humble; and, indeed, a very curious case in point occurs in the very ancient tale of the *Bruighen Da Derga*, in the ancient *Leabhar na h-Uidhré* (fol. 63. b.), in the Royal Irish Academy. *Ingeel*, the pirate chief, in describing the monarch *Conaire Mór's* attendants, says:—

atconnair anó bopp-óclaeé ap
 bélaib na imdae cetnae pop lap in
 tige. Aéir máile fair. Finnitir
 canaé plébe caé pinna ápar tmana
 éno, * * * * * Tauléinne.

I saw there a portly young man in front of the same couch in the middle of the house. The disgrace of baldness was upon him. As fair as the mountain cotton (cat's tail?)

CXXVII.

μῆς ὀπυτ μῆς Τεμπαῖς, clepamnad
Chonairne in rin; fep comaic móir
in fepirin.

As to the
word
Tuilcenn, or
Tuilgenn.

is every hair that grows through his
head. * * * * * That man is
Taulchinné, the royal buffoon of the
King of *Temair*, juggler to *Conaire*
Mór [the monarch]; a man of great
power is that man.

It is evident from this passage that the name or soubriquet of *Talchenn*, or *Taul-chinné* (which is the same as *Tul-chinné*, *au* in the ancient Gaedhilg being the same as *u* in the modern), was descriptive of baldness, and a term of reproach, baldness being at all times looked upon as a disgrace; and I believe it was as a submission to disgrace or humiliation for the sake of God that the tonsure was first adopted by the Christian priesthood.

APPENDIX No. CXXVIII. [Lect. XVIII., Page 387.]

Original of ancient account of the Baile an Scáil (from the MS. classed Harl. 5280, in the British Museum, p. 119).

Λαα ποβοι Cono i Tempaidz iari noit dona mizab, atpac matam moch fori mí-ráit na Tempac, ma tuncbail zrine, ocur a tpi oput apoen iur .i. Maol, Bloc, blucne; ocur a tpi filio .i. Ethain, Corb, Ceraim. Fodez attpaizeriom ceo dia in lionren, do airo-exin, ar na gabaoir fip-proe fori Epino cen ariugao uorum. In ou dia nochariom do zner, co tarlaic cloich ano foa coraib, ocur paltair fupiu. Ro zer an cloe fo coraib co clor fo Tempaiz uili, ocur fo Brezaib. Ir anopin po iarpact Conn dia oputoib cioa iur zer an cloe, cia hainm, ocur can do malaó, ocur no mazaó, ocur cio po tarail Tempaiz.

Ireo roberc an oiai fpi Conn, ni flonao co cen caecat laiti, ocur a tpi. In tan po cinioo an ariompin, iur iarpact Conn don oiai afpuidi. Ir ann adberc an oiai: Fal anmair na cloice. Inir foail ara tarao. Temair tpi fail i forpomaó. Tpi Tailten anairpe co bpat, ocur ipi an tpien bur oenac cluice cen uher flaitior a Tempaiz; ocur la deginac an donais, in flait nacar paizpi bio tpi ip an bliadainpin. Ro zer fal foat coraibre annu, ol in oiai, ocur do mairugeit; an lin zaim po zer an cloe ireo lion miz biar uot fiol co bpat. Ni ba me noo flonore deit, ol in oiai.

Ambatar ierum, conacotar, ciac moir immacuairt, cona fedotar cio do cotar ar meo an uorcu uurnainecc; concolatar triethan in marcaiz ar a namur. Moar mairc uinn, ol Conn, diana puccai a tpi naimuil. Iepin vollec an marcac tpi oipora cucai, ocur ip traide uurnanaic in torpor degenac inar [in] torchori toirec. Ir do guin miz em, op in oiai, cibe oibpaiciur Conn a Tempaiz. Anaro iari-

Ancient
account of
the *Baile*
an *Scáil*.

rin an maiceá dhin d'ibhaccad, ocur tic euca, ocur fesaiir cxxxviii.
 failti rin Conn, ocur congait leir dia tieb. Dursotari ia- Ancient
account of
the Bailé
an Scáil.
 rum conour malai irin mag nálaino. Conacutari an m'g-maíe
 inrin ocur bíli órda ina d'oiar, ocur conacutari teó nálaino
 nann fo octae rinourme, deic triaigio fíeít a foó. Lotari
 iarium irin [tig], conacutari an ingen macdaéta irin toig ocur
 bairi orda fori a mullaé. Dabaé aicirio, co ciiclaib orda
 impe, ocur rí lán do deig-lino; eceiai oiri fori a uri; coran
 oi óri fori a beolai. Conacutari an rcal foverin irin tig fori
 a cinn ina m'g-fuioe. Ni fíuic a Temiaic miam fep a méoe,
 naé a caoime; ai aille a éroéta, ai inganta a deulua.

Purgetirioe doib ocur atberit fíu: Níoom rcal-ra em,
 ocur níoom urtiaé ocur dom uirdeicir duib; iari mbar do
 deóadur, ocur ir do cinel doaim daum: irre mo flonoad,
 lug mac Eoleno, mic Tigepinmair. Ir do do dechatour
 coneciur deore faegál do flátaí fén, ocur caé flátaí biai
 a Temiaic. Ocur ba rí an ingen boi irin tig fori a cionó
 flaitiur Erienn co pmaé.

Ba rí an ingen do berit an d'iceo do Cono .i. dam-arna,
 ocur toic-arnai. Ceéru triaigio fíeít foó an dam-arna; oét
 triaigio itiri a tuaim ocur talam. In tan luro an ingen
 don dail adberit fíu: Cia da tiberitari an aihoeóra?
 Fíurcarit an rcal coio fluinioirioe caé flait o Cunn co biaié.
 Lotari a forcad an rcal cona maéaicretari an máé naé an
 teé. Forriacbad lia Cono in dabaig, ocur in t-erelai orda,
 ocur anó aih[ó]ech. Ir deirin ata aihling an Scáil ocur
 egeiai, ocur tarigiaiue Cunn.

Cia fori a ndáilfioiri an aihoeóra, coran deig-lait? ol in
 ingen. Dáil de, fori in Scáil, fori Cono céo-caéaé .i. ceo
 caé-mai bupfíur; caecat bliadain nama do do caé, no do
 ibda. Fíurio caéa .i. caé b'ieig, caé Eli, caé Aice, caé
 Maéai, caé Cinn-tíu; fíeít caéai Moigí Line, caé Cuailgne;
 fíeít caéa Clairine, etc.

A compiac am Tibiaiti
 Cet leé-commait anuioe,
 Ipe gionitei ac d'luigi
 Na fluaig biai lappioe.
 Dírpan do Conn céo-caéaé
 Iari naiteneo d'iech-maig,
 Gontari, iari timcell cech pur,
 Dia mairit a Tuat Empuir.

Cia forra ndáilfioiri in aih[ó]eóra cur in deig-flait [read
 lait], oi in ingen. Dail de, oi in Scáil, fori aih mac Cunn.
 Fep tui n'gíeéta.

his house. They went forward then until they entered a beautiful plain. And they then saw a kingly rath and a golden tree at its door; and they saw a splendid house in it, under a roof-tree of *Fíndruiné*; thirty feet was its length. They then went into the house, and they saw a young woman in the house with a diadem of gold upon her head; a silver kieve with hoops of gold by her, and it full of red ale; a golden can [*escra*] on its edge; a golden cup at its mouth. They saw the *Scál* [champion] himself in the house before them, in his king's seat. There was never found in *Temair* a man of his great size, nor of his comeliness, for the beauty of his form, the wonderfulness of his face.

XXXVIII.

Ancient
account of
the *Baile*
an *Scáil*.

He spoke to them and said to them: "I am not a *Scál* indeed, and I reveal to thee part of my mystery and of my renown: It is after death I have come; and I am of the race of Adam; *Lug*, son of *Edlenn*, son of *Tighèrnmas*, is my name. What I have come for is, to reveal to thee the life of thine own sovereignty, and of every sovereign who shall be in *Temair*". And the maiden who was in the house before them was the sovereignty of Erin for ever.

It was this maiden that gave the two articles to *Conn*, namely, an ox-rib and a hog-rib. Twenty-four feet was the length of the ox-rib; eight feet between its arch and the ground. When the maiden came to distribute the drink, she said to them: "Who shall this bowl be given to?" The *Scál* answered, that every sovereign from *Conn* down for ever would be named. They went from out of the shadow of the *Scál*, and they did not perceive the rath nor the house. The kieve was left with *Conn*, and the golden *escra*, and the bowl. It is from this have come the "Vision [*Baile*] of the *Scál*, and the adventure and journey of *Conn*". [There is something irregular here, as this paragraph ought to be the end of the tale.]

"Who shall this bowl with the red ale be distributed to?" said the maiden. "Distribute of it", said the *Scál*, "to *Conn* of the hundred battles: that is, he will gain an hundred battles. Fifty years shall he spend when he shall die. He will fight battles, namely, the battle of *Bregh*; the battle of *Eli*; the battle of *Aiché*; the battle of *Macha*; the battle of *Cenn-tiré*; seven battles in *Magh-Liné*; the battle of *Cuailgne*; seven battles in *Cláiriné*, etc.

"In his combat with *Tipraité*,
Though unequal in strength, their advance;
It is he that shall be wounded while cleaving
The hosts that shall accompany him.

"Woeful for *Conn* of the hundred battles,
After having paved *Drech-Mhagh*,
He is killed, after having gone round all the bays,
On Tuesday in *Tuath Eemruis*".

"Who shall this bowl with the red ale be distributed to?" said the maiden. "Distribute of it", said the *Scál*, "to *Art*, the son of *Conn*. A man of three shouts".

CXXVIII.

Ancient
account of
the *Baile an*
Scáil.

"He shall fight the battle of *Fidh-Ros*, the morning of *Mucruimhé*,
In which shall fall great warriors,
It will be woeful to *Art* the son of *Conn*,
With the sons of *Oilill Oluim*.
"Upon Thursday he fights the battle
In which he falls by the sons of *Lughaidh*.
Thirty years only (shall he reign)
At the time that he shall be slain".

APPENDIX No. CXXIX. [Lect. XVIII., Pages 389, 390.]

Reference to
the *Baile an*
Scáil, by
Flann.

*Original of stanza, referring to the Baile an Scáil, in the Poem on the succession of the Kings of Tara, by Flann Mainistir-
treic, from the Book of Leinster; H. 2. 18., T.C.D.; fol. 98,
(32nd stanza); and original of first line of the same Poem.*

Maib iarna iuga don t-
Eocho min-glán Mugmeóon,
Ro fírao, cío cput áile,
Ro rcpíbaó iypin Scál-baile.—

Riğ Temia dia terbano tñú.—

Poem by
King *Art*.

APPENDIX No. CXXX. [Lect. XVIII., Page 391.]
*Original of first line of the "Prophetic" Poem ascribed to Art
"the Lonely", son of Conn (from Ueabap na h-Uirpe,
R.I.A., fol. 77).*

Cáin do Denna den.

APPENDIX No. CXXXI. [Lect. XIX., Page 392.]

"Prophecy"
ascribed to
Finn Mac
Cumhaill.

*Original of the heading and commencement of a Prophecy of
St. Patrick, ascribed to Finn Mac Cumhaill (from a vellum
MS. in T.C.D., classed H. 3. 17, p. 835).*

fíno ua baipne cecinit, occ
taipceat pátraic, in tan do ro-
chait dono leic for a tanic [in
lobap?] iypin co hépno.

ni^(a) mo corpa erce petao

Ar^(a) nim nept naipciur,
acht^(c) cloch olomair níz pennio
lecc^(d) caro taiprelbtai co ngra-
oab^(e) noeb Spipata.

ni^(f) fuilainz aive curpu feolairo
fiano Deo-craitech.

Apur^(g) neat moairo fpi aingel i
fpecnaipcur, i cuairio tnom ciuil
clepe nernaobach oc pprocept,^(h)
mor⁽ⁱ⁾ oána.

Co n-aobaoéatib [aobaoab] cum-
[o]actaib, oamba hainm altoip
Dé treopoi, tren-bpetaig.

*Finn, the grandson of Baisné, fore-
telling of Patrick, when he slipped
off the flag on which he afterwards
came to Erin :*

It is not through a path of crime my
foot has come,^(a)

For of strength I am not bereft,^(b)
But a stone rejects a Fenian king,^(c)

A flag^(d) which represents a chaste
"man with the dignities of the
Holy Spirit."^(e)

It will not bear God-grieving, fleshy,
Fenian bodies.^(f)

A residence pleasant,^(g) with Angels to
watch in presence [of the rock] in
the heavy circle of plaintive clerical
music, preaching^(h) a great⁽ⁱ⁾ work.

With ornamented instruments, whose
name is, the Altar of the all-direct-
ing, strong-judging God.

Ḑreiriu annert nept ninmoin ^(k)
nama sua, sraoaiscib finto fir-
inoe nem-mi huapal, porpat sui-
siugao, oiano nuz-fuioe nem;
oiano porcemel talum, aingil
co tui cebat i Caðair Cuircc.

Conur tartar Tailcenn tren oio
icep gur oen ar cretre, conbia
a chlann bithnaoe cén mapar
Cloch Cothraige, ⁽¹⁾ Patraic.

FINIT.

[MIMINGAÖ.]

(a) .i. m tui coe aipe doiraicir mo
coir.

.i. m hupchra nipt ril orum.

(c) .i. aét ir cloch nuz fiann nuz
olomair in cloch.

(d) .i. ir cáio in tí oianartar m'éra
pa in cloic.

(e) .i. sraoa epreoir.

(f) .i. m fuilais curpa na fiann
peoilmar epaioit Dia.

(g) .i. ir ápur naitt naingel bié ica
ipnaoe Patraic hi pao-
naire na lice.

(h) .i. seanmoir no teagarc.

(i) .i. moir ceipt.

(k) .i. diabail. Ninmoin .i. anmair.

(1) .i. ainm aile oo Patraic Coð-
raige.

Its strength is more prevailing than
the strength of the soul's false ene-
my.^(k) The lover of fair truth, the
illustrious Heavenly King, who on
His throne sitteth; whose kingly
throne is Heaven, whose footstool
is the Earth. Angels seeking Him
shall be in *Corc's City*.

Until comes the powerful *Tailcenn*,
who will heal every one who shall
believe; whose children shall be
perpetual as long as *Cothraighe's*,⁽¹⁾
Patrick's, Rock shall live. FINIS.

[GLOSS.]

(a) i.e., it is not through a path of crime
I have brought my foot.

(b) i.e., it is not decay of strength that
is on me.

(c) i.e., but it is the stone of a Fenian
king which the stone rejects.

(d) i.e., he is a chaste person for whom
comes my refusal by the
stone.

(e) i.e., the dignities of a bishop.

(f) i.e., it will not bear the bodies of
the fleshy Fianns who grieve
God.

(g) i.e., it is a pleasant residence with
the angels who are watching
for Patrick in presence of
the flag.

(h) i.e., a sermon or instruction.

(i) i.e., of great right.

(k) i.e., of the devil. *Ninmoin*; i.e., a
soul.

(1) i.e., another name for Patrick is
Cothraighe.

AP. CXXXI.

"Prophecy"
ascribed to
Finn Mac
Cumhail.

[It is quite clear that there are two stones, or rather, a stone and
a rock, referred to in this curious ancient piece; that is, if we
believe the heading to be correct, either in its first form, or with
my presumed correction. One of these was an altar stone, that
upon which either Patrick or the leper came to Erin; and the
other the celebrated Rock of Cashel, which to this day is called
Carraig Phatraic, or Patrick's Rock, but which was also anciently
called *Leac Phátraic*, or Patrick's Flag-stone. It is alluded to in
a popular oath under that name—*oap an lic Patraic ata a cCairil*:
"By the *Leac Phatraic* which is in Cashel". See the old tale
of *Ceirneán ingine ghuill* ("the Grumbling of Goll's Daughter"),
a story of *Feidhlim Mac Crimhthainn*, king of Munster, who died
A.D. 845. The city called *Corc's City*, where the angels were to
keep vigil for the coming of Patrick, was the City of Cashel, first
founded by *Core Mac Lughach* (who was king of Munster at the
time of Patrick's coming), he having been induced to do so by the
resort of angels to the place, as will be seen in the Note on *Ráith*
Breasail (*ante*), Appendix III., p. 485.]

CXXXII.

APPENDIX No. CXXXII. [Lect. XIX., Page 395.]

"Prophecy"
(in a Fenian
Poem)
ascribed to
Finn Mac
Cumhaill.

Original of stanzas in one of the "Ossianic" Poems, containing a "Prophecy" ascribed to Finn Mac Cumhaill (MS. H. 1. 11, T.C.D., p. 115).

- P. Δ Οἰρῖν, ἀν γάρθε γυνν
 Νι το φαίρtime μῖc Cumhaill,
 Ἰμαρ ἔλαινηγῖν ἀν γῖς cο γαῖ,
 Διγῖλ γο γῖν ὅα ἀόμαῶ.
 O. Ἰννεορὰο οὔιτ γέαλ γο γῖνν,
 Δ φάτμαic ἑαὶ μῖc Calphann,
 Ἀγὰρ βα γιάῶ λεῶ' ἑραοῖε,
 Γαῖ ὅαλ ατα α τταινηγῖe.
 Συρὲ το γυνν γῖνν ταιγῖ,
 Ογ γῖνν ἀγ βennaib ἑοαῖ,
 Γο γφααὶ ἡέαλ οὔβ αταῖῶ,
 Το μῖῦc ἑῖe γe ἡαon-υαῖ.
 * * * * *
 Το γορβεαῖτ Cαοῖτε ἑραοῖe,
 Re γῖνν οἰγὲῖc Ἀλῖane,
 Ταβαῖν τογῶγ γοῶ' ὅεαο γῖρ
 ἱγ na λείγ γῖνν α neῖγῖ.
 F. Τγυαῖ γῖν α Cαοῖτε ἑραοῖe,
 ἱγ cῖan υαῖτ ἡν ταινηγῖe,
 Μερφαῖο Ὀanaῖ ται μῖγῖ meann,
 Δ nuῖc γογ γεαῖaib ἑῖeann.
 * * * * *
 γεαῖ οῖα ὅαγῶaῖn τέῖῶ ἀγa cceann,
 Oῖc ἀν ἱαγῖaῖτ ὅῖαῖ ἑῖeann,
 Mac Mupchaῶa, ἀν οῖαῖb ὅγῖ,
 βα γῖaῖaῖa é ἀγ nῖmpῖῶ.

APPENDIX No. CXXXIII. [Lect. XIX., Page 397.]

"Prophecy"
ascribed to
the Druid
of King
Laeghairé.

Original of stanza containing the "Prophecy" attributed to the Druid of King Laeghairé; with the ancient Gloss, (from the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick; my copy, p. 21; MS. Egerton 93, British Museum, p. 6.) [See also APPENDIX No. CXXVII., p. 617].

Τῖcγa ταιlcenῶ,^(a)
 Ταῖ μῖγῖ meῖgcenn,
 Δ bῖaῖτ toll-cenῶ,
 Δ chῖanῶ^(b) cῖom-chenῶ
 Δ mῖaγ^(c) ἡν ἀγῖthῖγῖ α τῖγῖ,
 γῖeγeγaῖt huῖli. Amen, Amen.

[GLOSS:] ^(a) ἱ. πατμαic, i.e., Patrick.

^(b) ἱ. βῖcῖaῖl ἱγῖ ἡn λῖam, i.e., the staff of Jesus in his hand.

^(c) ἱ. ἀλτοῖγῖ, i.e., his altar.

APPENDIX No. CXXXIV. [Lect. XIX., Page 399.]

CXXXIV.

Original of the first line of the "Prophetic" Poem attributed to St. Cúillín (MS. 3. 54, p. 6; Hodges and Smith Collection, R.I.A.). "Prophetic" Poem of St. Cúillín.

"Eipe oll, oilén aingeal.

APPENDIX No. CXXXV. [Lect. XIX., Page 399.]

Original of first sentence of the "Prophecy" attributed to beo Mac Dó (Harleian MS. 5280, British Museum, p. 62). "Prophecy" of beo Mac Dó.

IS maire thairgeudai a hairne a luc tiri na nGaele,
in mac a noiaró a aḱar an Aro Machai.

APPENDIX No. CXXXVI. [Lect. XIX., Page 400.]

Original of stanza of a "Prophecy" attributed to St. Colum Cille, quoted in the fragment of the Wars of the Danes, in the "Book of Leinster" (the MS. classed as H. 2. 18, T.C.D., fol. 217 a. a.). "Prophecies" attributed to St. Colum Cille.

In loinger fain loḱa Rí,
Maic do morao gall genti
bío uadib abao Airmaca,
bío [f]ollamnaḱt anflacha.

The following is the original of the first verse of the Poem in which the stanza occurs, (MS. H. 1. 10, T.C.D.; p. 157).

Eirt muom a bhaoitein buam,
le suḱ mo cluic in 1 aḱfuar
ḱo nnoirim iarróḱam
A ois fua deireḱo domam.

APPENDIX No. CXXXVII. [Lect. XIX., Page 401.]

Original of stanza of Maoilín óg mac bhuairdeada, referring to the last-mentioned "Prophecy" (Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 1599).

Do baí i noán i nnoigail Oilig,
A doo Ruairó, do pec an fadó
Toḱt bair fluaig ḱo hiaḱ mhaḱ naḱḱar;
A tuairó iarrḱar cabair ḱaig.

APPENDIX No. CXXXVIII. [Lect. XIX., Page 406.]

Original of first stanza of a second "Prophetic" Poem attributed to St. Colum Cille (MS. 1. 75, p. 14, Hodges and Smith Collection, R.I.A.).

Eirt muom a bhaoitein bām,
A uarail an fióir-ḱrabadó

CXXXVIII.

"Prophecies"
attributed
to St. Colum
Cille.

Ḡo moinnirinn, fáct ḡan féal
Fíor ḡac bóala le Conall.

APPENDIX No. CXXXIX. [Lect. XIX., Page 407.]

Original of first line of a third "Prophetic" Poem attributed to St. Colum Cille (MS. 1. 75, p. 19, Hodges and Smith Collection, R.I.A.).

Na tí Cuinn ar ílioct an Ruair.

APPENDIX No. CXL. [Lect. XIX., Pages 409, 410.]

Original of first stanza of a fourth "Prophetic" Poem attributed to St. Colum Cille (MS. H. 1. 10, p. 161, Library T.C.D.).

Teamair bheadḡ, Teamair bheadḡ,
Ḡrò lionmair lib lion a fear,
Ní cian ḡo mbia 'na fárae
Ḡé atá rí anu a fárao.

Same Appendix and page. Original of the first stanza of St. Colum Cille's fifth Prophetic Poem, addressed to St. Bearchan (MS. H. 1. 10, T.C.D., p. 116).

Tiocfaíó aimrín a bhearcáin,
Ír bo olc leat beir in Eirinn;
Beir na maḡla ḡanna,
Ba fanna na meic leiginn.

Same Appendix and page. Original of the first stanza of St. Colum Cille's sixth Prophetic Poem (MS. 1. 75, p. 27, Hodges and Smith Collection, R.I.A.).

Mo cean óuit a teactaire
Thiḡ ar teagair Ríḡ Níme;
Or fám' óein tigiire,
Re Dia beirum a buiróe.

Same Appendix, p. 410. Original of the first line of St. Colum Cille's Prophetic Poem on the final disposition of his own body (MS. 2. 52, p. 414, Hodges and Smith Collection, R.I.A.).

Tiocfaíó Manóar na móir long.

APPENDIX No. CXLI. [Lect. XX., pp. 412, 413, 414, 416.] APP. CXLI.

Original of three stanzas of a Poetical "Prophecy" ascribed to St. Berchán, quoted in the Tract on the "Wars of the Danes", in the "Book of Leinster" (the MS. classed as H. 2. 18., T.C.D., fol. 217 a. a.). "Prophecies" attributed to St. Berchán.

Ticfaic Genti dár muir mall,
 Mercfaic for fepantó hEpeno,
 bío uatib abao for cae cill,
 bío uatib neit for Epuo.
 Seét mbliadna doib, ní ferom fano,
 In aru-muigi na hEpeano,
 In aboaine cae cilli,—
 Do Gentiú Duin Duiblinni.
 Bíao abao foru Chillí de,
 Ní togeia d'iarmerge,
 Can fáitir can éiréa,
 Can Latin, aet Gall-bepla.

Same Appendix, p. 413. Original of the first stanza of St. Berchan's "Prophetic" Poem, of which the above quotation forms stanzas 7, 8, 9 (MS. 3. 59, p. 57, Hodges and Smith Collection, R.I.A.):—

Aiur beas a mic big báin,
 Sirt fua hagallaim bhearcáin,
 Co tarit cpor dapo' béal binn
 Coiat beanncao dom ba cáill.

Same Appendix, p. 413. Original of the tenth stanza of the preceding "Prophetic" Poem of St. Berchan.

Fogairde co tiocfao mac
 Chabiar a buanaoet
 Gan neart Gall go briac bpar,
 Sá éir a nDún dá leatglar.

Same Appendix, p. 414. Original of the twelfth stanza of the preceding "Prophetic" Poem of St. Berchan.

Abiaó neac fpu mac Aoða,
 Fpu Colman moim mé caomina,
 Ní tá aet dál mór o noet,
 Go n-dec do éis, na longporit.

Same Appendix, p. 416. Original of the ninety-seventh stanza of the same "Prophetic" Poem of St. Berchan, being the first stanza of the second part.

Atair mac, ir Spriut Naoní,

APP. CXXI.

"Prophecies"
attributed to
St. Berchán.

Írtao aóram for don;
Ír amaraó téio ar ceal,
Pátraic Maó, minn seanmnaio.

APPENDIX No. CXLII. [Lect. XX., Page 417.]

Original of first line of a second "Prophetic" Poem attributed to St. Berchán (MS. 3. 59, Hodges and Smith Collection, R.I.A.; p. 90).

Maíctain tar m'éir o'Éiunn uaim.

APPENDIX No. CXLIII. [Lect. XX., Page 417.]

Original of verse quoted from a so-called "Prophecy" of St. Berchán by Ferrera O'Clery (Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 1598).

A ccaó an áta buíoe,
Ar lair tuirpe na d'anair,
Íar noítiúgáó Alimurpeac,
Bíó faoilíó fíí ó Thomaig.

APPENDIX No. CXLIV. [Lect. XX., Page 417.]

Original of first stanza of a "Prophetic" Poem attributed to St. Berchán (but believed to have been written by Tadg O'Neachtain, about 1716) (MS. 2. 11, Hodges and Smith Collection, R.I.A.; p. 10).

Tiocfa robaó deir oílionn,
Maí faoilim i nluir Éimonn,
Cuipíor oream cum míofoíuinn
Le garb-éuinn loóa Sílionn.

APPENDIX No. CXLV. [Lect. XX., Page 420.]

The Baile
Mholing.

Original of commencement of the Baile Mholing (MS. H. 2. 16, T.C.D.; col. 340).

Átberim mib a laigiu.
Ní do chinó tuillim tharobu
Coimetaio bar cucha féin,
Do pícpat corcain do chéin.
Fíthailter lib, doí píí uib,
Féigal maith mac Maileuinn,
Do faeth acaib ua caem Cuinn,
I cath Almaine aóluiú.

Aeo allan cona chathairb
 Tis do óigail a athair;
 Fáicebthair rúnta la hAeo meno,
 Is biaro faen i Fíro Chuilleano.

APP. CXLV.

The Ballé
 Mhottay.

APPENDIX No. CXLVI. [Lect. XX., Page 422.]

Original of first stanza containing the so-called "Prophecy" of ^{"Prophecy"} attributed to ^{St. Sedna.} Sedna (MS. II. 1. 15, T.C.D.; p. 961).

Abair móm a Shéadna,
 Scéala deireadú domhain,
 Cionnar biar an líne;
 Nac loirig síne a mbeata.

APPENDIX No. CXLVII. [Lect. XX., Page 423.]

Original of first line of Poem by Domnall mac bhuairdeada
 (circa 1570), referring to the so-called "Prophecy" attributed
 Sedna (MS. 1. 57, Hodges and Smith Collection, R.I.A.;
 p. 1).

Cia ar síne cairt ar éiric néill.

APPENDIX No. CXLVIII. [Lect. XX., Page 423.]

Original of first words of so-called "Prophecy" attributed to ^{"Prophecy"} attributed to ^{Mael-} Maeltamhlacta (MS. II. 1. 10, T.C.D.; p. 167). ^{tamlachta.}

Abair a mhaol tamhlacta.

APPENDIX No. CXLIX. [Lect. XX., Page 423.]

Original of passage from the Life of St. Adamnan, (M.S. Vol. XI. 4190-4200, Burgundian Library, Brussels). ^{Extract from} the Life of ^{Saint Adam-} nan.

Ba do fain-danaib Adamnan pprocept ocur forcetal.
 No ppuotadú iasam iim mbliaidam deigenac a bethair,
 conteicad focharoi imon feil n-Eoin ri do fesaiab Erienn
 ocur Alban. No éatáigeo occlaeach anaitiró go Colman
 Cpuacan Aigle .i. anéara boi i Connaétab, ocur no ar-
 nerced in t-occlaeé móri do ingantab do Cholman; ocur
 arberit fpuir: In tairngereio adamnan focharoi d'fesaiab
 Erienn ocur Alban imon feil n-Eoin ri? Tó, ol Colman.
 Bto fpuir dono, ol inuocclaeé, iiri in focharoi, Adaminan do
 teét doéum nime imon feil n-Eoin ri.

APPENDIX No. CL. [Lect. XX., Page 424.]

Original of the "Vision" of St. Adamnan (from thr Leabair ^{The Vision} of ^{Saint} Adamnan. ^{Adamnan.} Mór Dúna Doighe, now called Leabair bpeac; R.I.A., fol. 129. b. b.).

Uirio quae uirir Adamnanur uir Spiritu Sancto plenur
 hoc ept angelur Domini dixit haec ueirba eirur illum.

AP. CL.

The "Vision"
of Saint
Adamnan.

Uae uae uirum hibernia insulae mandata Domini trans-
gressuentibus. Uae regibus et principibus qui non uirgunt
unitatem et uolunt in [?] iniquitatem et rapinam. Uae
doctoribus qui non docent unitatem et conferunt unita-
tibus imperfectorum. Uae meretricibus et peccatoribus
qui sicut poenum et stipulum concinemabuntur a buro
ignata in anno birextili et embolismi et in fine circuli
et in decollatione iohannis Baptistae. In sexta feria
haec plaga conuenit in illo anno niri deuota poenitentia
prohibuerit ut Ninuentae preceperunt.

APPENDIX No. CLI. [Lect. XX., Page 425.]

Of the Burœ Chonnaill, and the Crom Chonnaill.

Of the
diseases
called the
Buidhe
Chonnaill
and *Crom*
Chonnaill.

The character and cause, or material, of this fearful pestilence, the *Crom Chonnaill*, has been at all times a difficulty to our old analysts, and to such of our writers as have given the subject their consideration. But as it has been no part of my plan in the course of these lectures to go out of my way to discuss opinions which did not bear adversely on historical truth, I shall on this subject content myself with simply recording the most curious and precise reference to this pestilence which has hitherto appeared, except through myself. The mere fact I communicated some years ago to Mr. W. R. Wilde, and he has published it in the "Report on Tables of Deaths", of the Census of Ireland for 1851, page 416.

Among the numerous ancient and important Gaedhelic historical tracts known as the Lives of the Saints of Erin, there is a Life of St. *MacCreiché*, the founder and patron of the interesting ruined church of *Cill MicCreiché*, near the town of Inistimon, in my native county of Clare. Like many of its class, it is a very curious document, and one of great importance in the investigation of the genealogies and topography not only of the north-western seaboard of Clare and the Arrann Islands, but of the counties of Kerry and Tipperary, and of much of the southern portion of Connacht. *MacCreiché* was a native of the present barony of Corcomroe, in Clare, and paternally of the same race as the O'Conors and O'Lochlainns of that country; but his mother was a native of Kerry. He was the contemporary and friend of St. *Ailbhé* of *Inliuch* [Emly], and the foster-father and tutor of St. *Manchin*, the founder of *Cill Manchin*, (now called St. Munchin's), in the city of Limerick.

When the *Crom Chonnaill* pestilence was raging, about the year 544, the Life tells us in this short passage that,

Ir anníon tangatar teéta o Chiapmaíge arí cenó mheic
Cpeice, co nroechrao do óiongmaíl pláisi, óioð, arí ba óioð
a mátaí; ocuř ba hí an pláisi ířin .i. an Chřom Chonnaill,

πο βαί ας φορβαιρι φορβα hi Muig Ulað. Tero Mac Creiche
 amac ari baio, ocur po batari Ciarruaige uile hi Muig Ulað
 ari a einn. Eirgic uile poime, ocur cuirit riorcaoin failte
 riuir. Gabtar Mac Creiche ara carpat, ocur do gab rior-
 cela ocur uinaige impa, ocur do poime pprocept breithe De
 uoib; ocur do eioircret uile .i. Mac Creiche ocur Ciarruaige
 in oioce rin, ocur do monaio uio aifunnn uoib arabarich.
 Ir annrin tanzataru tri meic Cuilcinne .i. tri meic bratar
 matari Mheic Creiche po bai eoiri acc Rait Muige. As tect
 anoir uoib, jucc an Chiom Chonnaill oipa, ocur do euit-
 reatar le, atriuiri bratar. Tuaricuib Mac Creiche a Finn-
 fairdeac anairde acc faircepin a bratirec marb. Nioir eian
 uoib ann conacataru raighnen teneo do nim eua, ocur
 tuirio ari in Cruim Chonnaill, zo noerna min ocur luait
 oi ari beluib an trluaid. Slectair uile, tref an ruit rin, do
 Mhac Creiche. Conio de rin atá fepit Cloinne Cuilcinne,
 ocur na Cruime Connaill ari Moig Ulað.

APP. CLI.

Of the
 diseases
 called the
Buidhe
Chonnaill
 and *Crom*
Chonnaill.

[TRANSLATION.]

It was then came messengers from *Ciarraighe* [Kerry-men] for
Mac Creiché, requesting him to go to ward off the plague from them,
 because his mother was of them. And this plague was the *Crom*
Chonnaill, which was attacking them in *Magh Uladh*.⁽²⁵⁹⁾ *Mac Creiché*
 went with them, and all the *Ciarraighe* were in *Magh Uladh* to
 meet him. They all arose and bade him a truly hearty welcome.
Mac Creiché was received out of his chariot. He recited the Gospel
 and prayers around them, and he preached the word of God unto
 them, and they all fasted,—that is *Mac Creiché* and the *Ciarraighe*,—
 that night; and there was Office and Mass performed for them on
 the next day. It was then that the three sons of *Cuilcinn* came—
 that is, the three sons of the brother of *Mac Creiché*'s mother, who
 were to the east at *Raith Muighe*.⁽²⁶⁰⁾ At their coming from eastwards
 the *Crom Chonnaill* overtook them, and they fell by it, the three
 brothers. *Mac Creiché* raised his *Finnfaidhech*⁽²⁶¹⁾ on high at seeing
 his kinsmen dead. They were not long there afterwards until they
 saw a fiery bolt from Heaven coming towards them, and it fell on
 the *Crom Chonnaill*, so that it reduced it to dust and ashes in the
 presence of the people. And it is therefore that the mound [or
 grave] of the sons of *Cuilcinn* and of the *Cruim Chonnaill* is upon
Magh Uladh.

That the *Crom Chonnaill* was a living animal, or at least believed

(259) *Magh Uladh*, i.e., the plain of the Ultonians. It received this name from the circumstance of the Men of Ulster having encamped on it at the time of the murder by them of *Uuroi MacDairé*, king of West Munster, and the destruction of his court, the famous *Cathair Conroi*, which stood on the mountain above this plain, to the west of Tralee.

(260) *Raith Muighe*.—This I believe was *Raith Muighe Tuaisceirt*, or northern Rathmoy, now Rathoo, seven miles west of Listowel, on the road from Tralee to Ballyvaughan.

(261) *Finnfaidhech*, i.e., "the Fair Sounding". This was the name of one of St. Patrick's most sacred and celebrated bells; but the name appears to have been also given by some of his disciples and successors to their own favourite bells, as in the present case.

APP. CLI.

Of the
diseases
called the
Buidhe
Chonnaill
and *Crom*
Chonnaill.

to have been such, would appear clear enough from the passage just quoted; but farther on in this curious Life, where some of the acts of the saint are summed up in verse, the fact is stated still more clearly, as may be seen in the following stanzas:—

Ba iarrín po éeachaig
in péit roéla rúbac,
mac Creiche an ngnat-bla,
go mátra imoig ulaó.

Ba hannrín do pigne,
in pírt, fíao in tuait
marbair an Chnom Chonnaill,
baí ag bponoao an tgluaig.

It was afterwards he went,—
The famous, pleasant jewel!—
Mac Creiche, our constant theme,—
To his maternal kindred in *Magh*
Uladh.

It was there he performed
The miracle before the people;
He kills the *Crom Chonnaill*,
Which was destroying the hosts.

It may be further stated that the Gaelic word *Crom*, or *Crum*, signifies literally a maggot; while the word *Connall* signifies literally the yellow stubble of corn. This word differs from *Conall*, a man's name, only in its being spelled with double *n*, while the proper name has but a single *n*. It is a remarkable fact that the name of the celebrated idol of the ancient pagan Gaedhil was *Crom Cruach*, which would signify literally, the “Bloody Maggot”; whilst another idol, or imaginary deity, in the western parts of Connacht, was called *Crom Dubh*, or the “Black Maggot”, whose name is still connected with the first Sunday of August in Munster and Connacht.

The *Buidhe Chonnaill*, or “stubble yellow”, would appear to be the name of a particular disease of the jaundice kind, but not produced or accompanied by the presence of any animal like a maggot or fly.

APPENDIX No. CLII. [Lect. XX., Page 426.]

Authority as
to the *Scuap*
a *Fanaít*.

Original of passage in the Leabhar móir Dúna Doiríne fol. 111.

b.b. (in the R.I.A., commonly called the Leabhar breac), concerning the “Scuap a Fanaít”.

Ír anaimrín díní, fhlaíno Chínaro ticc in Roth Ramach,
ocur in Scuap a Fanaít, ocur in Saignen tenntige. Clíach
Cruitepe, mac Smiuruib, mic Smail, ius na tñi Rorr, a Sio
Bane. Dolluro Clíach íarum do éochur ingine buíob a
Sio ar Femin. Bóí íarín bliadain lan oc reinn a éruiti
fria Sio amuis, ocur ní poét níbuo neffa cu Bóíob, ar
mét a cumaéta; ocur ní coemnacair ní con ingeníaro; áct
po rephein coíneíaro in talam foi, coíro de ata in loch a
mullach in tñlebe .i. Loch bel Séo. Loch bel Séo do
ráda fñur .i.

Coemabarbóeth, ingen Etail Anbuail a Sioaib a cruich
Connaét; ocur ba hingen cumaétach, ilcrothach hí. Tñi
caegait ingen impe, ocur tegtí in banntróét rín ceíre
mbliadain íreétaib tñi caecait én ilcrothach, ocur ina
noimib in bliadain ele. Ír amlaro himorpo, bíur in en-
laithrín, co flabíaro aipígar etarí ceé da nén oib. Oen en
etuppu, áille do énaib in domuin, co muiníce deíř-óir ima

bpaḡait. Tḡi caecaṡ ṡlabpaṡ, aṡṡ co nuball óṡi ṡoṡ cṡno
ceṡ ṡlabpaṡ. In ṡat ba henlaith iat nombitṡ ṡoṡ Loch
Cṡotta Cliach, conṡeao atberṡṡ cach: 1ṡ imṡai ṡéṡ
ṡaineamail aṡ beolu Loch Cṡotta; conṡ deṡin atberaṡ
Loch bel Séṡ ṡṡṡ.

APP. CLII.

Authority as
to the *Souap*
A *Fanail*.

Loch bel Dṡacon, tṡa, ṡo ṡáṡa ṡṡṡ .i. ṡṡaicc tennṡtṡge
ṡṡaṡ muimme Theṡnoc ṡuchṡ bṡatain, conṡeṡṡ ṡṡṡa,
Sanctur ṡṡa a coṡ ilLoch bel Set. Ocuṡ ṡṡi in ṡṡaicc
ṡin tṡṡa ḡi ṡeṡl Eoin .i. ṡṡa deṡeṡ ṡomain, in aṡṡṡṡ
ṡhlainṡ Chṡainṡ. Conao ṡṡṡin, ocuṡ conṡ eṡṡi ṡáṡaṡ in
Saṡnen tennṡtṡge maṡbaṡ teoṡa ceṡṡaima ṡeṡi ṡomain, eṡṡ
mṡai, ocuṡ mac, ocuṡ ingṡin, ocuṡ inṡile connice muṡṡṡṡṡṡ
ṡaṡ. Conṡ de ṡaṡaṡ Loch bel Dṡaccon ṡṡṡ, no, de.

Cliach Cṡuitṡṡi ṡin .i. ṡa chṡuit no bitṡ aṡge inoṡṡeṡṡ
oṡa ṡeṡmm, conṡ aṡṡe ṡin atberaṡ Cṡotta Cliach ocuṡ
Sliab Cṡotta.

1ṡ ṡo ṡenmaṡ in tṡaignen tennṡtṡge beoṡ, amaṡ ṡo cá-
chain Moling Sanctur, i tṡaṡṡṡṡe na ṡele Eoin, ut
vixit:—

A Dṡe maṡṡ [A Dṡe maṡṡ],
Conaṡabainṡ mo ṡi eṡail^(a) ^(a).i. itge, [request.]
m'aninim la haingliu eṡain,
nimṡaṡi ṡuinebao ṡelain.
ḡi ṡeṡl Eoin tṡṡa tṡeṡṡ,
Sṡṡeṡṡ Eṡṡno anaṡṡeṡṡ, [anaṡṡeṡṡ]
Dṡaicc lonn loṡṡeṡṡ cach ṡonice,
Cen cṡomainṡ, cen ṡaccapbaic.
Dṡem ṡub ṡoṡca bṡṡeṡṡ bṡuth,
Atbelat ṡṡi bṡathar-ṡṡuth,
ṡṡaen ṡo ceṡaib nama,
Doneoch ṡib ṡo eṡnaba.
O Dún Cepmna co Sṡṡub bṡain,
Sṡṡeṡṡ con Muṡi Tṡṡṡen ṡaṡ;
Dṡaicc lonn laṡṡach lán ṡo éin,
ṡṡṡ ṡuiceṡ aṡṡ maṡ ceṡṡamṡain.
Maṡṡ ṡo ṡeṡa, maṡṡ ṡo naṡ,
Maṡṡ na ṡeṡlithetṡi in ṡlaṡṡ,
In maṡṡ tṡaṡṡaṡṡaṡ in ṡeṡl
1ṡ ṡeṡṡ a ṡeṡhṡṡ ṡo éin.
Nech atṡet ṡeṡla de,
Don ṡhlaitṡ aṡa ṡumeaba,
Cine laṡṡi eṡṡaṡṡ iat caṡe,
Cine bliadna ṡen ṡuineba.
Tṡṡa aṡṡṡṡ iatmoṡa,
1 mṡi bliadain bṡeṡa,

APP. CLII.

Authority as
to the *Scuap*
a *Fanail*.

Ain fopu ain, maiuiz do nairi,
Duinebaso zelain nimitairi.
A Dé maiu, etc

APPENDIX No. CLIII. [Lect. XX., Page 429.]

Note on the
Scuap a
Fanail in
the *Feliré*
Aengusa.

Original of note on the Scuap a Fanail in the Felipe Aengusa, preserved in the same Book (Leabhar Mór Duna Doighe, now called the Leabhar Breac, R.I.A.), at the end of August, fol. 37. b.

Iſ inoizail maibtha Eoin baupair vomi, tic inScuap a Fanail do eizlanad Epenn fua deiuio domain, amail mo-thairpingsi aipeian inecnai, ocur Colum Cille .i. hiteit in trainoiuo irano ticſai inScuap aFanail, ut vixit Colum Cille .i. amail geilt da each hicoſait bio hi leu glanſur Eipe. Aipeian vixit denScoba .i. oi choirmtech beti in-oenlirr toeb fuitaeb. In ſer paſur arintiz inapaila nifuiz-bea nech apachino imbethair irintiz hipaſa. Ocur ni fuizbe iarium nech imbethair irintiz aripaſa, bio hi veine inſin paſur inScuap aFanail. Riſail vixit. Tri laa ocur teora aioche fop bliadain ber inplaſra in Eiuinn. Intan bur leu ethair fop Loch Ruoraiſe, ooiur inppointige irano taent inScop aFanail. Maiu eppaiſ imoſio, iariſairc iſe laith rechtmaine hiticſa inScop inoizail ceſta Eoin, ut vixit Moling, oſpugſad na ſeile Eoin:—

hipeil Eoin ticſa tpeſſ,
Sipſeſ Eiuino anaiuoſſ,
Draic lono loirſeſ cach ſonicc,
Cen chomaino cen paſarbaic.

APPENDIX No. CLIV. [Lect. XX., Page 432.]

Giraldus
Cambrensis'
pretended
"Prophecy"
by St. Colum
Cille.

Original of two passages from Giraldus Cambrensis, concerning pretended "Prophecies" of political events.

[The Title of Cambrensis' work is *Expugnatio Hiberniæ, sive Historia Vaticinalis Silvestris Giraldi Cambrensis*; and the following extracts are taken from the edition of that piece published by Camden in his "*Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a veteribus scripta*", etc., Francofurti; MDCIII., p. 755. The passage from Cambrensis, liber ii., cap. 16 (p. 794, l. 41), is as follows:—

"Tunc impletū est, vt dicitur illud Hibernici Columbæ vaticiniū; qui bellū istud longe præcinens, tantā in eo futurā, inquit, ciuiū stragē, vt hostes ad gēua eorundē fuso cruore natarent. Præ glisis namq; mollicie, dum ad ima penetraret humana ponderositas, terræ lubricæ sanguis profluus superficiem tenens, gēua cruraque de

facili pertingebat. Scribit etiam idem vates, vt fertur, quendam pauperē & mendicū, & quasi de aliis terris fugacē, cum parua manu Dunam venturum; & citra maioris auctoritatem urbem obtenturū. Bella quoq; plurima, variosq; rerū euentus: quæ omnia de Joanne de Cury sunt manifeste completa. Ipse vero Joan. librū hunc propheticū Hibernice scriptum tanquā operum suorū speculū p̄ manib. dicitur habuisse. Legitur quoq; in eodē lib. Juuenē quendam cum armata manu Guaterfordiæ muros violenter irrupturum, & cum magna ciuium strage urbem obtenturum. Eundem quoq; per Guesefordiam transiturum, & demum absq; difficultate Dubliniam intraturum. Quæ omnia de Comite Richardo cōstat esse completa. Urbem quoq; Limericensem, ab Anglorum gente bis deserendam, & tertio retinendam Sanctus ille testatur. Sed deserta quidem iam bis videtur. Primo, vt dictū est, à Reymundo: secundo à Philippo, sup. c. 18. de Breusa: qui cum ad urbem sibi datam, aqua tamen interlabente veniret: citra conatus omnes, & insultus eandem reuertendo deseruit: sicut plenius suo loco dicitur. Vnde juxta idem vaticinium: vrbs tertio petita, erit retinenda, vel potius longe post sub Hammone de Valoignes Justitiario fraudulentè destructa, & per Meylerium restaurata recuperataque”.

The passage from the same book, cap. xxxiii. (p. 806, l. 57), is as follows:—

“Cum enim quatuor Hibernici prophetas habere dicantur: Mollingum, Braccanum, Patricium, & Columkyllum (quorum etiam apud illos libri adhuc extant Hibernice scripti) de hac expugnatione loquentes omnes testantur eam crebris conflictibus longoque certamine multa in posterum tempora multis cædibus fœdaturam. Sed vix parum ante diem iudicii, plenam Anglorum populo victoriam compromittunt; Insulamq; Hibernicam de mari vsque ad mare ex toto subactam, et incastellatam. Et quanquam Anglorum populum antea pluries bellici discriminis in Insula vices experiendo turbari cōtingat, & debilitari (sicut Braccani testimonio, per quendā Regem de desertis Patricii montibus vcturum, & nocte Dominica castrum quoddā in nemorosis Ophelanix partib⁹ irrupturum; Omnes fere Anglici ab Hibernia turbabuntur) eorundem tamē assertione, Orientalia Insulæ maritima continue semper obtinebit”.

APPENDIX No. CLV. [Lect. XX., Page 434.]

Original of stanza of a pretended “Prophecy” quoted by Sir George Carew in 1602 (Carew MS., 607, p. 149; Lambeth Library, London).

APP. CLIV.

Giraldus
Cambrensis
pretended
“Prophecy”,
by St. Columba
Citté.

ΤΙΣΕΩ ΟΟ ΕΑΑΙΤ ΑΝ ΧΑΡΪΝΑΙΣ
ΣΟ ΜΥΘ ΗΑΙΠΕΑΕ ΛΙΒ ΑΝΘΕΝΤΑΙ.
ΟΥΘ ΗΙΟΜΘΑ ΣΛΟΡ ΑΛΛΥΡΑΙΣ
ΟΑ ΡΕΑΟΙΕΑΘ ΕΟΡ ΝΑ ΜΗΑΕΛΑΙ

“Prophecy”
forged by
Sir G. Carew,
in 1602.

APPENDIX No. CLVI. [Lect. XXI., Page 453.]

Of King
Conchobhar
Mac Nessa.

Of the accounts of the celebrated King of Ulster, Conchobhar Mac Nessa.

Conchobhar was popularly called *Conchobhar Mac Nessa*, from his mother *Nessa*, daughter of an Ulster chief named *Echaidh Salbhuidhé*, the wife of another Ulster chief named *Fachtna*. *Nessa* was left a widow in the prime of youth and beauty, at a time at which *Fergus Mac Róigh* was king of the province, and when *Conor* was seven years old. *Fergus* fell in love with the widow, and proposed marriage to her, with a request to name her dowry. The widow consented on condition that the sovereignty of the province should be resigned to her son, *Conchobhar*, for one year; in order, as she said, that his children might be called the children of a king. *Fergus* took counsel with his people, and they advised him to agree to the condition, feeling that the youth would be but too glad to get rid of the cares of government long before the year was expired. In this, however, they were mistaken; for when his mother found herself in a position of wealth and influence, she supplied the boy and his tutors, who, of course, were his counsellors, with all the money, goods, and other wealth that she could lay hold on, to be distributed secretly among the most important and influential chiefs of the province. She also advised and enabled him to keep up a style of splendour and hospitality such as none of his predecessors ever attempted before him; so that his court soon became the resort and residence of all that was brave, dignified, scientific, and learned in his kingdom. The poets extolled him in verse; the druids prophesied his future fame and renown; the ladies loved him for his beauty; and the chiefs, the warriors, and the youthful military aspirants of the province, looked up to him as the very soul of munificence and chivalry; so that when his year of office was expired, the Ultonians refused to allow him to hand the kingdom back to *Fergus*, alleging among other reasons, that *Fergus* appeared willing at any time to barter it and themselves for the sake of any woman who took his fancy. *Fergus* did not submit tamely to this breach of covenant; he raised a war against *Conchobhar*, which was carried on for a long time with vigour, but he was ultimately defeated and forced to an involuntary submission. *Conchobhar* married *Medhbh*, (or Meave,) daughter of the monarch *Eochaidh Feidlech*, but she soon eloped from him, and her father gave her to another man, and made her queen of Connacht. This was a disastrous circumstance for *Conchobhar*, as it laid the foundation of a constant warfare between the two provinces. *Conchobhar's* court at Emania became the central or head quarters of the knights of the Royal Branch (not Red Branch, as they are erroneously called); and more or less in connection with the exploits of this famous order his name holds a distinguished place in many of the great Historic Tales, both as a king and as a knight;—in the Death of the Sons of *Uisnech*; the *Táin*

Bo Chuailgné; the Battle of *Ros na Righ*; the *Mesca Uladh*, or Intoxication of the Ultonians (during which they made a sudden incursion into Munster, and destroyed the ancient palace of *Teamhair Luachra*, near Abbeyfeale, in Kerry); the *Seirglighé Chonchulainn*; the *Tochmarc Emiré*; the *Fledh Bricrinn*; the *Ceasnaoidhean Uladh*, etc., etc.

The entry of the Death of *Conchobhar* in the Annals of *Tighernach*, (according to Dr. O'Connor), is, at A.D. 33, as follows:—

33. Concobar mac neir obit cui successit filius eius Cumarscari [*? Cumarscari*], qui regnavit an Eamain annis 111.

In the MS. of *Tighernach*, in T.C.D., however, (H. 1. 18, fol. 116. b.), the passage is as follows. (Indeed Dr. O'Connor is not to be depended on as to the version in the MS. quoted by him.) It is at A.D. 48:

Concobar mac neira obit qui successit filius suus Glaisné, qui regnavit annis ix.

[A.D. 48] *Conchobhar Mac Nessa* obit, cui successit filius suus *Glaisné*, qui regnavit annis ix.

The following is the account of the Death of *Conchobhar Mac Nessa* given in the Historic Tale called the *Ardo Choncobair*, or Tragic Fate of *Conchobhar*, preserved in the Book of Leinster (H. 2. 18., T.C.D.; fol. 79. a. b.):—

Baí meirca móir fíor uirte fíochtana in Emain Macha. Docuimíadair díní, immaibda mórú ocu comraia eturro .i. etir Chonall [Cernach] ocu Coincualinn, ocu Loe-gaíne [Buadach]. Tucair damra, ar Conall, inchinn Meirgeiríad coruacillíur ócu nacompam. Ba ber d'ultuib inuimbaroirín cáe cupair no maibdaí ar gálaib oenfirí no gata aminchinn appacentaib ocu commercta ael airtib condenaí laépoite ciuade díb. Ocu intan nobitir inuimmaibdaí noompamaib, do beritir díb combitir inna lamaib. Maíe a Choncobair, ar Conall, nacontepinat oie nacompam eét foninnara ar gálaib ómfirí, moattualnzi compam fíurra. Irfíon ar Conchobair. Doirataí iapam, fíurín fíurú fíurambí do gíer inuicinn. Lúo cáe aletí apuabaraíe diacluén. Dóllúo dāna, Cet mac Mataíe doéuairt eétia la uirto. Berit appandam nobóí in hEinn in Cet. Ireo dóllúoríoe dappardóí na hEimna, ocu tui leatcinn leir do ultuib, intan bátaí na ónmite co cluén do inchinn Meirgeiríe, ireo atberit inuónnit fíuraraile. Rochlúm-eoir Cet aníurín. Ectaríoe inuicinn alláim inualanáí ocu berit leir; opofitir Cet nobóí itapngere do Meirgeiríe adigail iapna écaib. Cáe cáe ocu cáe irga[il] nobí do Chonnaíto fíu uirto nobereí Cet inuicinn ina éur dír in tetaríe eét namra d'ultuib domarbaí do.

APP. CLVI.

Of King
Conchobhar
Mac Nessa.

Feēt anō dñi, dōlluioreom intí Cet rair co tuc tánaí mbó a Feraib Roirr. Donarriaro imarimoraēt Ulair inarriaro; Doimāctatarí dāna, Connaēctarí donoleiē aile diaēerraricain reom. Feēdarí caē eturriū. Dōlluiro Conchobarí féin irin caē. Coniro anoirin gadaatarí mna Connaēt do Chonchobarí tuireēt forileith dorepcin avelba doib. Fobíē nriabí foritalmain delbduini amail delb Conchobarí .i. eteri ēmuē ocur deilb ocur deēelē; eterimēt ocur córe ocur cutrummae; eteri porc ocur folē ocur gile; eteri gair ocur alais ocur eilabria; eteri eiriuo ocur āne ocur écorc; eteri arim ocur immao ocur orrovan; eteri gnair ocur gairceo ocur énel. Niriō loētaē tría intí Conchobarí. A comarí imorriū, inCheit mo gabrat na mná ailgír do Chonchobarí.

Luiro iarim forileē dóinuri dia dorepcin donamnáib. Dōlluiro Cet imorriū combúi eteri namná immedón. Norinoleētarí Cet inchinō Mergeora irintábaill, ocur nor-teile conrotaríla immullaē Conchobarí, combáatarí aua trian innaēinō ocur cotoríearreom, ira cenō cotaríla fíu lárí. Focherōdaē Ulairō éuci coniro iucrat o Chet.

Foirí bñú Aēa Dairē da báēē iranō dorochairí Conchobarí. Aēá a lizeanō baile i torchairí, ocur corēe fíuācenō ocur corēe fíuācorra.

Mairiō tria forí Connaēta co Sciarō Aírō na Con. Dō beritarí Ulair rairí doririrí co Aēh Dairē da báēē.

Mo bñithre arf, arí Conchobarí, do bérí ríge nUlao doneoē nombéria connici moteē. Notberra, arí Cennberriarōe, aia gilla foréin

Do berirōe lomairí imme ocur nomberí foramuir co Arōdaēao Slebe Fuáit. Mairiō áēirōe iringillu; coniroverin aēá, Ríge Cínoberriarōe forí Ulair .i. inrí foramuir leē inólái. Conóēbaō tría, inōebairō on tríaē coarairē dāriér in ríge. Corairiō forí Ulto iarirín.

Doberarí tria, aliais coConchobarí .i. Fingen. Irreirōe no fínnao donriarō no theirge donrig inlin nobíō ingaluir rintig, ocur ceēgalair nobíō anō. Maiē, orFingen, diaataltarí inchloē arōoēinō biatmarib forētóiri; manituctarí arf imorriū, noticfairí, ocur bíraēir duit. Iarppo dúin, arí Ulairō, inraēir olóár áēcpom. Roicēao iarim a éeno, ocur poruāgeō corráē óiri, arí bacumma daē fuile Conchobarí ocur daē innóiri.

Ocur arberit inliais fíu Conchobarí combeth irōmtin .i. arinatírao áferig dō, ocur narigireo forēē, ocur naetpāigeo mnai co anpeta, ocur narēēeo.

Robói dāna, irinēuntabairit rin céin robobeo .i. uii.

mbliaona, ocur nimbogensnamais, aét daimyrium innasfuiti APP. CLVI.
 namma .i. nacocualla Cmyrt do cpoéad doludaitib. Tanic
 antoroe cmyt mói forynasuli, ocur moémetnais nem ocur Of King
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 talam lamét ingníma daronao ano .i. Iru Cmyrt mac Dé
 bí do épochoa cenénaro.

Creatro, ar Conchobari fua omyro, cia oíc mói do
 gntheri ipinolaaiura muiu? Ir firi on ém, ar muiú, [Iru
 Cmyrt mac Dé atá aza báruzaó anoir az ludaigib. ⁽²⁶²⁾]
 Ir mói ingnímpin, ar Conchobari. Infeipin dana, amonuiú,
 inoenaróci mozein ocur mozeniru .i. in .iun. Calaino Enairi,
 cencopinuno bliadain.

Iranorin moémeti Conchobari; ocur irférin inoarafer
 moémeti do Dia in hEpinu maiaáctain cmeitmi é .i. Moranu
 in feri aile.

Mait tria, ar Conchobari: ba happaino naóáil cuaroríg,
 nar nazz atumbeoiri iyniét cmyao-cmyao ciétir ciétir ⁽²⁶³⁾ mo-
 beoil conciclaip cmyar mói mileo, mairon nica muáio nim-
 ílóis feribairilec, foronirfo roeri-cobairi. La Cmyrt conge-
 naino. Gáirí báet bairuléim forilectain lancomroo lanrcél
 céchointiri cpoéao níz bamoo coirp arí airoiaó aomairi.
 Tumciéte ingním itinol tairurem tmeóin uaral icomroo
 comteet congnam cáin bé laDia vilzaaoe diacobairi.
 Cáin forluno fóberaino. Cáin comluno cpoépinu Cmyrt
 amemthuir, nupurcít ce éppairtí coirp émao. Ciaribo ar
 Cmyrt cáio cumáctae cia dú dún naomocem máo dúri de-
 cointe iunoritari inarimen, mona miao naoríg moáctmai
 poncáioi, cpoéao Cmyrt macotócbaimmhir, baharpu naobem-
 mhir iainaroriae ecomnarit. Uaral ní mocér cpoicémyao
 airooine oigmais; diaiáith magaintore báp, áctu flait for-
 leccaino foóil néca, nabuní nemthuir neét nemteirfo; do-
 coimpu moémuo cluár inaroriae nguba, ar muDia inorció
 naoríg moáet, coríi foriaet fputumthá bión báir, conatbiur
 ar omun domoul omyib, cen Dulemain oigail.

Iranu dojungni Conchobari in meojuere diaioinir baémaé
 omyú deLangib doChonchobari Cmyrt doépoéao, diaiaia-
 fairg Conchobari, ciata airoe ingantaáro, etc.

No dana, combaoé Altur in Conful do deáio oOétauin
 doéungio inchira co Saedelaib noimnirfo do Chonchobari
 Cmyrt dochoéao.

[TRANSLATION.]

The Ultonians were greatly intoxicated on one occasion in
Emhain Mhacha. There arose indeed great contentions and [com-
 parison of] trophies between them, that is, between *Conall Cernach*,
 and *Cuchulainn*, and *Laeghairé Buadhach*. "Let *Mesgedhru's* brain

(262) [Keating.] (263) Ciétir. [This is a mistaken repetition of the same word.]

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be brought to me", said *Conall*, "that I may talk to the competing warriors". It was a custom with the Ultonians at that time, every champion they killed in single combat, to take their brains out of their heads, and mix lime with them until they were formed into hard balls. And whenever they were in contention, or at [comparison of] trophies, these were brought to them until they had them in their hands. "Good, O *Conchobhar*", said *Conall*, "the warriors of the trophy-comparison have not performed a deed like this in single combat; they are not competent to compare trophies with me". "It is true, indeed", said *Conchobhar*. The brain was then put upon the shelf, where it was always kept. Every one went his own way the next day to his sport. *Cet*, the son of *Magach*, now went upon an adventurous visit into Ulster. This *Cet* was the most dangerous pest in Erin. The time that he passed over the green of *Emhain*, and having three half heads with him of the Ultonians, was at a time that the fools (of *Emhain*) were at their play with the brain of *Mesgedhra*, as one fool said to the other. *Cet* heard this. He snatched the brain out of the hand of one of them, and took it away with him; for *Cet* knew that it was prophesied for *Mesgedhra* to avenge himself after his death. Every battle and every combat which the Connachtmen fought against Ulster, *Cet* used to carry the brain in his girdle to see if he could succeed in killing some illustrious (personage) of the Ultonians with it.

Cet went eastwards and took a *Táin* of cows from the *Fera Ross*. The Ulstermen followed him in pursuit. The Connachtmen, on the other hand, went to save him. A battle was fought between them. *Conchobhar* himself went into the battle. And it was then the women of Connacht prayed *Conchobhar* to come to their side that they might see his shape. For there was not upon earth the shape of a person like the shape of *Conchobhar*; namely, in form, and face, and countenance; in size, and symmetry, and proportion; in eyes, and hair, and whiteness; in wisdom, and prudence, and eloquence; in costume, and nobleness, and mien; in arms, and amplitude, and dignity; in accomplishment, and valour, and family descent. The man *Conchobhar* was faultless. It was by the advice of *Cet* now the women preferred their request to *Conchobhar*.

Conchobhar then drew aside alone, so that the women might view him. *Cet* had previously taken his place among the women in the middle. *Cet* adjusted *Mesgedhra's* brain in his sling, and he threw it so that it entered *Conor's* skull, and that its two-thirds entered his head, and it remained in his head, so that he fell with his head to the earth. The Ulstermen rushed forward and carried him off from *Cet*.

On the brink of the ford of *Dairé dá Bhaeth* it was that *Conchobhar* fell. His bed is there where he fell, and a rock at his head and a rock at his feet.

The Connachtmen were then routed to *Sciaidh aird na Con*. The Ulstermen were driven eastwards again to the ford of *Dairé dá Bhaeth*.

"Let me be carried out of this", said *Conchobar*; "I will give the sovereignty of Ulster to the person who shall take me to my own house". "I will take thee", said *Cennberraidhé*, his own servant.

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He put a cord around him and he carried him on his back to *Ard Achadh*, of *Sliabh Fuaid*. His heart broke within the servant, and that is the cause of [the saying of] "*Cennberraidhé's* Sovereignty over Ulster", i.e., the king upon his back for half the day. The battle was sustained, however, from the one hour of the day to the same hour of the next day after the king, after which the Ultonians overthrown.

In the meantime his physician was brought to *Conchobar*, namely, *Fingen*. He it was that could know by the fume that arose from a house the number that was ill in the house, and every disease that prevailed in the house. "Good", said *Fingen*, "if the stone be taken out of thy head, thou shalt be dead at once; if it is not taken out of it, however, I would cure thee, but it would be a blemish upon thee". "The blemish", said the Ultonians, "is better for us than his death". His head was then healed, and it was stitched with thread of gold, because the colour of *Conchobar's* hair was the same as the colour of the gold.

And the doctor said to *Conchobar* that he should be cautious, that is, that he should not allow his anger to come upon him, and that he should not go upon a horse, and that he should not have violent connection with a woman, and that he should not run.

He continued then in that doubtful state as long as he lived, namely, seven years, and was incapable of action, but to remain sitting only, that is, until he heard that Christ was crucified by the Jews. There came at that time a great convulsion over creation, and the Heavens and the Earth were shaken by the enormity of the deed which was there perpetrated, namely, Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, to be crucified without crime.

"What is this?" said *Conchobar* to his druid. "What great evil is it which is perpetrated on this day?" "It is true, indeed", said the druid [Christ the Son of God is crucified this day by the Jews].⁽²⁶⁴⁾ "That is a great deed", said *Conchobar*. "That man, now", said the druid, "it was in the same night he was born that you were born, that is, in the eighth of the calends of January, though the year was not the same".

It was then that *Conchobar* believed; and he was one of the two men that believed in God in Erin before the coming of the Faith; that is, *Morann* was the other man.

"Good, now", said *Conchobar*; "it is a pity that he [Christ] did not appeal to a valiant high-king, which would bring me in the shape of a hardy champion, my lips quivering, until the great valour of a soldier was heard dealing a breach of battle between two hosts; bitter the slaughter by which there would be propitiated free relief. With Christ should my assistance be. A wild shout has sprung at large: a full

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Lord, a full loss, is lamented; the crucifixion of a King, the greatest body, who was an illustrious, admirable King. I would complain of the deed to the faithful host of noble feats, whose vigilant, beautiful aid, should be with the merciful God to relieve Him. Beautiful the overthrowing which I would give. Beautiful the combat which I would wage for Christ who is being defiled. I would not rest though my body of clay had been tormented by them. Why for Christ, the chaste, the powerful, what is the reason for us that we do not express words of deep tear-lamentation? He who is slain in Armenia; a greater than the dignity of any righteous king is being tormented. The crucifixion of Christ if we should befriend, it were better that we should not be accounted an unrighteous high king. High the King who suffers a hard crucifixion for the sake of ungrateful men; for His safety I would go to death; but a king shall not go to a guilty death, in order that it should not be that which defiles purity that should take precedence of Him. It crushes my heart to hear the voice of wailing for my God; the arm which does not come to reach with true relief to arrest the sorrow of death—because I am told that it is dangerous for me to ride in chariots—without avenging the Creator”.

The time that *Conchobar* made this *Rhetoric* was, when *Bacrach*, a Leinster druid, told *Conchobar* that Christ was crucified; when *Conchobar* asked him: “What wonderful signs?” etc.

Or, indeed, that it was Altus, the [Roman] Consul, who came from Octavius to demand the tribute from the Gaedhils, that told *Conchobar* that Christ was crucified.

The great antiquity of the original of this tale may be inferred from the concluding paragraph of this very old version of it, in which the still more remote version, which ascribes to *Bacrach* the Druid the explanation to King *Conchobar* of the wonderful phenomena of the day of the Crucifixion, is referred to, whilst the latter writer (himself not later than the middle of the twelfth century at least) hints what appears to him to be a more reasonable and probable source of information. The Book of Leinster, from which this tract is copied, is a MS. of the middle, a portion of it of the earlier part, of the twelfth century; and the writer of the tale in its present form would appear to have copied it out with impatience, when he leaves unwritten the result of King *Conchobar's* frenzied address, namely, his death. I do not recollect having seen any ancient original detailed account of this tragical event beyond what is told here; but the learned Dr. Geoffry Keating, in his History of Erin, gives a modified, and less accurate, but fuller version of the tale from some ancient authority no longer known to us, and concludes in the following words:—

maínn dó reáct mbliadna,
gur an dóine 'nár crocáó cruírt,
do neir d'oinige se reanúr; agus
mar do éannaic claochloó neam-

In that state did he remain seven
years, until the Friday in which
Christ was crucified, according to
some historians; and when he saw

gnátae na noul, agur upróúbaó na
 gnéme 'ran earga lán, fiappaigeap
 do bhacpaé, oipaí do laighnib do
 bí 'na focaib, cnéao da ttáinib an
 malairt neimhnátae rin for na
 oulib. Iopa Cuiort Mac Dé, ar an
 oipaí, atá aga báruáto anoir ag
 túoaigib. Truaig rin, ar Concu-
 bar, da mbeinnri na látaib do
 muirpinn aipaibe timéioll mo níos
 da báruáto. Agur leir rin tug
 a éloróeam amac, agur teco pa
 doipe coille do bí lámh rir, gur
 gab aga geappaó, agur aga buain,
 agur apé a túbaip, da mbeic
 amearg na níuoaigeae, gurab érin
 nioil do béapaó oppa; agur ar
 méao na oapaéto do gab é, do
 ling an meall ara éann go ttái-
 nio curo da méinn 'na óiaig, agur
 mairin go bfuair bá. Coill lá-
 mpaige a bfeirpaib Roir goirteap
 don muine coille rin.

the unusual change of the creation, and the eclipse of the sun, and the moon at its full, he asked of *Barrach*, a Leinster Druid, who was along with him, what was it that brought that unusual change upon the planets of Heaven and Earth. "Jesus Christ the Son of God", said the Druid, "who is now being crucified by the Jews". "That is a pity", said Conor; "were I in His presence, I would kill those who were around my King at putting Him to death". And with that he brought out his sword, and rushed at a woody grove which was convenient to him, and began to cut and fell it; and what he said was, that if he were among the Jews, that that was the usage he would give them; and, from the excessiveness of the fury which seized upon him, the lump started out of his head, and some of his brain came after it; and in that way he died. The Wood of *Lámhraighe*, in *Feara Rois*, is the name by which that shrubby wood is called.

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So far Keating; and as it is of some interest to throw this story of King *Conchobar's* death as far back on authority as we can, I may here quote a distich, with its gloss, from a poem on the manner of death and place of sepulture of a great many of the champions of Erin at and about the time of *Conchobar*. This poem was written by *Cinaeth O'Hartagain*, whose death is recorded in the Annals of the Four Masters at the year 973; the poem consists of thirty-eight stanzas, beginning:—

fianna batap in Emain.

Warriors who were in Emain.

Of the fourth stanza of this poem, the following are the first two lines, and gloss:—

atbae mac neppa in pú
 ri toeb leitiré lampaigí.

Mac Nessa the King died
 By the side of *Leitir Lamhraighe*.

[i. Dia no relaró Concobar fró
 lampaige ir ann luitó in-
 chinn mersgeópa ar a éinn,
 ocur a méinn féin port.

[i.e., as *Conchobar* was cutting
 down the Wood of *Lamh-
 raighe*, it was then *Mesgedh-
 ra's* brain started from his
 head, and his own brain
 afterwards.

There is a copy of this poem in the Book of Leinster, fol. 16, but without the interlined gloss; the only other copy of it that I am acquainted with in Ireland is one, with a gloss, in my own possession, made by myself from a vellum MS. of the fifteenth century, lately in the possession of Mr. William Monk Mason of London.

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APPENDIX No. CLVII. [Note to Preface, Page x.]

On the Irish
MSS. at St.
Isidore's,
Rome.

Statement relative to the Irish MSS. of the College of St. Isidore, at Rome, drawn up for the information of their Lordships the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, and laid before them by the Senate of the Catholic University of Ireland, in 1859.

[The following Memorandum was drawn up by me on the occasion of an inquiry, terminated by a lengthened Report by a Committee of the Senate, on the Condition and Circumstances of the Catholic University of Ireland, in July, 1859. It was prepared in consequence of a recommendation in that Report, that measures should, if possible, be taken to secure to the University "copies, at least, of the valuable Irish Manuscripts of St. Isidore and the Barberini Library, at Rome". As the contents of this Memorandum are so closely connected with the subject of the present volume, it has been thought right to reprint it here.]

July 30, 1859.

The following is a brief notice of the collection of Irish manuscripts illustrative of Ecclesiastical History, now in the College of St. Isidore's at Rome. I have introduced a short account of a collection of somewhat similar history and character, and originally made by the same hands, now in the Burgundian Library at Brussels; and I have dwelt on the liberality of the King of the Belgians in allowing these precious documents to be transmitted to Ireland for the purpose of being copied, in the hope that such an example may lead to a similar liberality on the part of the authorities in Rome, in respect to the invaluable collections now in the Eternal City. The history of these collections leads us necessarily to say a few words on the foundation of the Irish College at Louvain.

Flaithrí O'Maelchonairé, better known to English writers as Florence Conroy, was a native of Galway, and a Franciscan friar. He was well known on the continent for his defence of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and became the cherished friend of King Philip the Third of Spain. In 1610 he was elevated to the archiepiscopal see of Tuam, his native province, and he was the chief promoter, if not the originator, of the project of an Irish college on the continent, in which he contemplated a double purpose. The first, to afford an asylum to such of the Irish ecclesiastics as thought it more conducive to the interests of religion at home to preserve their lives for the preparation and supply of a future priesthood to their native land, than to embrace, as many of them did, the crown of martyrdom, which was at that terrible period so liberally bestowed by their fell enemies of English race and creed. The second purpose,—which, indeed, is implied in the first,—was to afford to the ardent, unconquerable youth of Ireland the means of general mental cultivation and preparation for the sacred ministry, from which they were completely cut off at home.

Full success crowned our archbishop's efforts, and in the year 1616, the first stone of the Irish College was laid at Louvain, under the patronage of St. Anthony of Padua, by Archduke Albert, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and his princess, the Infanta Isabella, sister of King Philip the Third, the

cost of its erection being liberally supplied from the coffers of this Catholic sovereign. APP. CLVII.

Among the first members of the Theological Faculty of the Irish College at Louvain was *Aedh Mac an Bhaird*, better known as Hugh Ward, a native of Donegall, and a Franciscan friar. He was first Professor of Divinity, and ultimately Guardian or Rector of the College. He was soon after joined by Father John Colgan and Father Michael O'Clery.

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These three noble Irish Franciscans soon began to devise means to rescue from the chances of threatened oblivion the perishing records and evidences of, at least, the Ecclesiastical History of their native country. They established an Irish Press in St. Anthony's College. Michael O'Clery was sent back into Ireland to collect, purchase, or transcribe manuscripts; the expenses of his mission being provided by Father Ward. Father Michael O'Clery, than whom no more competent person for such an undertaking could be found, appears to have arrived in Ireland in 1626. He immediately set to work collecting, chiefly by transcription, all kinds of ecclesiastical documents, but more especially those important historical tracts, the Lives of the Irish Saints. He visited the Franciscan Monasteries of Dublin, Drogheda, Multifarnham, Wexford, Cashel, Clonmel, Quin, Bundroose, etc., etc., and various private libraries, collecting and transcribing from all. And having made his collection in a promiscuous manner, he then retired to his own monastery of Donegall, while he was engaged in the compilation of the Annals of the Four Masters, and where, among his early friends and relatives, the illustrious fathers of that famous monastery, he appears to have re-copied and arranged all the materials of ecclesiastical history which he had collected.

Father Ward died in 1635, and the prosecution of the contemplated work devolved upon Father Colgan. At what time Father Michael O'Clery reached him with his precious stores, I am not able to say; but he was in Louvain in 1642, when he published his glossary. Father Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturgus*, containing all the lives of our three great patrons, St. Patrick, St. Bridget, and St. Colum Cille, and the *Acta Sanctorum*, extending only to the saints of the months of January, February, March, appeared in 1645. Michael O'Clery died at Louvain in 1643; and whether it was from the loss of his indispensable assistance, or some other cause, Colgan, though he lived to 1658, did not publish any more of the work, nor was it ever after taken up.

The materials collected by Michael O'Clery, as well as any that may have been obtained through other channels, remained at Louvain after his and Father Colgan's death, and down, it is presumed, to the French Revolution, at which time they appear to have been dispersed, and in such a manner that all knowledge of their existence was for a long time lost. But it would appear from what has been since learned, that this great collection became subdivided into two principal parts, one of which found its way to Brussels, and the other to Rome.

The late Dean Lyons, of Belmullet, having occasion to go to Rome in the year 1842, had, previous to his leaving Dublin, an interview with some of our antiquarian celebrities, and at their suggestion he undertook to examine the archives of the Eternal City in search of Irish books and manuscripts, with a promise that he would send home from time to time pencil tracings of the titles,

APP. CLVII. chapters, etc., of any manuscripts which he might happen to discover. He was himself a good Irish scholar. All the searches that Dr. Lyons could make were unproductive until he visited the College of St. Isidore, in which, to his infinite satisfaction, he found twenty volumes of Irish manuscripts, some of them of the greatest interest and value to the ancient civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland, and all of them of more or less importance to the same subject. Upon making this discovery, Dr. Lyons at once set to work, and, after a short time, sent over two letters in succession, with most important enclosures, being, in fact, tracings in pencil of wonderful accuracy from all the chief heads of subjects in the entire collection. These tracings were passed over with ink by me, and at the suggestion of the Rev. Dr. Todd, they were pasted into a book specially made for the purpose, and then, with the consent of Dr. Lyons, placed in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, where they remain in safety and in high esteem, and accessible to all persons interested in Irish history.

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On the return of Dr. Lyons to Ireland, in 1843, the friends of Irish literature in Dublin consulted him on the possibility of getting possession of these valuable remains by purchase or loan, with the view of placing the originals or accurate copies of them in the Royal Irish Academy, where they would be accessible to all who may choose to consult them. I was asked to make up a short catalogue of their contents from the tracings sent over, which enabled me to identify all the pieces, and also to furnish a rough estimate of their value. This I did, and I valued them at £400, that is, on an average of twenty pounds per volume. Dr. Todd undertook to raise this sum by subscription, and my catalogue was sent down to Dean Lyons, who transmitted it, with the offer of the money, to Rome; but before we could have an answer back, Dr. Lyons died, the Repeal Association ceased to exist, the public sentiment which it had raised subsided, the famine set in, and if any answer came to Dr. Lyons' letters, we have never heard of it.

The next account we had of these MSS. was the publication, without my privity or consent in any way asked or obtained, of my Catalogue, by the Rev. J. Donovan (in the third volume, p. 977, of his *Ancient and Modern Rome*), in 1843. I may here state that a consideration of the heads of subjects and chapters of the MSS. in question, leaves no doubt on my mind as to their having formed part of the original Louvain collection of Father Michael O'Clery.

Shortly after the discovery of the collection at St. Isidore's, I had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of Mr. Laurence Waldron, the present M.P. for the county of Tipperary, to whom I mentioned the discovery. Mr. Waldron was accustomed to make an annual tour on the Continent, and I requested him, when next he went there, to look out for Irish MSS. in such libraries as he might happen to visit in his travels, and more particularly Brussels, Liege, Lisle, Ostend, and the other cities of Belgium. This gentleman was good enough to receive instructions from me as to the way in which he could identify manuscripts of importance. In the summer following he sent me from Brussels a large quantity of tracings from several manuscripts. These tracings, made with great care and accuracy, enabled me at once to identify Michael O'Clery's (to me) well-known handwriting, and the noble collection of the Lives of the Irish Saints and other ecclesiastical documents, which he had made in Ireland for Fathers Ward and Colgan between the years 1626 and 1635. I imme-

diately communicated this information to the Rev. Dr. Todd, of Trinity College, who at once started for Brussels, and found that I was quite correct in my identification of these MSS. The collection was next visited by the Rev. Dr. Graves, of Trinity College, and next by Mr. Samuel Bindon, of the county of Clare, who made a most accurate and valuable catalogue of the whole collection.

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On the Irish
MSS. at St.
Isidore's,
Rome

It was about this time that I discovered in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, a large and valuable fragment of the history of the wars of the Danes in Ireland; and on the discovery of the Brussels collection, it was found to contain a full copy of this most important tract, made by Michael O'Clery in the convent of Multifarnham in 1626. Under these circumstances, Dr. Todd visited Brussels again, taking with him my copy of the fragment in Trinity College, Dublin, into which he inserted from the O'Clery copy all that was wanting to it. At this time Dr. Todd had the good fortune to obtain an interview with the King of the Belgians, to whom he explained the nature of his visit to the Burgundian Library, expressing his regret at the difficulties which the distance from Ireland placed in the way of making these valuable records available for the purposes of Irish History. Some time subsequently, in May, 1849, and incidentally to my examination before a Committee of the House of Commons, the importance of these MSS. was fully made known, and through my instrumentality an effort was set on foot to obtain a loan of them from the Burgundian Library. With most commendable liberality his Majesty at once consented to permit any one or more of the manuscripts to be sent over to this country through the Belgian Ambassador in London and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and, accordingly, in 1849, two volumes came over, containing the Martyrologies of Aengus the Culdee, of Tallaght, of Marianus Gorman, and that of Donegall compiled by the Four Masters. Of these I made accurate and laboured copies for Dr. Todd's private library and at his private expense, no public body here being willing at the time to undertake the cost of such a work. On returning these books to Brussels we next obtained two other important books,—the Danish wars and a volume of Religious and Historical Poems. Of the former I made a copy for the Library of Trinity College. In 1856 we had the remaining volumes of the collection sent over for the purposes of the Brehon Law Commission; but although O'Clery's magnificent collection of the lives of our saints was among them, there were no parties here who could be found willing to defray the expense of copying them. I, however, at my own expense had copies taken of the lives of SS. *Adamnan, Moling, Berach, MacCreiche, Crannatan, Ceallach, Colman Ela, and Mochoemóg of Leith Mór.*

We have, in the instance of the Irish MSS. in the Burgundian Library and the collection at St. Isidore's, examples of the manner in which the materials of our ecclesiastical history are scattered all over the continent. The writings of Dr. Lanigan, and all others of a similar kind, are mere digests of Irish ecclesiastical history, omitting all the more important historical and social details which give consistency, and, I may say, unimpeachable authenticity, to those remarkable documents.

Amongst other reasons which would make it desirable for us to possess at least authentic copies of these valuable documents, I may state that, as a

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Catholic Professor of Irish History and Archæology, I feel myself greatly embarrassed in my connection with the Catholic University. I have been preparing and delivering courses of Lectures in this institution on the Antiquities and early civil History of Ireland, drawn altogether from ancient existing manuscripts, of which, for this purpose, we have a tolerably large store remaining; but I have been deterred from entering upon any lengthened course of Lectures on the still more important subject of our Christian History, solely because the original authorities are so widely scattered and impossible of access. If it were possible, and I believe that, with the aid of your Lordships' influence, it would be readily so, to bring together in Dublin, even for a short time, the collection at St. Isidore's, and that of the Burgundian Library, Brussels, copies of these works could be made, which, with the materials that could be procured by transcription by a competent person in a month or six weeks in Oxford and London; and then, indeed, would the materials for Lectures on the ancient Catholic History of Ireland, as well as for the general history of this country, be abundant, authoritative, and unanswerable. Indeed I would look upon the collection and concentration, in the Library of the Catholic University, of those scattered fragments of our national history, as supplying nearly as great a desideratum as the University itself.—EUGENE O'CURRY,

Professor of Irish Archæology.

[END OF THE APPENDIX.]

EXPLANATION OF THE FAC-SIMILES.

[The FAC-SIMILES which follow are arranged in the Chronological Order of the dates, or supposed dates, of the MSS., or handwriting, represented. They will be found to be distinguished by the letters of the alphabet—(A.), (B.), etc.—for convenience of reference to the following EXPLANATIONS.]

(A.) MS. in the “*Domhnach Airgid*”; [R.I.A.]. (*temp. Saint Patrick; circa A.D. 430*). [A.]

—“eli . . [] ge . . [] . . hi ge Jacob Jac . . hi genui . .
[] Omnes ergo generationes ab Abracham usque ad
David generationes xiiii, et a David usque ad Transmigra-
tionem Babil[onis] generationes xiiii., et a trans[migratione]
Babil . . ni . . usque ad [Christum] generationes” [xiiii.], etc.

[See as to this MS. (the “*Domhnach Airgid*”) the text at Lect. XV., page 321-2; and particularly the description of it from Dr. Petrie, at p. 324; and see Appendix, No. XCVI., p. 598.]

The MS. preserved in this celebrated shrine was supposed to have been miraculously presented to Saint Patrick; it may at least be said with certainty that this very MS. was in the possession of the Saint, on account of which it was always regarded as one of his Relics. It consisted of a copy of the Four Gospels. The present fragment is one of the two leaves referred to by Dr. Petrie (see p. 324). It is part of the first chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, of which the 15th, 16th, and 17th verses are as follows in the Vulgate. It will be seen that the translations are not identical; as, for example, the 17th verse, in the MS. begins “*Omnes ergo*”, instead of “*Omnes itaque*”:—

“15. Eliud autem genuit Eleazar. Eleazar autem genuit Mathan. Mathan autem genuit Jacob.

“16. Jacob autem genuit Joseph virum Mariæ, de qua natus est Jesus, qui vocatur Christus.

“17. Omnes itaque generationes ab Abraham usque ad David, generationes quatuordecim: et a David usque ad Transmigrationem Babylonis, generationes quatuordecim: et a Transmigratione Babylonis usque ad Christum, generationes quatuordecim”.

(B.) MS. in the *Cáčáč*. (6th Century; MS. attributed to Saint Colum Cillé). [B.]

“Deus in nomine tuo saluum me fac, et in virtute tua iudica me. Deus exaudi orationem meam: auribus percipe verba oris mei. Quoniam alieni insurrexerunt adversum me, et fortes quæsierunt animam meam”: [etc.]

[See as to this MS., (the "*Cathach*"), the text at Lect. XV., pp. 321 and 327, et seq.]

The MS. consists of a fragment of a copy of the Psalms of David, believed to have been hurriedly written by Saint *Colum Cillé* himself. It is in admirable preservation. The passage represented in the fac-simile exactly agrees with the Vulgate; Ps. LIII.; vv. 3, 4, and part of 5.

- [C.] (C.) "Book of Kells" [T.C.D.]. (6th Century; MS. attributed to Saint Colum Cillé); fol. 46 a.

"Nolite thesaurizare vobis thesauros in terra: ubi er go [æru]go et tinea demolitur; et ubi fures effodiunt, et furantur.

"Thesaurizare autem vobis thesauros in cælo, ubi neque erugo [æru]go neque tinea demolitur, et ubi fures non effodiunt, [etc.]

[See text, at Lect. I., p. 23.

The passage represented in fac-simile agrees with the 19th and 20th verses of the vi. chap. of St. Matthew, in the Vulgate. The peculiarities are indicated by Italics.

- [D.] (D.) "Book of Durrow", [T.C.D.]. (6th Century; MS. attributed to Saint Colum Cillé); fol. 107 b.

"De die autem illo et [vel] hora nemo scit, neque angeli in cælo, neque Filius, nisi Pater.

"Videte, vigilate, et orate; nescitis enim quando tempus sit"

[See Text, at Lect. I., p. 23.

The passage in fac-simile agrees with the 32nd and 33rd verses of the XIII. chap. of St. Mark, in the Vulgate.

[The reference in the margin (see Fac-simile),—("MR. clv. VI. MT. cclx").—means that the same thing told in the text occurs in Mark, cap. clv., and in Matt. cclx. The VI. is a reference to the (Eusebian) Table.

[The numbers in the margin are those called the Eusebian numbers. They are a reference to the ancient tabular harmony of the Gospels. These Tables are: 1° the passages which occur in one Gospel only; 2° the passages that occur in two; 3° the passages that occur in three; 4° the passages that occur in all the four Gospels. The Tables under the head No. 2° are: (1.) Matt. and Mark; (2.) Matt. and Luke; (3.) Matt. and John; (4.) Mark and Luke; (5.) Mark and John; (6.) Luke and John. Those under head 3° (1.) Math., Mark, and Luke; (2.) Math., Mark, and John; (3.) Math., Luke, and John; and (4.) Mark, Luke, and John.

[I am indebted for this note to the Rev. Dr. Todd, S.F.T.C.D.]

- [E.] (E.) Memorandum in the "Book of Durrow", [T.C.D.]. (6th Century).

✠ Mirepere Domine Naemani ✠ . . . ✠ ríu Neth. . . ✠

[No account of this *Naemhan* (a name of which *NAEMANI* is the Latin form in the Gen. Case) has been discovered. There is a *Naomhan*, the grandson of *Dubh*, mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegall, at Sept. 13, but no further reference to him has been found. Nor has any name been yet found of which *Neth*. could be the first part.]

(F.) Memorandum in the "Book of Durrow", [T.C.D.]. (6th century), fol. 244, b. [F.]

"Τῆς τριτίαις". (tristitiæ).

[See Text, at Lect. I. p. 23.

An example of the Irish running hand of the time. The word is written in the original handwriting of the scribe, in the margin, as a gloss or explanation. It is placed opposite a line (in an Explanation of the Proper Names in the Gospel of St. John), in which these words occur:

ΤΡΑΧΟΝΙΤΙΟΥΣ ΝΕΓΟΤΙΑΤΙΟ ΑΝΓΥΣΤΙΑΕ.

(G.) "Book of *Dimma*", [T. C. D.]. (circa A.D. 620), fol. 2.b,a. [G.]

"Et cum inveneritis renuntiate mihi ut ego et veniens adorem eum, qui cum audiissent regem abierunt", [etc.]

[See Text, at Lect. I. p. 23, and XV. p. 335.

From the end of the 8th and commencement of the 9th verse of St. Matth., cap. II.

(H.) Same Book. (circa A.D. 620); fol. a.b. [H.]

[There are several different styles of handwriting in this curious volume, though all belong to the same age, if not actually to the same hand. This diminutive copy of the Lord's Prayer has been selected for fac-simile, not only as a good specimen of one of these styles, but to furnish a good point of comparison with the equally remarkable specimen from the *Evangelistarium* of Saint *Moling*, [see Specimen (N.),] which belongs to a later period of the same (VII.) century. The slight differences in the reading from the version in the Vulgate (Matth. vi. 9.) are marked in Italics:

"Pater noster qui es in cælis sanctificetur nomen tuum, adveniat regnum tuum, fiat voluntas tua sicut in cælo et in terra, panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie, et demitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos demissimus debitoribus nostris, et ne *patiaris* nos *induci* in temptationem, sed libera nos a malo".

(I.) Same Book. (circa A.D. 620); fol. 52, b. [I.]

"Deus qui facturam tuam pio semper donares affectu, inclina aurem tuam suplicantibus nobis tibi ad famulum tuum nunc adversitate valitudinis corporis laborantem, placituri respice, visita eum in salutare tuo et cælestis gratiæ ad medicamentum: Per Dominum".

[This passage is from the Prayers for the Visitation of the Sick.

The writing, in this specimen of the Book, is of the finest hand of the period. The contraction at the end, for "Per Dominum", is one of the earliest forms.]

(J.) Memorandum in same Book (circa A.D. 620); fol. 15, lower margin. [J.]

[A.] **Πρωτ.** Ορίστω το Θύμμου ποσὶς ἐστὶν πρὸ Θεοῦ καὶ bene-
dictione.

[TRANSLATION.]

"Finit. A prayer for *Dimmu* who wrote [this] for God; and a benediction".

[At the end of the Gospel of St. Matt.]

[K.] (K.) Same Book (*circa* A.D. 620); last fol., at the end.

Sunt autem et alia multa quae fecit Iesu quae prae-
scribuntur per[per] lingu]la nec ipsum arbitror mundum
porre capere eos qui scribendi sunt libror.

Finis Amen. Dimma mac Nathi. ✠

Sunt autem et alia multa quae fecit Iesu quae si scribantur p[er singu]la nec
ipsum arbitror mundum posse capere eos qui scribendi sunt libros.

Finit Amen. Dimma mac Nathi. ✠

[The verse in Gaedhlic, at the end of the specimen (perhaps the oldest piece of pure Gaedhlic writing in existence), is as follows :—

Sijm vrom hilluag mo raethij,
A lenmain alt cen vichill,
Cin neimnitnecht nacrav
Ocur atwab ino juchith.

[TRANSLATION.]

I beseech for me, as the price of my labour,
(In the following chapters without mistake),
That I be not venomously criticized;
And the residence of the Heavens.

[End of the Gospel of St. John, and of the book.

[The *Si* in the first word of the first line of this verse is conjectural, on account of the decayed state of the original letters; but as the other three letters, *-rim*, are quite legible, and as the whole verse is a prayer for reward, and a deprecation against severe criticism, I have chosen (or rather guessed) these two letters, to make up this well-known and ancient form of "I beseech". Similar reasons decided me in supplying *n* in the negative *cin*, at the beginning of the third line. It is a curious fact in regard to this most ancient Irish text, that the undistinguished crowding of words in the lines to be found in later MSS. (and to which the modern school of philologists seem to attach so much importance), is absent here, except in the words *h1l-luag* (*h1l-luag*) in the first line. The four lines are, however, written in two.

[L.] (L.) Same Book. (*circa* A.D. 620).

“Initium Evangelii Jesu Christi filii Dei sicut scriptum [est] in Essaia profeta. Ecce [ego] mit[t]o angelum meum ante faciem tuam qui preparabit viam tuam ante te. Vox clamantis in deserto, Parate viam Domini, rectas facite semitas [ejus]”.

[The first three verses of the first chapter of the Gospel of St. Mark.]

(M.) Evangelistarium of Saint *Moling*, [T.C.D.] (*circa* A.D. 690). [M.]

“De Johanne.

“Hic est Johannes Evangelista unus de xii. discipulis Dei, qui virgo electus a Deo est: quem de nuptiis nolentem nubere vocavit Deus, cui virginitatis in hoc duplex testimonium in Evangelio datur, quod et præceptis delectus a Deo dicitur, et huic matrem suam iens ad crucem commendavit Deus ut virginem virgo servaret”.

[See Text at Lect. I. p. 23, and at Lec. XV. p. 335-6.

This is St. Jerome's Argument to the Gospel of St John.

(N.) Same Book. (*circa* A.D. 690). [N.]

[The preceding example from this very ancient Book is written in a careless running hand. The present is a much more careful piece of penmanship. It has been selected partly on that account, and partly also as affording an interesting point of comparison with the version of the Lord's Prayer already given from the (supposed) somewhat earlier “Book of *Dimma*” [see *ante*, Specimen (II.)]. The slight differences between this version and that of the Vulgate (Matth., vi. 9) are here also marked by Italics:

“Pater noster qui es in cælis sanctificetur nomen tuum, adveniat regnum tuum, fiat voluntas tua, sicut in cælo et in terra, panem nostrum *supersubstantialem* da nobis hodie et remitte nobis debita nostra sicut et nos remittimus debitoribus nostris, et ne *patiaris nos induci in temptationem*, sed libera nos a malo”.

(O.) “Book of Armagh”, [T.C.D.]. (A.D. 724), fol. 18. b, a. [O.]

[See the passage in APP. No. CIV., p. 607.]

(P.) Same Book. (A.D. 724), fol. 21 b, b. [P.]

[See the passage in APP. No. CXVII., p. 611.]

(Q.) “Liber Hymnorum” [E. 4. 2., T.C.D.], (*circa* A.D. 900). [Q.]

[See the passage in APP. No. CIII., p. 606.]

(R.) Entry in the “Book of Armagh”, made *temp.* Brian Boroimhé (A.D. 1002); fol. 16. b, b. [R.]

“Sanctus Patru[c]i us ienr ad coelum mandavit totum fructum laboris sui tam baptiziam [?] tam caritatem quod elemosinarum deferendum esse apostolicæ ubi que Scotice nominatur Ardo Macha. Sic peperit in bibliothecis Scotorum. Ego scripsi in est Caluar Perennit

in conspectu b[ri]ani imperatoris Scotorum, et que scripsi finiquit pro omnibus regibus Mace[ri]e.”

“Sanctus Patri[ci]us iens ad cœlum mandavit totum fructum laboris sui tam baptistiam [?] tam causarum quod elemosinarum deferendum esse apostolicæ urbi que Scotice nominatur Ardd Macha. Sic reperi in bibliothicis Scotorum. Ego scripsi id est Calvus Perennis in conspectu Briani imperatoris Scotorum, et que scripsi finiquit pro omnibus regibus Maceriæ.”

[“Saint Patrick, going up to Heaven, commanded that all the fruit of his labour, as well of baptisms as of causes and of alms, should be carried to the Apostolic City, which is called *Scoticé* [*i.e.* in the Gaedhelic] ARDD MACHA. So I have found it in the book-collections of the Scots [*i. e.*, the Gaedhil]. I have written [this], that is [I] Calvus Perennis [*lit.* “Bald for ever”, *i. e.*, *Mael-suthain*] in the sight [under the eyes] of Brian, Emperor of the Scots, and what I have written he determined for all the kings of MACERIÆ [*i.e.*, Cashel, or Munster].”]

[The word “*Maceriæ*”, in this remarkable entry, had long been a subject of doubt among those to whom the Book of Armagh was known. But it was certainly intended by the writer as a literal Latin translation of the Gaedhelic word “*Caiseal*”,—“a stone fort”,—the name of the chief city of Munster. The certainty that this is so, for the first time occurred to me a few years ago, (I think in 1852), one day that Dr. John O'Donovan and Mr. MacCosh, I think, both Professors of the Queen's College, Belfast, were inspecting this passage in the Book of Armagh, then deposited in the Royal Irish Academy, Dawson Street. Whilst discussing between them the possible meaning of the word “*Maceriæ*”, I asked them to define the ordinary meaning of the word in English. They answered of course, “a stone wall”; whereupon I at once said that it must mean Cashel, because *Caiseal* is the Gaedhelic for a Stone Fort, or wall; an explanation to which Dr. O'Donovan agreed at once, and with satisfaction at the discovery.]

The entry was in fact made as a solemn determination by the *Ard-Righ* (Chief-King, “Imperator”, Emperor) of the Gaedhil (Scots), of the supremacy of the Primatial seat of Armagh over the Archiepiscopal capital of Cashel, over which Brian, as King of Munster, was the immediate monarch.

The word “*finiquit*” in the passage is also a difficulty. The *g* has been also read a *t*. It is indistinct, and in fact looks like a *τ* with a dot above and a dot below. If so, these dots would represent the scribe's mark of an erasure, and the letter is to be passed over. The word will then stand “*finivit*”.]

[S.]

(S.) ʒeaḃar na h-ʒiōpe [R.I.A.]. (*circa* A.D. 1100); fol. 45.

“Tain bo cuailgne inro rir.

“Tarcomláo rlóigeo móri la Connac̃tu .i. la hAilill ocuṛ la Meioḃ, ocuṛ hetha huaroib coṛnatpuchoicet aili. Ocuṛ fóite teḃta ó Ailill co uin. macu Máḡach .i. co hAilill, co Anluan, co Moccoṛib, co Cet, co En, ocuṛ ḃarcall, ocuṛ Dóce .xxx. céṛ la caḃnae; ocuṛ co Coṛmac Conṛlongar mac Conḃobairi cona triḃcétaiḃ bóí foṛ cono-meo la Connachta. Tecait uile iápuṛ combátar hi Cpuáchnaib Aí

[TRANSLATION.]

“*Táin Bo Cuailgne* here below.

“A great host was assembled by the Connacians, that is, by *Ailill* and by *Medhbh*; and messages went from them to the other three provinces. And

messages were sent from *Ailill* to the seven sons of *Magach*, that is, to *Ailill*, to *Anluan*, to *Moccorb*, to *Cel*, to *En*, and *Bascall*, and *Doché*, thirty hundred with each man of them; and to *Cormac Conlongas*, the son of *Conchobhar*, with his three hundred, who were upon free quarters with the Connacians. They all came then, until they were in *Cruachain Ai*".

[The commencement of the fragment of this celebrated Historic Tale referred to in the text (Lect. IX.; p. 185).]

(T.) "Book of Leinster" [H. 2. 18., T.C.D.]. (*circa* A.D. 1130), fol. 10. b., a. [11]

[See the passage in APP. No. XXXVIII. p. 526].

(U.) Same Book (*circa* A.D. 1130). fol. 25, a, 1 a. [10]

[See the passage in APP. No. III. p. 482.

(V.) MS. in T.C.D. [H. 2. 15.]; (A.D. 1300). fol. 13. b. [14]

De fofolaib cineoiltuaiti.

ni tualaing brethemnachta forfine na-
fuitori, nao fiastar anetarscarao.

.i. nococuimgec breitemnachta doirei mo pheneccair for-
fine nafoadae .i. iere tui. Noetaircarao na fine ocu-
na fuitore iu flaiti.

[TRANSLATION.]

"Of the classification of the tribes of a territory.

"HE IS NOT COMPETENT TO THE JUDGESHIP OF A TRIBE
NOR OF A *FUIDHIR*, WHO DOES NOT KNOW [the law of] THEIR
SEPARATION".

"That is, he is not competent for judgeship according to the *Fenechas*, upon a tribe, nor upon a semi-slave. [That is, one who is so during the time of three successive masters], or the separation of the tribe, or the semi-slave from a lord".

[The *Fuidhir* was a person, who, if he only crossed the boundary line into the next territory, without stock or means of any kind, and took stocked land from the chief of that territory, was looked upon, after having remained so (or his children), during the lives of three succeeding lords, as half enslaved. During this time he or his children might depart, but take nothing away with them. Should he or they come under a fourth lord, without opposition from themselves, or claim from their original tribe chief, they could never be free to depart again.

This curious tract (one of those called Brehon Laws) treats of the various grades into which a tribe was divided, their relative positions and reciprocal responsibilities to each other and to their chief, as well as the duties and liabilities of the latter to the people. The MS. belongs to the 14th century.

(W.) Entry in *leabhar na h-Uirne*, (fol. 35, a. b.), by *Sigmar*
O'Cuimhin; [R.I.A.]. (A.D. 1345). [17]

[See passage in APP. No. LXXX. p. 570 (the first paragraph).]

- [X.] (X.) "Book of Ballymote", [R.I.A.]. (A.D. 1391); fol. 12, a.b.

"Cia uin ciata mozaib Erinna artoirraiz talman.

"Ireao atbert lebar Droma Sneacta comao Banba ainm nacetingeine mozaib Erinna manuilino, ocur zomao uaiti nobeit Banba for Erinna. Tri caecat oꝑ dovecaro ocur triar fear. Laḡra intpear fear, iŕerin cét marb Erinna annrin ocur iŕuaó ainmnighear Arto Laḡrann Ceatracat bliadan (nolá) manuilino dobadar iŕinoninori rin. Dorrainis iarom ḡalar conerboiltioar uile anaen-feactmoin.

[TRANSLATION.]

"Who now was the first that found Erin, the first [person] of earth.

"It is what the Book of *Dromsneachta* says, that *Banba* was the name of the woman who found Erin before the Deluge, and that it was from her the name *Banba* is upon Erin. Three times fifty virgins, and three men. *Laghra* was one of the three; he was the first dead person of Erinna then; and it is from him *Ard Laghrann* is named. Forty years [or days] before the Deluge they were in this island. There came then a distemper. and they all died in one week".

[And see passage in APP. No. IX. (p. 497)].

- [Y.] (Y.) Same Book (A.D. 1391), fol. 142 b. b.

[See passage in APP. No. XXVI. (p. 510).]

- [Z.] (Z.) Same Book (A.D. 1391), fol. 189 b.

[See passage in APP. No. XXIII. (p. 513).]

- [AA.] (AA.) "leabar buirde lecan", [H. 2. 16., T.C.D.] (*circa* A.D. 1390), col. 338, b.

[See passage in APP. No. CXX., (p. 614).]

[The passage in the APP. copied in the fac-simile is the 3rd paragraph of the 1st Invocation. The fac-simile goes on to include also the 4th paragraph, which is as follows:—

Δ πρῶτον Μυρε ὀγε. Δ Μιc Δαβιd. Δ Μιc Αβραμ.
Δ Θωρις na nuile. Δ φορcento in Doman.

[TRANSLATION.]

"Thou first-born of Mary the Virgin. Thou son of David. Thou son of Abraham. Thou Chief of all. Thou End of the World".

- [BB.] (BB.) Same Book (*circa* A.D. 1390), col. 896.

[See passage in APP. No. VII., (p. 496).]

[The passage in the APP. is copied from the version in the Book of Ballymote. The following (which very slightly differs from it) is that from the "Yellow Book of *Lecain*", in the Fac-Simile:—

Do mḡneao uin ḡnim naḡampa la Cormac annrin .i.

Saltaim Cormaic do éinöl, ar[n]o tinoilic rin ocuſ fean-
chada feaſi nErienn im Fhintan mac mBochra, ocuſ im Fhital
ſile anſirin, coſo ſeubairt coimſneſa ocuſ cſaeba coibimurſa.

[TRANSLATION.]

“There was now an admirable deed performed by *Cormac* there; namely, to compile the *Saltair* of *Cormac*; for he compiled that, and the historians of the men of Erinn [with him], including *Fintan* the son of *Bochra*, and *Fithal* the poet, there; and they wrote the synchronisms and the genealogical branches”.

(CC.) “*Leabhar mór Dúna Dóirſne*”; (called “*Leabhar bſeac*”); [R.I.A.]. (*circa* A.D. 1400), fol. 28. a. b. [CC.]

[See passage in APP. No. CXIII. (p. 610).]

(DD.) Same Book (*circa* A.D. 1400), fol. 23, a. b. [DD.]

[See passage in APP. No. CXII. (p. 609).]

(EE.) Same Book (*circa* A.D. 1400), fol. 32, b. [EE.]

[See passage in APP. No. CXV. (p. 611).]

(FF.) MS. in R.I.A. [H. and S., 3. 67]; (*circa* A.D. 1400), fol. 3, a. a. [FF.]

[See passage in APP. No. I. (p. 461).]

[The FAC-SIMILE contains the following sentence before the passage given in the APPENDIX, which is to be read in continuation of these words:—

Felmac .i. mac a hIad, no a huad .i. ai. Fele .i. ecſi, no
ecſſſſ, mſe ſoicſur ſilſeſſt .i. éſſi.

[TRANSLATION.]

“*Felmac*, that is the son of his *Iad*, or his *Uad*, that is [of his] *Ai* [poetry or science]. *Felé*, that is, poetry, or a poet, inde dicitur *Filidecht*, that is, *ecſi* [poetry”].

[This is an analysis of the word *Felmac*. *Fel* [or *Fial*] is the same as *Féile*, hospitality, but is applied here to the teacher who so hospitably dispenses his knowledge of the science to his *mac*, “son”, or pupil; and hence the pupil is called *Fel-mac*, that is, the Son of hospitable science.]

(GG.) MS. in R.I.A. (*circa* 14th Century). [GG.]

[The diagram contains the following words:—

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| na haisſennaiſ ar na nſoſeugad | 1. The high stars, on being darkened |
| oſcaile na talman. | by the shadow of the earth. |
| ſpeir na ſneime. | 2. The sun's sphere. |
| ſpeir na ſneime. | 3. The sun's sphere. |
| ſcaile na talman ac ſoſeugad na | 4. The shadow of the earth darkening |
| ſeſe. | the moon. |
| ſpeir na naisſennaiſ nſai[n]ſen. | 5. The sphere of the fixed stars. |
| ſol. | 6. The Sun. |
| ſerre, [ſerre]. | 7. The Earth.] |

[GG.]

“Si autem sol minoris esset canditatis, etcetera. Da-
mao luğa cainoigeēt na ġreine nā na talman, ġaċ uile
ni voġulaing, voċeodaiti doubnamari ocur tuille leo, vo
teigemaodair ann, oiri vo beit ġcaile na talman a ġiri ġar
ocur ari letni on talam amaċ co ġreiri na nairoimnoaċ,
ocur vo voġoċaċo ġe an curo buo mo acu; ocur vo tege-
meo eclirpiri vona planeoab an ġaċ en mi, ocur vo beit
eclirpiri an ġe ari bun ġe ġeo na ġairoġi, mari doeri. Mareo,
onaċ ġacamar amail ġo ġiam, ocur o naċ cualamar, ocur o
naċ ġuamamar ġġuibċa, ir ecin naċ luğa cainoigeēt na
ġreine na cainoioċect na talman; ocur ir ġollur irin ġiġuri
ġo ġir an ġaeroġo doerim.

[TRANSLATION.]

“Si autem sol minoris esset canditatis”, etc. If the magnitude of the sun were smaller than the magnitude of the earth, every thing unsustainable, unpermissible, we have said, and more along with them, they should fall in it; for the shadow of the earth would be continually growing and leaping from the earth out to the sphere of the high stars, and it would darken the greater part of them; and an eclipse would happen to the planets in every month; and the eclipse of the moon would hold during the night, as he says. Well then, as we have never seen the like of this, and as we have not heard, and as we have not found it written, it must be that the magnitude of the sun is not smaller than the magnitude of the earth; and what I say is manifest from this figure down here”.

[This remarkable Astronomical Tract does not appear to have been yet investigated by scientific scholars. A specimen has therefore been selected such as to show one of the many diagrams with which it is illustrated. It is a beautiful vellum MS., of eight leaves, in the finest style of handwriting.]

[HH.]

(HH.) MS. in Trin. Coll. Dub. [H. 2. 7.] (*circa* A.D. 1400), fol. 196, a.

[This volume consists of a collection of Genealogical and general Historical Tracts and Poems. It is known by the name of the Book of *Hy Mainé*, because the chief portion of it is devoted to Tracts and Poems concerning that district of Connacht, and the History of the O’Kellys and O’Maddens, its Princes,—of which the most important pieces were published by the Irish Archæological Society, in 1843. The passage selected for fac-simile, as a specimen of the MS., is from another portion of the volume. It is as follows:—

Seoan O Dubagaim da ġini in
duan ġo.

[TRANSLATION.]

“Seoan O Dubhagain that made
this poem.

ġrobaro cubġia Clanna Néill,
luġburċ uaral, o’an ġimein
ġreima ġinemna ġiri
lġeamna na ġairoġi.

“Sweet trees are the Clanna Neill,
“A noble herb-garden^(a) of the true
nature,
“Roots of the true vine,
“The bulb-roots of the High-King-
ship”.

[^(a) Herb-garden; in the original text, luġburċ; put by transposition for luġ-ġurċ; from luib, an herb or plant, and ġorċ, a garden or field.]

- (II.) "Book of *Lecain*" [R.I.A.] (A.D. 1416), fol. 19, a. a. [II.]
 [See passage in APP. No. XXXII. (p. 522).]

- (JJ.) Same Book (A.D. 1416), fol. 77, b. b. [JJ.]
 [See passage in APP. No. X. (p. 497)].

- (KK.) Same Book (A.D. 1416), fol. 155, a. a. [KK.]
 [See passage in APP. No. 1. (p. 462).]

The FAC-SIMILE contains a sentence more at the beginning than the passage printed in the APP., as follows: (after which the passage in the APP. is to be read in continuation):

In conoelḡ larin lartneoir ir etarḡairu larin filio. . . .

[TRANSLATION.]

"The Degree of Comparison, with the Latinist, is the Distinction [or Separation] with the *Filé*. . . .

[The word *Conoelḡ* is the ordinary Irish for what the Latinists call the Three Degrees of Comparison; while the Philosopher or Poet's word for it is *Etarḡairi*, which however has Seven Degrees or distinctions. The Tract from which this passage is taken is an ancient Treatise on Grammar, comparing that of Gaelhlic with the Latin; and this passage is part of a lengthened explanation of the different systems of Comparison in the two languages.]

- (LL.) "Liber Flavus Fergusiorum" (A.D. 1434). [LL.]
 [See passage in APP. No. XL. (p. 529).]

- (MM.) "Book of *Acaill*" [E. 3. 5. T.C.D.] (*circa* A.D. 1450), fol. 21, a. [MM.]

[See passage in APP. No. XXVII. (p. 511).]

The Initial Letter has been omitted in the MS. It should be **U**. It was, perhaps, left in blank to be filled up by a scribe specially skilled in ornamental letters, or this work was postponed till the copyist had concluded the more ordinary part of his labours.

- (NN.) "Book of Fermoy", (A.D. 1467). [NN.]
 [See passage in APP. No. XVIII. (p. 503.)]

- (OO.) MS. in R.I.A. [43. 6.] (A.D. 1463). [OO.]

Isreō ir ár do'n Tigeirna .i. reēt mbliaōna, ocuḡ tḡu
 ficit, [ocuḡ ceitḡe cēo ocuḡ mīle]. ḡ. an litiḡu Dominaḡ,
 ocuḡ a hoēt in Nuimḡu Oir. William Mac an Leḡa qui
 reubrit, libeḡa moirte reubrit.

[OO.]

[TRANSLATION.]

"The age of the Lord is, *i.e.*, seven years, and three score [and four hundred, and one thousand]. G is the Dominical Letter, and 8 is the Golden Number. William *Mac-an-Legha* qui scripsit, libera morte peribit".

[This MS. consists of a collection which includes a copy of the *Felire Aengusa*, some Law Tracts, etc. This entry occurs in fol. 11, b.b., and appears to be in the same hand as the preceding part of the volume. It seems to have been written in at the time of the death of the scribe *Mac-an-Legha*.

Mac-an-Legha (a name which may now be Englished Mac Kenlay, and is now sometimes Mac Alea,) was a professional scribe, and was the writer of a Medical Tract, in Irish, now preserved in the Library of the King's Inns, Henrietta Street, in which the date of the MS. occurs as 1463. The name *Mac an Legha* means literally "Son of the Physician".]

[PP.]

(PP.) Entry in "Ἐαῖβαν na h-Ṽrōpe", [R.I.A.]; (A.D. 1470).

[See passage in APP. No. LXXX. p. 570; (the second paragraph).]

[QQ.]

(QQ.) MS. in Trin. Coll. Dub. [H. 1. 8.]. (15th Century); fol. 1, col. 1.

[See passage in APP. No. XXXII. (p. 517).]

[RR.]

(RR.) Same MS. (15th Century), fol. 1, col. 4.

[See passage in APP. No. XXXII. (p. 518).]

[SS.]

(SS.) "Book of Lismore". (15th Century.)

[See original in APP. No. XCIV. (p. 594).]

[TT.]

(TT.) Memorandum in "Ἐαῖβαν Mόρι Όύνα Όοιῖne"; [R.I.A.] (15th Cent., or circa A.D. 1500).

[See passage in APP. No. XIX. (p. 504).]

[UU.]

(UU.) MS. in Trin. Coll. Dub. [H. 3. 18.]. (A.D. 1509), fol. 47, a.

[See passage in APP. No. II. (p. 472).]

[VV.]

(VV.) MS. in Trin. Coll. Dub. [H. 1. 8.]. (16th Century), fol. 114, b. b.

[See passage in APP. No. XLII. (p. 533).]

[WW.]

(WW.) MS. in Trin. Coll. Dub. [H. 3. 17.]. (15th, and 16th, Century), col. 765.

[See passage in APP. No. XXV. (p. 508).]

(XX.) MS in Trin. Coll. Dub. [H. 1. 19]. (A.D. 1580) (at A.D. 1256) [XX.]

[See passage in APP. No. LIII. (p. 536.)]

(YY.) Handwriting of Michael O'Clery; (vellum); [in the (Autograph) MS. of Ann. IV. Mag.; R.I.A., fol. 1.] [YY.]

[See passage in APP. No. LXVII. (p. 543).]

(ZZ.) Signature of Michael O'Clery; [same MS., fol. 2.] [ZZ.]

[See passage in APP. No. LXVII. (p. 544).]

(AAA.) Handwriting of Cucogry (Cucoigcruice) O'Clery, (vellum); [same MS., fol. 550.] [AAA.]

[See passage in APP. No. LXVIII. (p. 544).]

(BBB.) MS. in Trin. Coll. Dub. [H. 1. 18]. (*circa* A.D. 1600); (fol. 113; or, in old ink, 140). [BBB.]

[See passage in APP. No. XXXII. p. (519).]

(CCC.) Handwriting of Dubhaltach mac Fíribíriú, [H. 1. 18., T.C.D.]. (A.D. 1650), fol. 234 a. [CCC.]

[See passage in APP. No. LXIV. p. 542.]

(DDD.) Handwriting of Cucogry (Cucoigcruice) and Michael O'Clery. [Paper MS., (Autograph) copy of Ann. IV. Mag.; R.I.A., vol. 1, p. 80.] [DDD.]

Doir Cmuort, 1316.

Doir Cmuort, mile, trúicheo, aveh, a ré.

Sluáigeaó moir do éionol la Feólimiú Uá Concoðairi im Mhac Feopair, ocur im Shallaib Iapthairi Chonnacht. Rangatar go Tochari Mhona Coinveaó. Tairis Ruáiríu mac Caóail Uí Choncoðairi, Ri Chonnacht ma naóaró don leir oile. Ro pígeaó iomaireas eatorria, sup mo meabairó fori Ruáiríu. Ro marbaó é buróem, ocur Diarmait Gall Mac Diarmata, tígeapina Mhuirge Luirg, ocur Cormac Mac Ceíteapinais tígeapina Chiappaighe, co rocharóe ele.

Moir píloigeaó do éionol la Feilim o cConcoðairi, le mac

[DDD] Ʋεοραιρ, οσυρ λε Ʋαλλαιβ ιαριταιρ Chonnaδτ. Τοετ νοιβ Ʋο Τοκαρ Μόνα Coinneaδa. Ruairδρι υα Ccncobairi Ri Chonnacht νο ουλ ινα ναƲαρδ lion a ϲοδραιττε. Ιομαιρεcc νο ορι εαττορμα. υριρεαδ ϲορ Ruairδρι; ε ϲειν νο μαρβαδ, οσυρ να μαιτερι ele νοn ουλ ϲιν ι. υιαρμαιτ Ʋαλλ Mac υιαρματα τιƲεαρμα μοιƲε λυιρεc, Cορbmac Mac Ceitεαρ- ναιƲ, ταοιρεαδ CιαρραιƲε, οσυρ ϲοκαρδε οιλε ο'υαιρλιb a Ʋhall-occlac, οσυρ a μυιτιρε ϲαινρεαδαιƲι.

[TRANSLATION.]

"Age of Christ, 1316.

"Age of Christ, one thousand three hundred ten and six.

"A great host was assembled by *Feidhlimidh O'Conor*, together with *Mac Feorais* (Birmingham), and with the English of West Connacht. They came to the Causeway of *Moin Coindeadh*. *Ruaidhri*, the son of *Cathal O'Conor*, king of Connacht, came against them on the other side. A battle was fought between them, and *Ruaidhri* was defeated. He was killed himself, and *Diarmait Gall Mac Dermot*, Lord of *Magh Luirg*, and *Cormac Mac Cethearnaigh*, Chief of *Ciarraighé* (in Connacht), and many others.

"A great host was assembled by *Feilim O'Conor*, by *Mac Feorais*, and by the English of West Connacht. They came to the Causeway of *Moin Coindeadh*. *Ruaidhri O'Conor*, king of Connacht, went against them with all his followers. A battle was fought between them. *Ruaidhri* was defeated; he was killed himself and these other nobles, on that occasion; namely, *Diarmait Gall Mac Dermot*, Lord of *Magh Luirg*, *Cormac Mac Cethearnaigh*, Chief of *Ciarraighé*; and many more of the gentlemen of his Gallowglasses, and of his own particular people".

[The two first lines (dates) and the second paragraph,—all in a larger and wider hand in the original,—are in the handwriting of MICHAEL O'CLERY. In the space left by him in the MS. the first paragr. in the fac-simile (Σλυαιεαδ μορ, etc.) is written in by CUCOIGHRICE (or Cucogry). It will be found to be the same entry (though in different language, and perhaps taken from some different authority), probably inserted by mistake. This repetition is accordingly omitted in Dr. O'Donovan's edition of the Annals, which is printed from this autograph copy.]

[EEE.] (EEE.) Handwriting of Conaire O'Clery; [Paper MS. (Autograph) copy of Ann. IV. Mag.; R.I.A.].

Δοιρ Cμορτ, 1433.

Δοιρ Cμορτ, μιλε, ceτνε δέο, τμοδαττ, a τμ.

Coccaδ μόρι ειτιρ cConaill aƲυρ EoƲain. υα Domnaill, Naill Ʋαρb mac ToιρρδεαlbαιƲ an ϲiona cona ϲοδραιδε νο ουλ ιριν Duιbτμian νο cοngnam lá Mac υιρόλιν. υα Neill, ι. EoƲan, νο ουλ ϲλυαƲ μορ illemmain υι Domnaill, aƲυρ Mic υιρόλιν. Ταμικ νοa Mac Domnaill na haλban co ccoblaδ μόρι hι ccomδaίλ υι Neill νο cοngnam λαιρ.

[TRANSLATION.]

"Age of Christ, 1433.

"Age of Christ, one thousand four hundred thirty and three.

"A great war [broke out] between the *Cinel-Conaill* and the [*Cinel*]

Eoghain. O'Donnell, [that is] *Niall Garbh*, the son of Turlogh an *Fhiona*, marched with his forces into *Duibhthrian* [Dufferin] to assist *Mac Uidhilín* [MacQuillin]. O'Neill, that is, *Eoghan*, set out with a great army in pursuit of O'Donnell and *Mac Uidhilín*. MacDonnell of *Albain* [Scotland] arrived at the same time with a large fleet, and went to where O'Neill was, to aid him".

(FFF.) Handwriting of John O'Donovan, LL.D., M.R.I.A. [FFF.]
(1861.)

Do gab Ruaidrí O'Conchobair nize Connacht agus uirmóir
Eireann, do bhuig gur gíall ní Oirghíall, ní Míde, agus ní
b'neirne óó; agus gairmtear ní Eireann uile de 'ran
treanchur; gídeas ní maibe ann áct ní go b'nearaibí, mar
ata ní a maibe móran d'uarlib Eireann as cur in a agas.

[TRANSLATION.]

"*Ruaidrí O'Conchobhair* assumed the sovereignty of Connacht, and the greater part of Erin, since that the king of *Oirghíall*, and the king of *Míde*, and the king of *Breifne* submitted to him; and he is called king of all Erin in the histories; however, he was a disputed king, that is, a king who was opposed by a great many of the nobles of Erin".

[From Dr. Geoffry Keting's Hist. of Ireland, at A.D. 1166.]

(GGG.) Handwriting (small) of Eugene O'Curry, M.R.I.A. [GGG.]
(1848).

Cáin in Domnaig annro.

Is eó inro forur chana in domnaig doir fuc Conall mac
Coelmuine díchuaio dia aileití do Róim, agus mo fceib a
lám féin ar in eibitail mo fceib lám de for nim a fíadnairí
fepi nime, agus mo lao for altoir Petair Apptail ir in
Róim.

[TRANSLATION.]

"The Law of Sunday here.

"Here is the true knowledge of the Law of Sunday which *Conall*, son of *Coelmuine*, brought [home], who went on his pilgrimage to Rome; and which his own hand wrote from the Epistle which the hand of God wrote in Heaven, in the presence of the men of Heaven, and cast upon the altar of Peter, the Apostle, in Rome.]

[From the MS. H. 2. 16., T.C.D., (the Yellow Book of *Lecain*), col. 217.]

(HHH.) Handwriting (large) of Eugene O'Curry, M.R.I.A. [HHH.]
(1848).

Agusur a haenach nime,
funo ata a lecht 'ra lize,
ir a funo do chuair ar ceal
ir in aine co naem neam.

[IIHL.]

1S a Cluain Eirnech no aít,
 h1 Cluain Eirnech no aonacht,
 h1 Cluain Eirnech ilaí ciorr,
 no leḡ a psalmu ari tuorr.

[TRANSLATION.]

“ *Aengus* in the Assembly of Heaven,
 Here are his tomb and his bed ;
 It is from this he went to death,
 In the Friday, to holy Heaven.
 “ It was at *Cluain Eidhnech* he was educated,
 It was in *Cluain Eidhnech* he was interred ;
 In *Cluain Eidhnech* of many crosses
 He first read his Psalms”.

[From *Leabhar Mór Duna Doighré*, (R.I.A.) fol. 43, b. b.]

2.) MS. in the *Dominican Library*, [R.I.A.], (temp. St. Patrick; circa A.D. 430).

Dominus in nomine tuo statui ne fac
x & in iuramento tuo audiam
Deus exaudi orationem meam
auribus percipe uerba oris mei
Quoniam ueni in iuramentum aduersum me
& propter quod uenit anima mea cum

Alte thesaurizare uobis thesauro
in terra ubi ergo dicitur demolitur &
ubi tures effodiunt & parant
Chensaurizare autem uobis thesauros
in caelo ubi neque erugo neque uermes
demolunt & ubi tures non effodiunt

(D) "Book of Durrow" [T.C.D.] (6th Century, MS. attributed to St. Colum Cille)

mn clu
ul
me oclx

Odie autem ito exhonorati sunt
neque angelus in caelo neque filius in terra
Videte uigilate et exonerati estis
enim quando dormissis

mn clm
ul
me oclxiii

Memorandum in "Book of Durrow", [T.C.D.] (6th Century.—alt. to St. C.C.)

+ mirenepe dne nemani +
+ pln nechi +

(F) Memorandum in "Book of Durrow", [T.C.D.]. (6th Century.—alt. to St. C.C.)

mysu hat

(G) "Book of Dimma", [T.C.D.] (circa A.D. 620)

6

cum in hunc rui in hunc mare in hunc ut exoritur
ut ubi pethi ruii .i. um ad hunc ruii ruii ad hunc

(H) "Book of Dimma", [T.C.D.], (circa A.D. 620)

... ugnid tua paccuoluntat tua
+ **P**at nore dē in cēlīs pīnat nō tūm adūpāt
ficut in cēlō sēnēna pānēm nūm cōddatūm
da nobīr hōdie cēdōnāt nobīr dēbēta nōsēna
fiat ēnōr dñs nūm dēbētoribz nūm sōnē pōd
nūm nōr mōdūq mōnēpādōnē p libētia nōr dēlo

(I) "Book of Dimma", [T.C.D.], (circa A.D. 620)

S aumē tua
Dī d paccā tuā pīa pīs dōnāt nūm dēpētū īclīna
pūplicantibz nobīr t ad fūmūlū tuū .n. ad īpītātē
uallitūdinīr cōppōnīr lūbōnūntē pīa cōg nāpī
cē .unīta sī īsalūtāpīe t rōz cēlīg t r sōnē
ad mē dīcāmīnt .d. . pīpīdīm ...

(J) Memorandum in "Book of Dimma", [T.C.D.], (circa A.D. 620)

hīc . oīrōt dōdimma . pōpīb p dō , bēdōn

(K) "Book of Dimma", [T.C.D.], (circa A.D. 620)

multu qī pātē thī qī nī rāubant pī
hī tīōp mūdūm pōnē cāpīnē tōr .
Sunt hī dē alīa
īlū nēc īp fūm an
ībēndī sē libnōr .
Dimma macc nācīn . +
Sīnūm dōm hīlūag mō pātīpīc al dīam al t cēn dīchīll
er - nūm mīnīnīfēt nācīn ad oīrōt dōnab hīd nīchīat

Hæte domoelintun me calghean.
 me me cumto namboet noyeb propet
 alebub hgyebub 7 lebubun. Omta do
 domall me minnehetag me domallin
 taidg me Bui me antoy me bamldg
 m̃s.

(X.) "Book of Ballymote", [R.L.A.], (A.D. 1391.)

C1a vī cuta rogab hīn antoyag tallman
 nreō adte leabg opoma 7 neccā eōdo bānda dīm
 nactinghe rogab hīn nariō hō 7 somatō uatg
 nobtē bānda fepm̃. 7 l. og vōdeuātō 7 itun peg
 laigna inquear peg nre h̃. c. ingb eym̃ dīm 7 tīrāō
 armigēag dīro lēgnm̃. xl. blāōm̃. 7 nariō dīro
 vōbūōg tīr mō h̃ f̃ vōspāmg̃ 140 galy ohibōta
 dūq̃ uile anē fēuēcmōt

adin dīm
 medical m
 be pō h̃ f̃ co
 m̃ h̃ coum̃ f̃

(Y.) "Book of Ballymote", [R.L.A.], (A.D. 1391.)

R1 uapal gnmōe rogabartan flarag tīlamz fīhū pēf
 nall. l. cōz uacnōe h̃ de bālan m̃bte vōgac mātē nīa
 h̃ō 7 m̃h̃ h̃ai m̃s. 7 clay 7 m̃tōrāō bāi nō tīrūle m̃pūba
 7 tībūa gāi nariōb̃g f̃a nre h̃ f̃ cāc nariō dūtātō pōō h̃

(GG.) MS. in Roy. Ir. Acad. (Astronom: Tract: circa A.D. 1400)



Sicutem solimnoxis e
et canonicatyr. i. dān luga canonicatyr na. s.
nānatat. Sicutem copulatys weryati donblyan
rquilt leo wchēzaoary an om wby scit natat
at ppar yastim oncat amac cosp nānatyr
nō y wopwocē y re anqro buo mo aq rochēf m y
echp p r w aplān fāib an s ē m y wby echp
Anne apban nē p j nāharos i m a. o. ppar on
paca m am yō m d y o f cūalā m y o n pāpam
y s bta r h m n luga canonicatyr na. s. nācanonicatyr
natat p p o l h n p s p o t r y a m i r u a d m e o o .

(III.) MS. in Trin. Coll. Dubl. [II. 2. 7.] (circa A.D. 1400.)

Pseo an ooubazh dāyū mōu an s'o.
lobho cubna clānyāneill lūz
būyē uapal dānyūneim pīema p
nem m. i. p m i s e a m n a i n l y d o m i s i

⁊ ⁊ rēb; ⁊ coṛā

Comairiſi aō ius ī com aī ḡ sabal nſi iō
milib; oca flāch mī mē pēil iogab ius
ī com aī aī pē; cī mē coī cō iō iō cēcāib; iō pē
mē pēia cō iogab hīo aī ḡ i aī m oī bō cī m
coī cō bīā flācha cī m mī mē pōt iogab
iō i nſi coī cī c. bīā ut aī aī aī mē | S f h i o m i
cō cō f b a i m cō a m p a o n a c m f l i c h a i n p o .

(I.J.) "Book of Lecain", [R.I.A.], (A.D. 1416.)

Doch i o i l r e a g n ē t i n g e
m e a l a c p a . h . n o i a n
m a t a a c p o m m e i b n e
h g e r o e l a r a l a t a m c o
m m e h i c a r f l .

(K.K.) "Book of Lecain", [R.I.A.], (A.D. 1416.)

Hroets laſi laſi i r e t c a n n a l a i m e i t : f i h
i . p o s t a m i n i a p o s t a m i n i a p o s t a m i n i a p o s t a m i n i a p o s t a m i n i a
i . f e a l p a n t f i a l p a n t f i a n c e n a r i a a n
m o l z t f i h o m i f f i l i o p o p z i . f e a l p a n t f o l t s
i f i h s o n o b f e a l p a m

(L.L.) "Liber Flavus Fergusiorum" (A.D. 1441.)

Tinapog lānt; cāmpudān o c u n t i u d o d i n u m a l e i s i
c o m p a n d i a m c a p u d b n a m i n i d i n e l d i s . i . m g l y n e q f h u a t .
ē b i t d i o g a r l o c h a l l i n a m b a h e h e n a d i b a p l a c i m a a m
f i l h e | S a n i t p o b a d g i n t m a n p o g l a n t ; d i h n o c u r
c o m d e a l b a j a e n a m p o p i o . i . d o m n a l l a n c a m m i o
b a d a n . m . ē b l a a c p o s t i m o c c o .

(MM.) "Book of Aicill", [E. 3. 5.; T.C.D.]. (circa A.D. 1450.)

oc donlindunso aicill anaise te-
main iaimren do dimren coirpni
luxechari mēconmē i ppi do con mē i tu-
cait doena caechad con mē do den s3 fab-
uadach ianpu atach tsine ronai mēan
tēuip.

(NN.) "Book of Fermoy". (A.D. 1462.)

Huachomo docondyub. cenime fpi
tōnporitub. orsanm q4 mōs q4n
anpif anar msaituis

(OO.) MS. in Roy. Ir. Acad. [43. 6.] (A.D. 1467.)

TSr ipar contign a. i. s. mbha i tēx.
f. anitē con tē i ahoj. i nōm om
y lla mē an lsa q rēbht bō a zōte pibit

(PP.) Entry in *Leabhar na h-Uidhré*, [R.I.A.]. (A.D. 1470.)

Qidit and ro dāoō iudō mē nēll s3b
iōm nāill wcoō co fēg n an leabro

(QQ.) MS. in Trin. Coll. Dubl. [H. 1. 8.]. (15th Century.)

die dñic dñi
r lminu occi r3
ē ocpim tūo
mā nān . a5
alliput alu
dñt

amhoye.
Ktē am. p̄l. iii
Cāt dīele
hitoyean ēl
im m̄ conpā
lūatātēl
m q m̄ pīach
p̄m̄pat tēu
atāt p̄lōna
uit. d. xxx. 7 77
do cētīa no
naīfētō 7 77
nohīcat in
bōp̄oalīgīn
M̄ al m̄ p̄oēn
atōl. n. iemāi
xxx iii. an̄ 77

Turús acam dīahāie. 5 eōlē ipā
p̄p̄āide. cōtēch cōi m̄m̄m̄ p̄uail. ne
huet m̄p̄l̄k̄ anoz. t. x. d̄n d̄n. corabā
Ata ac̄n̄lō d̄am̄ d̄ail d̄n. 5 uēdī acēch
d̄n̄ p̄oōl̄l̄b̄. cēt^u la 7 lēth p̄eāc̄t̄m̄ 7

(P.T.) Memorandum in Leabhar Mór Dána Doighré, [R.I.A.] circa A.D. 1500

īstīa p̄oīō op̄t̄ al m̄ uēt 7 7 oī sm̄b̄o oīl.

(P.T.) MS. in Trin. Coll. Dubl. [H. 3. 18] (A.D. 1503)

Quīt b̄n̄h̄l̄c̄ m̄ buāī. th̄r̄ c̄p̄oā
m̄ie c̄ḡd̄ m̄c̄ p̄oīa m̄c̄ p̄uīd̄ge. m̄ā
c̄ 7 b̄at 7 c̄p̄b̄ d̄f̄bz̄ p̄ail m̄b̄uām
7 d̄ail c̄uip̄b̄ 7 m̄onāīḡ d̄oō c̄ōm̄ bu
d̄ī b̄at b̄ax̄m̄p̄c̄ d̄ailh̄. 7. lūḡ.
d̄c̄

Seal mōr ioln yle iſbly. n. .1. ro n

Q ac magna mſuō doſ mblir.
1. catat oſ m catat m catat m
ſillapadōr m mata yt. 1. eoē bſ
mabiataē pſtnaō ymacanānāc con
dō mamo macā ymefſoioy cloāy
ymaōlganaē ploc eyne ymāpſū a
mmſ cēi loca hne ywobu amolſancāy
loca hne maſ maio ſſ. p. u. bla. x. ma
naſtyſcht. 1. olex loſm. h. ymſlm gloſe
ymſula ſoſta yciſt tary cloā ſofenay ya
cēb emaypſ nacanoſe ytopuſy nadeſ ſyſ
ymacſyſa ymahailſe ymcolū q gloſe cōe
ymaypſyſ qſnoca ymſch oſbuſoſy dū
yoeſy yoeiblei boſa ſyneſ ymēc bui lā
wſat ywēna mſuile ealadāy coſuſ
aeryſeta y olſ yoiagſ ymſy yſell
ſyſe yaladāy ſeyōlſ amſlna oſ neuc
yocūoſy ymoſglāſ ymoſoil anleubſa
aleabib ilimoa. n. 1. aſ ſoſat bne m
om. pſt wim aſl oiahaſe ayu lay. u. m.
b. aſo etagſ yue ytabſ ſacneē oiaſ
ſa ſolebſa yoiapōſſna dōnāy p. m. oia
ſ mēmaſma.

2. *Strophm oyd m talant z uhu hiononj op pach 1 lip oachupj2 uet o a annum*
op 12 galozachpu tzechim qn47e x zuopa 12 cink off 1 no. am von
our 12 ozach 1 cuple mte po toz hach af comout gheert w hat elute
an blieumj2 o doys 1634.

[illegible]

bancap a pommis
bñ michel oclenst

Q tate nu hachae do arto S. pr. chunpfi alama an po dsa
purohmah. lach gund e fighal o gachid. tace an amh i ath
an dicheh o clemych nu orom e at an tior e alachnu do chunpfi
co hachonm. lach lap no p. achachach le abhach ohr, de amala na heh
(an m. f. a nob e rom of d. h. a. l. le p. e. o. u. a. h. o. b.) de goyub e an p. h. a. l.
ce. ma. tace lof. h. i. de. u. ch. o. do. b. i. an. i. p. e. n. o. b. h. a. c. h. A. t. a. an. l. e. u. b. h. a. n. a.
no. ta. an. do. 26. e. i. o. m. a. c. h. m. n. o. p. s. y. o. b. a. c. h. e. o. t. h. a. p. e. o. d. i. u. l. a. c. h. i. c. c. o. m. m. e. t.
b. y. a. t. o. h. a. l. D. i. s. t. i. n. c. t. i. o. n. i. a. l. l. a. n. a. m. b. a. d. e. u. a. b. i. p. s. i. o. t. h. a. l. e. n. h. D. o. t. e. p. o. n. t. i. a. n.
e. do p. e. n. o. b. a. c. h. an. c. e. p. o. l. e. a. b. a. n. d. e. m. n. c. o. n. v. e. n. t. c. h. e. a. n. a. a. m. b. l. a. t. o. n.
1632. an. t. a. m. p. o. b. 5. d. i. s. t. i. n. c. t. i. o. n. i. a. n. t. a. t. a. c. h. a. n. b. e. n. e. d. i. c. t. i. o. n. i. o. c. l. e. r. y. e. c. h.

(CCC.) Handwriting of Duaid Mac Firbis, (H. 1. 18. ; T.C.D.). (A.D. 1650.)

Denit enomcā
stotorum. i. tñ-
sant^o enome na Scot Anro so.
Tus a lecchtoír pa abar
amte, re so pollz co stēna

16. 13. 16.

ASr'pcaar' aap'kda-ajuu. 250hrs sid p

[illegible]

4075 ex. 1433.

Qoys en mile, cene-cho tocha uon
doys en. 1433.

Cpe moꝝ ofe cened ceonwyl 7 eoꝝwꝛ. ƿa ƿoimwyl. mull zylf
 me ƿapote an ƿona ƿu ƿoꝝ ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo
 ƿa me ƿo ƿo ƿo. ƿa me ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo
 ƿa me ƿo ƿo ƿo. ƿa me ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo
 ƿa me ƿo ƿo ƿo. ƿa me ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo
 ƿa me ƿo ƿo ƿo. ƿa me ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo ƿo

Aengus a hachach imne
puho ata a lecht pa lge
if apuno do chuato an ceal
if m aine co hachach imne
is a chuath etonech no alt
h chuath etonech no adonacht
h chuath etonech ilan ciorp
no leg a palnu an tuorp

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