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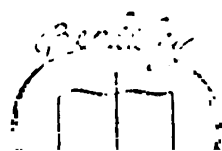
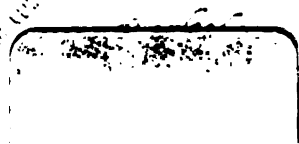
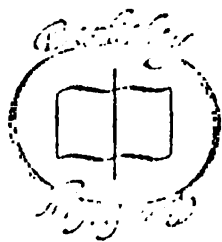
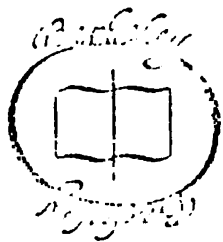
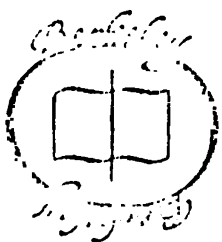
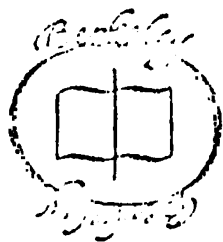
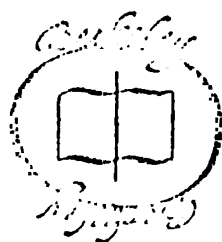
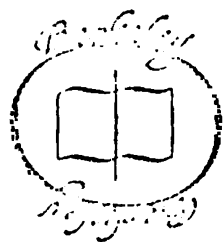
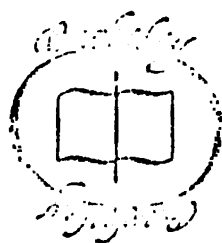
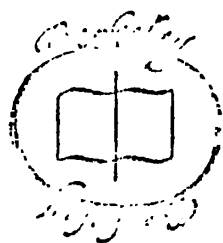
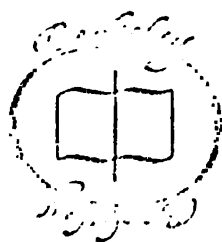
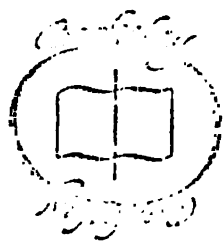
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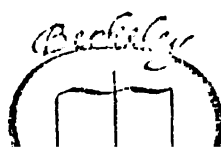
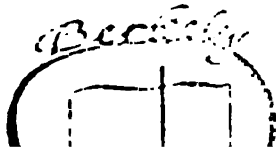
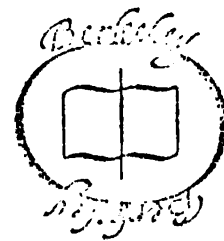
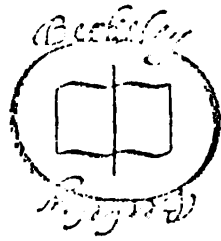
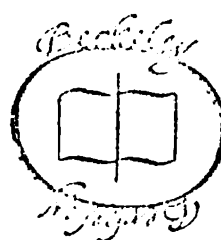
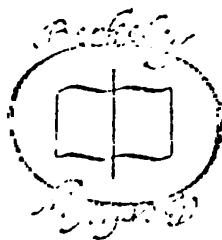
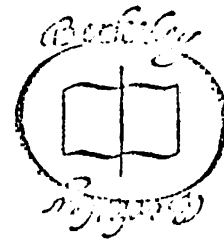
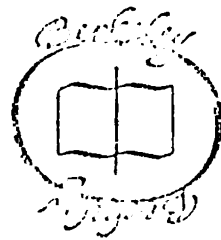
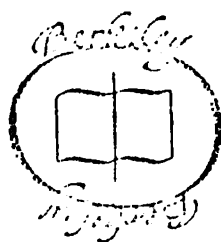
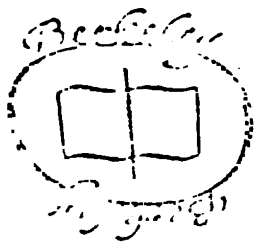
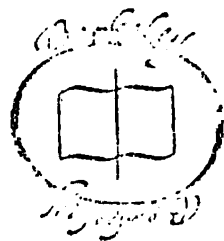
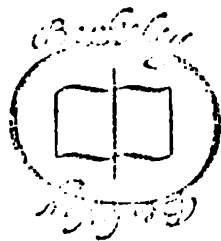
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THE SONG OF DERMOT  
AND THE EARL

*ORPEN*



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# THE SONG OF DERMOT AND THE EARL

*An Old French Poem*

FROM THE CAREW MANUSCRIPT No. 596  
IN THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL LIBRARY  
AT LAMBETH PALACE

EDITED

*WITH LITERAL TRANSLATION AND NOTES  
A FACSIMILE AND A MAP*

BY

GODDARD HENRY ORPEN

LATE SCHOLAR OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN  
AND OF THE INNER TEMPLE BARRISTER AT LAW

*Oxford*

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## PREFACE

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TO trace the small beginnings of a movement big with consequences has always had a peculiar fascination for the human mind. Not since the day when St. Patrick preached his first sermon in Dichu's barn has there been any event of greater importance to Ireland than the coming of the Normans to her shores. The importance of this event was not duly recognised at the time by the Irish annalists any more than it was perceived by the Irish chieftains. The notices in relation to it in the Irish Annals are consequently few and meagre in the extreme. Hence modern historians in telling the story of how the English first got a foothold in Ireland have had to rely almost exclusively on the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis, and on the few scattered notices of the general chroniclers of English affairs. Giraldus, though not an eye-witness of the events, had, no doubt, exceptional opportunities of learning the facts, and he has left us an account which, though not free from prejudices and partialities, will compare favourably in its scope and character with any similar recital of the age. Still Giraldus was not an



Irishman ; he did not know the country well, and had to take a great deal on not very trustworthy hearsay. There was, however, an Irishman who was a participator in the events, and though his account has not come down to us at first hand, there is every reason to believe that it is faithfully retailed to us by the writer of the old French rhymes contained in this volume. This Irishman was Morice Regan, Dermot M<sup>c</sup>Murrough's *latimer* or secretary, and he was no doubt an eye-witness of much that the Anglo-Norman rhymers tell on his authority. The first leaf of the MS. in which these rhymes are preserved is unfortunately wanting, and no original or early title for the poem has come down to us. To judge by the contents of the existing fragment, however, the poem may possibly have been called 'La Chanson Dermot' or 'La Chanson Dermot e le Conte,' and, for the sake of having a distinctive title and one suitable for reference, I have ventured to call it 'The Song of Dermot and the Earl.'

Though the existence of this MS. has long been known and an edition of the French text was published in 1837, it has never been translated, nor annotated in any useful way. Writers in general have been acquainted with its contents only through the medium of a very inaccurate Summary or Abstract in English made by Sir George Carew in the time of James I, or rather through a still more inaccurate reproduction of this Summary printed in the eighteenth century, and consequently they have never had a fair opportunity of

estimating the historical value of the MS. or of properly utilizing its contents. Mr. Freeman, in writing his history of the Norman Conquest of England, has shown to what valuable use as authorities the rhymed Chronicles of Wace and Benoit de St. Maur may be put in skilful hands. The future historian of the Norman Invasion of Ireland may perhaps be able to utilize this little poem in an analogous way.

Apart from its value as a material of history, an Anglo-Norman text written in Ireland, as there is every reason to suppose this was, is sufficiently rare to justify its study from the point of view of language alone. In England at one time it seemed as if the French language was about to gain the upper hand, at any rate as the language of literature and of the educated classes, but this can never have been the case in Ireland, where French was spoken only by some of the leaders and early settlers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and by a few friars and monks educated in France. All the more precious then is one of the very few Irish examples of Anglo-Norman rhymes saved from the wreck of the past.

I have to express my obligations to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury for permission to transcribe the manuscript and to have a reproduction made of one of its pages, and to Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., the Librarian at Lambeth Palace, for his courtesy to me during my frequent visits to the library. I also desire to thank Mr. F. York Powell of Christ Church, Oxford,

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for suggestions and advice readily given throughout the preparation of this little book, and to express the hope that, whatever may be amiss in any of its departments—historical, topographical or linguistic—the student of this eventful period of Irish history, for whom especially the book is written, may find in it—in O’Huidhrin’s phrase—‘an addition of knowledge on sacred Erin.’

GODDARD H. ORPEN.

*December, 1891.*

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## INTRODUCTION

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**Description of the MS.** There is only one MS. copy of this poem or chronicle known to exist. It is preserved among the Carew MSS. at Lambeth Palace Library, where it is numbered 596. It is unfortunately only a fragment. Some lines, probably not very many, are wanting at its commencement, which is in the nature of an exordium, but as the narrative closes abruptly it is impossible to say how much is lost at the end. The present copy is undoubtedly a transcript, and, according to M. Francisque Michel, is in a fourteenth-century hand. According to the best opinion I can form, however, the handwriting might with more likelihood be placed in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. As a collotype reproduction of a page of the MS. is published with this text, palaeographers can judge of its date for themselves. At least one line has been omitted in this transcript after lines 424, 487, 1802, and 2863, and there is reason to believe that a still larger omission occurs after l. 2993 (see Notes). The MS. is written on vellum in double columns of 37 or 38 lines to the column, and 46 pages remain. The double columns are  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height by  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches in width. Lines 1940-1978 are by a different hand from that by which the rest was written. The lines are normally octosyllabic rhymed couplets with an additional post-tonic syllable in the feminine endings, but the atonic syllable of the first foot is often wanting, and many of the lines, in their present form at least, show other irregularities. The separate paragraphs into which the poem is divided are headed by

large capitals (sometimes omitted) in red or green paint, and after the first page a space is left between the initial letters and the rest of the lines. These initial letters themselves are ornamented with a dash of red paint. At the top of the first page have been added the words 'Fragmentum Historiae Hiberniae Gal. carmine.' At the foot of page 1 there is the letter T, at the foot of page 17 the letter V, and at the foot of page 39 the letter W. These letters appear to correspond with the 'gatherings,' or bundles of the skins as arranged for binding, and perhaps indicate that our MS. was at one time bound up with others. They are, however, subsequent in date to the MS., though, I think, older than the pagination, which was probably added in Sir George Carew's time. The existing leaves appear to be arranged as follows:—the first 16 pages form 4 double leaves, sewn in the middle between pp. 8 and 9. The 9th leaf (pp. 17-18) is a single one, and the short end turns up between pp. 38 and 39, where, however, there is no lacuna in the MS. It may originally have been a double leaf turning up at the commencement and containing the opening lines, with perhaps an illuminated letter or picture. The fact that this leaf contains the subscribed letter V on p. 17, seems, no doubt, to indicate that it was the first, and not the last, leaf of a gathering; but, as before remarked, this lettering is not coeval with the MS., and may have been added after the opening leaf had been cut off and when the single leaf, as at present, formed the first leaf of the next gathering. In fact the lettering was very probably coeval with the heading *Fragmentum Historiae*, &c. already mentioned. The next 20 pages (19-38) are formed by 5 double leaves, sewn in the middle between pp. 28 and 29, and the last 8 pages (39-46) appear to be single leaves. From this it seems probable, (1) that the gatherings consisted normally of 5 double leaves each; (2) that one single leaf, originally forming with pp. 17-18 a double leaf, has been lost at the commencement; (3) that at

least 4 leaves completing the present single leaves have been lost at the end.

Bound up at present with the vellum MS. and following it on paper are certain fragments of Anglo-Irish Annals in Latin, an Abstract in English of the French text made by or under the direction of Sir George Carew, and certain lists of names mentioned in the text and in other documents contained in the volume or in the *Expugnatio Hibernica* of Giraldus, all of which are described in the Calendar of Carew MSS. Another copy of Carew's Abstract is preserved in the Clarendon Collection in the British Museum (Ayscough 4792). It has on the outer skin the signature 'Mathew Plunkett.' There is also a copy in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

**Previous works in relation to the MS.** Carew's Abstract of the Chronicle was printed in 1747 by Walter Harris in his *Hibernica*, and again in 1770; but it is only fair to say that many of the blunders and absurdities which disfigure this production are due to the editor or printer and are not to be found in the original Abstract, though it, too, shows a misunderstanding of many passages and contains several imperfections and blemishes. For many years Irish historians had before them nothing but Harris's blundering production, and consequently the Chronicle did not receive the attention at their hands that it deserved. In 1837, however, the French text, edited by M. Francisque Michel, was published by William Pickering, and this edition, though by no means free from errors, was a great boon to those who could read the language in which the poem is written. A few glossarial notes were added, but no translation was attempted. There is indeed an introduction to Michel's text, written by Mr. Thomas Wright, which purports to incorporate the substance of the story told here with the materials supplied by Giraldus and other authorities; but owing to the writer's ignorance on the subject of Irish topography and Irish nomenclature, as well as to an occasional misunder-



standing of the text with which he was dealing, very little was really added to what was already known on the subject.

**Use to which the MS. has been put.** I can find no mention of this MS. earlier than Carew's time, nor do I think that it was used in any of the earlier accounts of 'the conquest,' to which, as Campion says of his own Chronicle, Gerald of Wales was 'the onely Author that ministred some indifferent furniture.' 'Mauritus Regan' is noticed by Ware among the writers of Ireland in the 12th century. This book of Ware's, *De Scriptoribus Hiberniae*, was published in 1639, and in his 'de Hibernia et Antiquitatibus ejus Disquisitiones,' first published in 1654, he made some use of Carew's Abstract of this poem, especially in the passage on the distribution of the lands granted by Henry II to Earl Richard and to Hugh de Lacy (pp. 233-237). A similar passage occurs in Ware's note to Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland* (Reprint 1809), where he says that Carew's 'Translation' was communicated to him by Archbishop Ussher. This book was first published in 1633, but I cannot find the note in that edition. Sir Richard Cox collected materials for his *Hibernia Anglicana*, published in 1689, from the Lambeth Library, and made considerable use of this poem as represented by Carew's Abstract, the mistakes of which he reproduces; and so with subsequent writers, such as Lyttelton, Leland, O'Halloran, Gordon, Moore, &c.; they seem to have known 'Regan,' as they call their authority, only through Harris's incorrect reproduction thereof; and similarly, even long after the appearance of Michel's text, writers, such as Gerald Supple, Martin Haverty and others, have known only the English version, until Miss Katherine Norgate, in her 'Angevin Kings,' and Professor G. T. Stokes, in his *Lectures on Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church*, made a more critical use of portions of the text, though not without occasionally misunderstanding it.

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**The present Edition.** In the present edition, I have aimed, in the first place, at producing a thoroughly trustworthy transcript of the MS. With this object I have carefully collated Michel's text with the MS. at Lambeth, and have found and corrected a considerable number of positive misreadings. I have also adhered to the original more closely than M. Michel aimed at doing. The text is, in fact, printed as nearly as possible as it has come down to us, except that the contractions have been expanded—the letters supplied being, however, printed in italics—and marks of punctuation have been added. In many cases a single word is divided in the MS., generally, but not always, according to its component parts; and, on the other hand, two or more words are often run into one. These peculiar word-divisions, where clearly marked, have been reproduced, and, where likely to deceive, noted. In some cases, as, for instance, in ll. 15, 2321, and 2860, they have been unintentionally reproduced by M. Michel and have misled commentators. Even the apparently arbitrary use of *u* and *v* has been followed. This may be thought to have been a superfluous labour, but graphic peculiarities of this kind are among the data which may enable palaeographers to fix the date and even the place of composition of a MS., and as this chronicle is preserved in a single MS. it is all the more important to have a transcript of it which, short of a facsimile, will as nearly as possible supply the place of the original should any accident happen to it. A literal line for line translation is printed side by side with the text, and this, together with the footnotes, will, it is hoped, obviate any difficulty to which the reproduction of the faults and peculiarities of the MS. might otherwise give rise. This method of translation gives no scope for reproducing the swing and spirit of the original, but in all translations something must be sacrificed, and I have thought that for students of history and of language it is impossible to adhere too closely to the text at whatever

sacrifice of form. I should add that the MS. has no accents (except where noted), but the letter i (which also stands for j) is marked by a fine stroke like an acute accent. These marks seem to have been added after the text was written—at least they are in a somewhat lighter ink—and in several cases they have been omitted. It is noteworthy, too, that the letter z seems, in many cases at least, to have been an addition, for which however space was left. The Notes which follow the text in the present edition are mainly concerned with the identification of places, territories, tribes, and persons mentioned in the poem, and with references to the statements of Giraldus and of the Irish annalists and English chroniclers which corroborate, supplement, or are at variance with, the statements contained in the poem. At the end are added Indexes of the names of the persons and of the places mentioned in the poem, and a Glossary of the more unusual words and forms found in the text. I have also constructed a Map of Leinster and Meath, showing the positions of the principal territories and places, so far as they have been ascertained, at the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion. With a few exceptions drawn from other sources, these names are all to be found in the topographical poems of O'Dubhagain and O'Huidhrin, which are believed to have been written in the years 1372 and 1420 respectively, and which give an account of the tribes and territories of Ireland prior to the English occupation. With regard to those names which appear in the text I have, where it seemed necessary, placed them in brackets underneath the corresponding Irish names. In locating the places mentioned in the topographical poems I must express my great obligations to the writings of the late Dr. John O'Donovan, without whose masterly elucidations of Irish topography I should never have attempted to construct this map. Frequent references throughout the notes will also be found to the Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, now the Royal Society of Antiquaries

of Ireland, a publication which only requires a good comprehensive Index to make it extremely useful to writers on Irish history and antiquities.

**Author of the Poem.** As to the author of the poem and the date of its composition nothing is known beyond what can be gleaned from the poem itself. It is not even known where Carew got the MS. It has been much too broadly ascribed to Morice Regan. Carew himself appears to have been the first to give currency to this misconception. The MS. is bound up with a couple of outer plies of vellum, added to protect it, and one of these contains, in Carew's handwriting, on the upper left-hand corner, the signature, 'G. Carew,' and the date '1617.' Underneath is the following title and description :—

‘An Historie of Irland

This old frenche ffragment wants bothe beginninge and endinge. Neverthelesse in the first tenne Lynes it appears that this storie was written by one called Maurice Regan (sometymes mentioned in this discourse) who was servant and interpreter unto Dermond M'Moroghe kinge of Leinster and put into frenche meeter by one of his familiar acquaintance. It endeth abruptlie at the winninge of Limericke which was not full 3 yeares after Robert fitz Stephen his first arrivall in Irland<sup>1</sup>.

A note to the same effect heads Carew's abstract of the poem, on the margin of which, opposite the name Maurice Regan, is written 'this Maurice Regan was the author of this Historie.'

Carew evidently drew this conclusion from the opening lines of the poem, which must be examined with some care. Now these opening lines have been repeatedly wrongly transcribed and wrongly interpreted. As printed in Harris's *Hibernica* they are pure gibberish, and the translation is

<sup>1</sup> This is a mistake. The taking of Limerick was six years after Fitz-Stephen's landing. See Chronological Table.

of course wrong. These mistakes are, in the main, due to Harris and not to Carew, who does not translate the passage, nor in the Lambeth copy of Carew's Abstract is it transcribed. Lines 4-8 run thus in Harris's version :—

‘Maurice Regan was the man,  
Who face to face indited to me  
These actions of the king,  
And of himself showed me this history.’

Wright, in his introductory essay to Michel's edition, prints the correct text of the first eleven lines (except that he puts *latinier* for *latimer*) side by side with Harris's gibberish, which he wrongly attributes to Carew, and then gives his own literal translation ; but, curiously enough, he seems to fall into precisely the same error as that which he attributes to Harris, namely, ‘that Regan had written the history.’ Wright's version of these four lines is as follows :—

‘Maurice Regan was he,  
I spoke mouth to mouth with him,  
Who endited this history,  
[Who] shewed me the history of him.’

Now Wright has mistaken *parla* (the 3rd person) for *parlai* (the 1st), thus apparently making Regan the subject of *endita*, and by rendering this latter word ‘endited’ he has certainly done little to correct Harris's error<sup>1</sup>.

The translation now offered, which makes Regan the subject of ‘*parla*,’ and takes the words ‘*lui ki cest(e) iest(e) endita*’ as referring to the anonymous writer of the geste, with whom Regan spake face to face, still leaves room for

<sup>1</sup> I may add that Wright translates l. 10 : ‘Here I will read of the bachelor (i. e. the king),’ apparently taking *lirrai* as the fut. of *lire* instead of as the fut. of *laier* = *laisser*. This formula of transition to a new subject occurs several times in the poem ; see Glossary, sub *lesser*.

a certain amount of doubt as to the making of the poem that has come down to us and as to Regan's exact contribution thereto. Apart for the moment from ll. 5 and 6, it seems clear from ll. 2 and 7 that the writer who speaks of himself in the 1st person derived his account directly from Morice Regan. Standing by itself l. 7 might mean no more than l. 2, but there are repeated references throughout the poem to 'la chanson,' 'la geste,' 'le storie,' and 'lescrit,' as the authority for particular statements<sup>1</sup>, and from these references taken in connection with the opening lines we must, I think, conclude that Morice Regan supplied the writer with a written chronicle of the events which had already been put into metre, so to deserve the name of a 'chanson.' Morice Regan, Dermot's faithful latimer, may have himself kept such a chronicle, and our rhymers appears not to have been the first to translate and versify the materials. In dealing with a fragmentary passage such as that before us, there is an inevitable risk of misapprehension; but I am inclined to think that the words 'lui ki cest(e) iest(e) endita' (ll. 5 and 6) refer, not to the person intended by the words 'moi' and 'me' in ll. 2 and 7, but to the writer of this pre-existing geste, chanson, or estorie. This supposition will, at any rate, account for the change from the 1st to the 3rd person. That our writer did not rely solely on the written materials

<sup>1</sup> This authority is called *la chanson* in ll. 456, 1912; *la geste*, ll. 327, 1065, 1309, 1779, 2598, 3177; *le storie*, ll. 2403, 3003, and *lescrit*, l. 3134. By *la chancon* in l. 143, however, is meant the present poem. Similar expressions referring to pre-existing materials are to be found elsewhere, as, for instance, in *L'histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, Romania, vol. xi. p. 22 et seq. This poem, which, according to the editor M. Paul Meyer, was probably composed by a professional *trouvère* from materials supplied by Jean d'Erlee, contains the following references:—*Si com en le storie le truis*, l. 3656; *Mais nostre estorie me remembre*, l. 3885; *Li escriis dit ce que je di*, l. 16027; *Tant me fait li escriis entendre*, l. 15909; and see id. p. 31.

supplied to him may be inferred from the fact that he repeatedly quotes as his authority common report, or the statement of old people<sup>1</sup>, while such phrases as *cum il me fud endite* l. 177, *solum le dist de mun cuntur* l. 407, *cum il me fud cunte* l. 2241, seem to point to some particular informant, perhaps Morice Regan himself.

**Date of the Poem.** As to the date of the poem we have first of all the statement that our author met Morice Regan in the flesh, and as the latter was employed on an important embassy to Wales in 1168, and was sent to summon Dublin to surrender in 1170, we can hardly place his birth later than about 1147. Supposing he was eighty years of age when he told the story to the writer we get 1227 as an outside date. Looking at the contents of the Chronicle we find that the narrative is brought regularly down in this fragment only to 1175 or 1176, but there are two allusions pointing to a much later date. First with regard to archbishop Laurence O'Toole, it is stated in l. 1844 'Que Seint Laurence pus ert clame.' Now, though he died on the 14th November 1180, he was not canonized until the 11th December 1225, and prior to his canonization he could hardly have been called Saint Laurence<sup>2</sup>. Lines

<sup>1</sup> See the following passages:—ll. 109, 111, 236, 251, 315, 1500, 1547, 2437, 2584, 2594, 2678, 2686, 2822, 2955, 3053, 3171, 3400. At the same time we must be careful as to the inferences we draw from these phrases. They were the common-places of the rhyming chroniclers, often used merely to complete a line or for the sake of the rhyme. M. Michel infers from the use of such phrases as *solum la gent de antiquite* (l. 251) and *solum le dit as ansiens* (l. 1500) that our author 'did not live far from the epoch of which he relates the events' (Pref. p. vii); but we find Gaimar, for instance, using the phrase *si com distrent lantive gent* of an event which took place in the reign of Æthelwulf: *Lestorie des Engles*, R.S. l. 2405; cf. ll. 1682 and 1785.

<sup>2</sup> It may be remarked indeed that Giraldus, R.S. v. 358, in speaking of the death of archbishop Laurence, says, 'De quo inter varia miracula, quibus in hoc suo sancto se mirabilem usque in hodiernum

1843-4 have, however, the appearance of being a subsequent addition or interpolation, and there are not wanting indications that the original text has been altered in this passage (see foot-note to text, ll. 1837-42); but, however this may be, from another allusion we cannot place the composition of the poem, in its present form at least, earlier than the beginning of the 13th century. I refer to the passage (ll. 3040-3057) where Philip de Prendergast, the son of Maurice, is described and is stated to have married the daughter (Maud) of Robert de Quency, and to have long held the constablership of Leinster (cf. ll. 2823-6). The sketch of Philip's character, I may remark, is very graphic and reads like a description from personal observation<sup>1</sup>. Now we know from this poem that Maud de Quency was born in 1172 or 1173 (cf. ll. 2744, 2807, 2819), and therefore she could hardly have been married to Philip de Prendergast before 1190. In another way we get an outside limit to the date of this marriage. On an inquisition in A.D. 1251 as to the lands and heirs of Gerald or Gerard de Prendergast, son of Philip by Maud de Quency, it was found that by his first wife, sister to Theobald Pincerna, Gerald left one surviving daughter who married John de Cogan and left an only son then aged eight years<sup>2</sup>. This grandson of Gerald was therefore born in 1243. His mother, Gerald's daughter, must have been born not later than about 1223, and Gerald himself not later than about 1200. So Philip de Prendergast must have married Maud de Quency between 1190 and 1199, probably near the earlier date. Now he apparently obtained the constablership in right of his wife, and the poem says he held it for a long time. We can fix Philip's death as having

*Deus ostendit,* &c. ; but this expression means no more than the 'vir sanctus' which follows.

<sup>1</sup> I attach little importance to the phrase *solum la gent*, which may have been added for the rhyme ; cf. ll. 108-9.

<sup>2</sup> See Cal. Docts. Ir., A.D. 1251, No. 3203.



occurred between 1227 and 1231<sup>1</sup>, and though the poem does not speak of him as having been dead, the statement that he held the constablership *plus longement* (or *mult longement*, which is, perhaps, the correct reading) could not have been made very much before 1225, or, at any rate, not until after the commencement of the 13th century. On the other hand, if we are to suppose that Morice Regan supplied the writer with materials shortly before the poem was written, we cannot place its date very long after 1225. Accordingly we must fix upon some time very soon after 1225, or assuming the allusion to St. Laurence to be an interpolation, some time earlier in the 13th century, as the probable date of the poem in its present form. So much for the immediate original of the transcript which has come down to us. Can we determine anything about the pre-existing 'geste' or 'estorie' with which Morice Regan supplied our author? Now it is a remarkable fact that, with the exception of these two allusions to the canonized Laurence O'Toole and to Philip de Prendergast, the former of which was probably an interpolation, there is nothing in the poem, so far as I have observed, pointing to a later date than 1177, unless, perhaps, the commonplace expressions referring to the statements of old people. Indeed even the reference to Miles de Cogan as 'afterwards lord of Mount Brandon' (ll. 1652-5)—a place included in the grant to him made at the Council of Oxford in 1177—is introduced in a somewhat forced manner suggestive of subsequent interpolation. The grant to Miles de Cogan and Robert Fitz-Stephen of the kingdom of Cork would more

<sup>1</sup> I gather this from the ancient deed enrolled at the instance of Sir Henry Wallop (Patent Rolls of Chancery, 37th Eliz. m. 9, and see Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc. 1864-6, p. 143 n.), from which it appears that Philip de Prendergast was alive in the 11th year of Henry III, the date of his agreement with the bishop of Ferns, and dead in the 15th year of the same king, the date of the confirmation of the said agreement by Gerald de Prendergast.

naturally have been mentioned, had it already taken place, along with the elaborate account of the subinfeudation of Leinster and Meath. At any rate, we might have expected that changes in the grants there mentioned, as for instance the substitution in 1181 of lands in Leix for the lands in Kildare given to Meiler, would have been noticed had they already taken place. The account of the attack on Slane Castle (ll. 3184-3201), which is mentioned out of the chronological order, seems also to have been an afterthought. Certainly ll. 3202-7 read as if they were written to follow immediately after the account of the subinfeudation of Leinster and Meath. A similar inference may be drawn from l. 2341, where it is said that Richard de Cogan made his famous sortie from Dublin 'par la dute del occident.' The word 'dute' is obscure, but it is sufficiently clear that the western gate is intended. Now the 'porta occidentalis' is mentioned in a grant made by the citizens of Dublin in 1185 when John de Curci was Justiciar and preserved in the Register of the Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin; and from a subsequent grant it appears that this gate, or more probably a new gate erected on its site, was afterwards known as the 'Porta Nova.'<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. T. Gilbert, in his History of Dublin (vol. i. p. 237), says, 'the date of the erection of the New-gate has not been ascertained, but from the charter of the Hospital of St. John it appears to have been standing in 1188.' If I am right then in supposing that it replaced the Porta Occidentalis, it must have been erected between 1185-1188. Now had this New Gate been in existence at the time when this account of the Norwegian attack was written it would in all probability have been mentioned. No certain conclusion can be drawn from negative evidence of this kind; still it bears out the impression gained from reading the whole

<sup>1</sup> Reg. St. Thomas, Dub., R.S. p. 404, and see Hist. and Mun. Docts. Ir., R.S. p. 56, where the two grants are set out in full.

poem, viz. that the writer whose date we have approximately fixed as soon after the year 1225, or perhaps a little earlier in the 13th century, did not add much to the pre-existing geste or chanson supplied to him by Morice Regan; that this pre-existing poem was written long before 1225 and probably soon after Strongbow's death in 1176, with which event it may well have ended; and consequently that the account we have before us, whenever it was written, is substantially a reproduction of the account of a contemporary writer. There is yet another important consideration which seems to support the above view. It is difficult to suppose that anybody writing in the first half of the 13th century on the subject of the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland should have been unacquainted with the works of Giraldus on the same subject; and yet while in the main our author and Giraldus corroborate one another, they do not always narrate the same events, and even when they do there is just such difference of treatment and divergence in details as might have been expected in writers who derived their information from distinct sources. The fact that both writers connect the rape of Dervorgil with Dermot's expulsion and ignore or slur over the lapse of fourteen years between the two events might at first sight seem to show that the later writer borrowed from the earlier; but the Annals of Clonmacnoise, under the year 1166, also affirm this connection, which was evidently the popular view of the matter, and, as pointed out in the note to line 27, the popular view was not far wrong. On the whole I think there is no ground for concluding that this poem was in any respect derived from the 'Expugnatio.' It seems to me to be an entirely independent authority for the facts it records, while the absence of any distinct reliance on the Expugnatio confirms the view that our poem is in substance the work of a writer who wrote before the Expugnatio was published.

**History of the MS.** As I have said, it is not known where

Carew got the MS. The following considerations seem, however, to point to a probable answer to this question. As already mentioned, the covering skin of the MS. has upon it under Carew's autograph the date 1617. At first sight it seems natural to conclude that this was the date of Carew's acquisition of the MS., but an examination of all the Carew MSS. at Lambeth will show that this date appears on fourteen of them, and as it also appears on the first volume of the original Catalogue made by Carew and now preserved at Lambeth, the hypothesis suggests itself that this date merely denotes the period when the MSS. bearing it were catalogued. But this hypothesis will not account for all the facts, as some, at any rate, of the volumes apparently catalogued in 1617 are expressly stated to have been compiled at an earlier date<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, of the books dated 1617, No. 597, Pelham's Letter Book, is stated by Mr. Brewer to have been acquired in this year<sup>2</sup>, and No. 599, the Book of Pedigrees, is stated in the heading to have been copied in the year 1617. On the whole I think it probable that Carew did receive a considerable accession of MSS. in this year, comprising, besides those already mentioned, the following vellum MSS., viz. Bray's Conquest of Ireland and perhaps the Old French Poem on the Deposition of Richard II now bound up with the former (No. 598), the works of Giraldus relating to Ireland (No. 622), and the Essay, to be presently described, by James Yonge (No. 633). This accession of MSS. may have induced Carew to commence his catalogue and to group his papers then existing in a loose state into the other volumes bearing the date in question. The mere fact that he has placed our MS. in the forefront of his catalogue, marking it A, suggests that its acquisition was the immediate cause of the making of the catalogue. Mr. Brewer, the able editor of the Calendar of the Carew MSS.,

<sup>1</sup> Volumes 629 and 630 are stated to have been compiled in 1611.

<sup>2</sup> Car. Cal. II, p. 296, note.

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has made no attempt to trace the history of the MSS., nor even to set forth the order in which the volumes were obtained or compiled. He gives however, as an Appendix to the Introduction to vol. ii of the Calendar, a list of all the Carew MSS., equating the old letter marks, consisting of the single, double, and triple alphabets, affixed by Carew, with the present numbering; and a comparison of this list with the contents of the MSS. themselves will show that all the MSS. dated 1617 are included in the single letter notation and in the first two volumes of the double letter notation, whereas those volumes, which, from their containing documents of later date, can be shown to have been compiled after 1617, are all, except XX, now No. 635, included in the triple letter notation. I conclude that in 1617, when the catalogue was commenced, the library consisted of all those books marked with a single letter and all those marked with a double letter up to TT, which was compiled in 1611. The volume marked VV, now No. 632, contains documents relating to Waterford, which, as will be presently shown, were probably copied in this year, but the volume may not have been completed until subsequently. Vol. WW is missing. Vol. XX, now No. 635, contains documents of date subsequent to 1617, as do nearly all of those marked with a triple letter which are still to be found. It therefore seems probable that our first impression was correct, and that the date 1617 on our MS. indicates the date of its acquisition by Carew. Now on the 21st February in this year, 1617, instructions were sent to the Earl of Thomond, Lord President of Munster, and Sir William Jones, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, to seize into the king's hands the liberties of the city of Waterford and to demand all the charters and evidences belonging to the corporation, and among other things 'such plate, jewells, and other treasure as remayneth in the custoddie of any of them for the publique use and behoofe of that tounne.' On the 5th March following, these com-

missioners report that they had carried out their instructions and had received thirteen of the city charters and had locked them up together with other things 'in a chest of theirs [i.e. the corporation's] in the Arundell Towre *where all their writings are*<sup>1</sup>.' Now in vol. 632 of the Carew MSS.<sup>2</sup> there are copies of a number of charters, grants and other documents touching Waterford, including some letters from Henry VII to the mayor and citizens about Perkin Warbeck, and it seems clear that these were among the documents seized in March 1617, and that Carew was enabled to take copies of them. If the four vellum MSS. bearing the date 1617 had been among the writings in that chest in the Arundell Tower it is certain that Carew, who was an ardent collector of historical documents relating to Ireland, would have made every effort to retain them, and the date 1617, affixed to each of them by Carew beneath his autograph, suggests that this was the occasion of their acquisition.

There is, however, some further evidence indicating the person through whom Carew may have got the MSS. Donough O'Brian, Earl of Thomond, who, as already mentioned, was chief of the Commission appointed to seize the liberties of Waterford, was a friend of Carew, who describes him in the year 1611 (Car. Cal. p. 147) as 'an extraordinary well-deserving lord,' and in 1617 he occupied Carew's former position of Lord President of Munster. Now it appears from the heading to the Book of Pedigrees,

<sup>1</sup> Car. MSS. 607, p. 187; Car. Cal. a<sup>o</sup> 1617, Nos. 176, 179. Arundell's Castle was close to the Dominican Abbey. See map in Ryland's Hist. of Waterford.

<sup>2</sup> Car. Cal. Miscellaneous, pp. 466-477. The Latin charters are copied in a neat professional hand and headed by Carew. No. 27, p. 476 of the Car. Cal., is headed in the MS. 'From the Liger book of Waterforde.' Folios 271-280 of the MS. contain abstracts in English of eleven charters.

Car. MS. 599, that this book, containing the 'descentes of y<sup>e</sup> meere Irishe families' and 'formed by sondry collections of y<sup>e</sup> Earl of Thomond,' was copied for Carew in the year 1617<sup>1</sup>. Here we have direct evidence of one MS. coming from the Earl of Thomond in the year 1617, and, taken in connection with what has been already stated, this fact strengthens the supposition that this Commissioner, having seized a number of charters and other writings at Waterford in this year, gave Carew the opportunity of copying the former and of acquiring the vellum MSS. dated by him 1617, including our Old French Poem. That the corporation of Waterford should have had the custody of this MS. at this time is not improbable or without parallel. The Harleian MS. 913, which was in part at any rate the work of 'Frere Michel Kyldare,' and which contains the Anglo-Norman poem on the building of the walls of Ross, written in the year 1265, was at one time in the possession of George Wyse, bailiff of Waterford in 1566 and mayor in 1571, and appears to have been known in 1608 as the Book of Rosse or Waterford<sup>2</sup>. It has been suggested that this book had previously been preserved in the Benedictine Abbey of St. John near Waterford, as a grant of this Abbey was made to William Wyse, possibly the father of George Wyse, in the year 1536. With regard to our MS., however, I am more inclined to associate it with the Dominican Friary of St. Saviour, known as the Blackfriars, afterwards the Courthouse, at Waterford. This friary was founded by the citizens in 1226, and at its dissolution on the 2nd April, 1541, it is said to have contained among other things 'a library<sup>3</sup>.' It was granted to James White in 1542, probably the James White who was

<sup>1</sup> See Car. Cal. 1617, p. 345.

<sup>2</sup> 'Popular Songs of Ireland,' pp. 283-4, edited by Crofton Croker, London, 1839. Facsimiles Nat. MSS. of Ireland.

<sup>3</sup> Arch. Mon. Hib. 704; Hibernia Dominicana, p. 207.

mayor of Waterford in that year. This James White had a special commission as Justice of Wexford in 1538, and from letters of his to Crumwell<sup>1</sup> it is evident that he was an ardent reformer and upholder of Henry's claims.

Now in the 13th century there was a distinguished alumnus of this coenobium known as Gotofrid, or, as he calls himself, 'Jofroi de Watreford de l'ordene az freres precheors le mendre.' From his writings, three of which at least have come down to us, it is inferred that he was acquainted with Greek, Latin, Arabic and French, and that he had travelled in the East and lived for a long period in France. He is mentioned among the *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*<sup>2</sup>, but the best account of his works is to be found in an article by M. Victor le Clerc, in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*<sup>3</sup>. He translated into French, (1) the book of the Trojan war by the pseudonymous Dares the Phrygian, (2) the History of the Romans by Eutropius, and (3) the *Secretum Secretorum*, an apocryphal treatise of Aristotle<sup>4</sup>. This last work is

<sup>1</sup> State Papers, Hen. VIII, vol. ii. pp. 561-3; cf. vol. iii. pp. 116, 134.

<sup>2</sup> By Jac. Quetif and Jac. Echard, Paris, 1719, Tom. i. p. 467; cf. *Hibernia Dominicana*, 1762, p. 209, and Harris's Ware, Writers, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Paris, 1847, tom. xxi. 216-229.

<sup>4</sup> In the preface to this last work Jofroi speaks as if he worked from a Greek and an Arabic text as well as from a Latin one, and it appears that he understood these languages, but the passage in Harris's Ware (*ubi sup.*), in which he is made to say that he had already translated the work from Greek into Arabic and again from Arabic into Latin, is a mistranslation. It should be 'which has already been translated,' &c. These three works are in prose. The statement of Lebeuf (*Hist. et Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, tom. xvii. p. 736) followed by Warton (*Hist. of Eng. Poetry from the 12th to the 16th cent.*, 1871, p. 109) that Godefroy translated Dares Phrygius into French rhymes appears to have been a mistake.



addressed to a patron, *a nobles bers prous et sages*, whose name unfortunately does not appear. It is far from being a literal translation, but contains 'many good words, not less profitable, borrowed from other works of authority.' It ends quite in the Irish manner :—'*ceus qui cest liure liront prient por frere iofroi de Watreford et por seruais copale qui cest trauail empristrent & par layde dedeu lont achief menei. & ausi le liure dares le frigien de la gerre detroi. & ausi le liure de [word erased, read etropius] du regne des romains. Cest liure est fini*<sup>1</sup>.' The MS. containing these three works along with other writings is ascribed to the 13th century. It formerly belonged to the Bibliothèque de Colbert, and passed from it to the Bibliothèque Royale, and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, where it is numbered 1822.

It would certainly be rash to conclude that Jofroi was the writer of our Poem. Indeed, judging from the excerpts from his writings printed in the above-mentioned works, his language is much purer French than that of our text, and is free from some of its dialectical peculiarities. As, however, both MSS. are probably transcripts, and our text has certainly been corrupted, no conclusive argument can be drawn from the exact forms of words used. At any rate, the fact that a monk of the Blackfriars of Waterford in the 13th century could write so freely in French as Jofroi did, and was ready to apply his pen to translating purely secular works, shows at least that there were Dominicans there who understood and valued books of the class to which our MS. belongs, and that there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the transcript which has come down to us was made for them and was preserved for three centuries in their

<sup>1</sup> This passage was transcribed for me by Mr. Frederick York Powell from the original MS. at Paris. Jofroi's works are written in a late 13th century professional hand and are probably transcripts.

library, and indeed never left Waterford until the year 1617. Furthermore, from a doggerel couplet scribbled in an early hand at the end of James Yonge's Essay, Car. MS. 633, which we have already seen reason to suppose was obtained at the same time and place as our MS., there are express grounds for associating that MS. with the Dominicans. This couplet, written three times in a small professional hand, runs as follows :—

' Gratia nulla perit nisi gratia blakmonachorum  
Est et semper erit litill thanke in fine laborum.'

A somewhat similar sentiment is expressed on the preceding page under the roughly drawn figure of a man in an early Tudor dress :—

' Farewell adue I must nedes goo hens  
My labour is lost I gett no pens.'

This MS. is also remarkable from another point of view, for it proves that Jofroi's translation of the *Secreta Secretorum* was known in Waterford in the beginning of the 15th century. Like Jofroi's work, it purports to be a translation of this apocryphal treatise of Aristotle, though this fact is not noted in the Calendar of Carew Papers. Another and perhaps earlier version of the same work is preserved in the Bodleian Library, and is stated by Mr. J. T. Gilbert to be 'the earliest known composition of any length written in English by an Anglo-Irish author.' It is dedicated to 'Yow nobyll and gracious lorde Jamys de Botiller, Erle of Ormonde, lieutenant of our lege lorde kynge henry the fyfte in Irlande,' (A.D. 1419-22); and a comparison of its preface with that of Jofroi will alone show that Yonge had Jofroi's translation before him<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Facsimile, Nat. MSS. of Ireland, vol. iii. Introd. p. xiv, Pl. xxxvi. and App. Indeed Yonge's Preface appears to be little else

**Historical value of the Chronicle.** Though, owing to the want of a good working edition of this poem or chronicle, historians have not fully availed themselves of its materials, yet its historical importance has often been noted. Thus Harris in his preface to *Hibernica* says :—‘Whoever writes the History of Ireland during the English Period must make this Piece the main Basis of his Account; and the Defects of our Author must be supplied from *Cambrensis*.’ Again, Mr. Dimock, the editor of the *Topographia and Expugnatio Hibernica* of Giraldus in the *Rolls Series*, speaking of this poem, which he frequently cites, says :—‘There is every reason to accept it as simple prosaic truth, according to the writer’s best belief and information, put into simple rhyme; and in rhyme though it be, its history, I have not a doubt, is far more accurately true than Giraldus’s poetical prose. Sometimes it gives a strong general confirmation to Giraldus’s narration, but the particulars often are very different. Its heroes are not always the same as the heroes of Giraldus; and while it has nothing of some events related by him, it dwells, on the other hand, on other events and persons passed over by him in silence<sup>1</sup>.’

than an adaptation of Jofroi’s, amounting at times to a literal translation, though this connection has not been noticed by Mr. J. T. Gilbert. Compare the passage : ‘In oone techying acordyth and in oone verite shewyth the moste wyse clerkes and maysteris of renoune that haue beyn afor us in all tymys,’ &c., with the following extract from Jofroi’s ‘prologes,’ cited in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*. *ubi supra* : ‘En une aprise accordent et une ueritei mostrent les plus sages clers et maistres les plus renomez de ceus ki auant nos furent de cest siecle,’ &c.; and the following : ‘The whyche thyng noble and gracious lorde afor sayde haith parcewid the sotilte of your witte and the clernys of your engyn,’ with ‘Laquele chose aparcheust la sutelitei de vostre engin’; *Script. Ord. Praed. ubi supra*.

<sup>1</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, R.S. v. Preface, lxxxiv-v. Mr. Dimock adds : ‘At present, it (the poem) is in great measure useless; it most sadly

The Rev. G. T. Stokes, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin, has, indeed, drawn on some of the materials supplied by this chronicle in his earlier Lectures on 'Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church,' and has ably shown to what valuable use they may be put. He too bears witness to the accuracy and truth of the poem, and says (p. 72):—'The more carefully you study this Anglo-Norman poem, the more thoroughly you will trust it. It is evidently based on original documents. It fixes dates, Church festivals, mentions the precise periods during which the armies reposed, the roads they took, the rivers they crossed, and many other topographical details which have escaped the notice of the editor, Mr. Wright.'

The critical judgment as to the value of our poem by such writers as Mr. Dimock and Professor Stokes, who have studied the original text, far outweighs the adverse opinions of Lord Lyttelton, Mr. Moore, and even of Dr. O'Donovan, who were acquainted only with the inaccurate printed copy of Carew's faulty Abstract.

The chronicle is written from the point of view of Dermot and his allies. Indeed had the writer not told us so himself we should have concluded that his information was mainly derived from a devoted follower of Dermot. The very absence, however, of any sort of moral condemnation for anything done, except for treachery towards Dermot which is always committed *à tort*, and the simplicity and directness of the narrative render it probable that it is a truthful account of what came within the writer's sources of information. His knowledge of Irish topography and Irish nomenclature

wants a new edition, with a literal translation and notes, by some Irish scholar well versed in the Irish topography and family nomenclature of the time, and well versed also in the Anglo-Norman of the time. No more valuable contribution, perhaps, to the history of the first few years of the English invasion of Ireland could be made than such an edition of this treatise.'

compares favourably with that of Giraldus. The orthographic rather than phonetic forms adopted for some of the Irish names, such as Hathcleyth (l. 2210) for Ath-Cliath, Hachedur (l. 1012) for Achadh-ur, Kinelogin (l. 3258) for Cinel-eoghan, together with the use of the word 'langport' (Ir. *longphort*) for camp, seem to show that the writer had an Irishman at his elbow; while the frequent employment of the tags and commonplaces of the *trouvères* proves his acquaintance with the rhymed chronicles and chansons de geste of the time. I have already remarked that the narrative appears to be quite independent of the works of Giraldus. The writer's freedom from the family bias of the Geraldine has probably enabled him to make a juster estimate of the relative merits of the invaders. We hear at least as much of the prowess of Earl Richard and of the de Cogans as we do of that of the Geraldines, and much is said in these pages of the probity and valour of Maurice de Prendergast, while Giraldus merely records his landing. Incidental allusions the accuracy of which can be verified—such as the mention of Robert Harding of Bristol and his monastery of St. Austin's (ll. 232, 302), the references to the Steine and Howe at Dublin (ll. 2269 and 2321) and to the names of the city gates (ll. 2333 and 2341), the mention of Henry's place of embarkation in Wales, La Croiz (2590), and of Raymond's home, Karreu, (l. 2860)—prove the correctness and the independence of our author's information.

**Language and versification.** With reference to language and versification, the poem, as M. Michel says, is faulty in style and very corrupt in its language. At the same time there are many indications that the poem as originally written was much freer from blemishes than the transcript that has come down to us. Again and again it will be found that a line, the metre of which is faulty, can be set right by some obvious grammatical correction. I have not in general thought it necessary to suggest such changes in the footnotes.

While in many cases to make the requisite alteration is sufficiently easy, to do this exhaustively, so as to make all the lines metrically and grammatically correct, would involve a reconstruction of the text which, with only a single MS. to go upon, would often be extremely problematical. In the case of Anglo-Norman texts written in England (or Ireland) it cannot be assumed that the lines were originally either faultless in metre or strictly grammatical in form, and it is well known that in England by the beginning of the 13th century the old rules of declension were rapidly falling into decay. Where, however, the reading of the MS. leaves the sense obscure, and in some other cases where it seemed useful, I have suggested corrections in the footnotes and adopted them in the translation.

With respect to the rhymes, which in general, with a few obvious corrections, seem accurate enough, it may be useful to make the following remarks:—

In apparent derogation of the rule that *e* proceeding from the Latin *a* only rhymes with an *e* of similar origin, we have the rhymes *pe* (*pedem*): *naufre* 1953: *meyne* 2385: *lesse* 2876, and *pes*: *heistex* 1096; *muiller*: *per* (*parem*) 2833: *guerrer* (*guerrier*) 3062; *fer* (*ferum*): *herberger* 2941: *lesser* 2986, &c. These examples, however, all come within the recognised exception that when the Latin *e* open, tonic, free (to adapt the convenient terminology of French phonetics) does not become the diphthong *ie* it rhymes with *e=a*. The rhymes *fiez*: *fublex* 596-7, *feiz*: *turnex* 2673-4, and *feex*: *citez* 3010-11 are explained by treating *fiez* (which we should read in each case) as proceeding from *vicem* + the suffix *-atam*.

Instances of silent consonants before *s* or *z* are—*poestifs* (elsewhere written *poestis*): *Henris* 242-3; *nefs*: *arives* 469; *gentils* (elsewhere *gentis*): *pris* 1003; *detrefes* (elsewhere *detres*): *escries* 2363; *Mechins*: *tramis* 2162: *amis* 3355; *meins* (*mensem*, elsewhere *meis*): *reis* 309: *conqueis* 2972; *pirs* (*pejus*, perhaps read *pis*): *pais* 2530: *enemis* 3183; *volt* (else-

where *vout*: *out* 319. Careless rhymes are:—*souders*: *armez* 1897: *aprestez* 3380, but: *poigners* 3366; *Dermod* usually rhymes with *vout*, *out*, and the impfs. in -out of the 1st conj., but: *Weyseford* 1392; *trestute*: *buche* 3268-9 is a suspicious rhyme. In the following there is neither rhyme nor assonance:—*demure* (or *demore*): *Leynistere* 74-5; *paumer*: *traitur* 182-3, unless we suppose a form *palmor*; *chevaler*: *partir* 392-3, unless we suppose the verb assimilated to the first conjugation.

It may also be noted that the nasal -um = -ons: *un* (on) e.g. *accomplerum*: *reisun* 144-5, *lisum*: *barun* 1064-5. Similarly *champ*: *garant* 674-5, *champ(e)*: *blanc* 2447-8. The rhyme *meins* (minus): *anciens* 2677-8, might seem to point to a form, *ancieins*, but we have elsewhere *anciens*: *quens*. The diphthong *ui* is sometimes reduced to *u*:—thus we have not only *nuit*: *brut* 1312-13, and: *dedut* 808-9, where we might read *bruit* and *deduit*, but also *nuiz*: *venuz* 1981-2, and *nuit*: *jut* 2137-8.

As in Norman texts, generally, we have *ei* usually retained for *oi*. Again, *ie* is generally reduced to *e*, and the past part. fem. in *ee* has lost the post-tonic *e*.

The impfs. of the 1st conj. are regularly in -out, but we have exceptionally *ameit* 53, and *pleideit* 2104; but this last is perhaps from the form *pleidir*, cf. Bozon, S. A. T. F. Gloss. Conversely we have *se pleniout* 100 from *se pleindre*. There are indeed some instances of verbs in -eir, -re and -ir having been assimilated, at least in the infinitive, to the first conj. Thus we have *saver* 622, *aver* (: *seffer* 435: *mester* 2731), *poer* as a verbal subst. 44; *tener* 776, 2838; *ver* = *veeir* 476; *assente* for *assenti* 2371, cf. Bozon S. A. T. F. where the verb is assimilated to the 1st conj.; *tollet* 218, but elsewhere *tolir* 2708. There are however indications that this assimilation had proceeded much further when the present transcript was made than at the date of the original composition. Thus the rhymes *asailler*: *mentir* 1032-3, *asailer*: *partir* 1574-5;

*asaillirent: defendirent* 3192-3, show that the occasional reduction of *asaillir* to the 1st conjugation was the work of the copyist. The same may, I think, be said of the rhymes *adurez: tapes* 714-15, as elsewhere we have the form *aduriz* in rhyme, and *syverent: virent* 546-7.

**Literary Qualities.** As to the literary qualities of our poem, great allowances have to be made for the corrupt form in which the text has come down to us, and of course poetry in the sense of imaginative art is not to be looked for. Still this fragment seems to stand somewhere between the *chanson de geste* proper and the mere rhymed chronicle. It deals with heroes, though the heroes were real and, perhaps, contemporary men, and the cause for which they fought was not a noble one. We have constantly presented to our view the handful of mail-clad Norman knights and well-armed followers pitted against hordes of undisciplined and ill-armed 'traitors,' and the conflicts between them form so many graphic battle-pictures. The repulse of the attack on Raymond's camp with the remorseless executions that follow; the desperate sortie of the 600 from the siege of Dublin, and the dispersion of O'Conor's enormous host, 'like wandering cattle,' the furious attempt by John the Wode and the Northmen to recover their city, and their final discomfiture, are all told with simplicity and vigour. There is a touch of real chivalry in the conduct of Maurice de Prendergast when he braves the wrath of his comrades and crosses swords with his allies rather than permit an act of base treachery to a foe whom he has sworn to protect; and there is a stroke of something like humour in the advice of Miles de Cogan to the Irish chieftain to watch the battle from afar and join in with the victors.



## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES.

In the footnotes to the text the following abbreviations are used:—

*M.* = M. Francisque Michel, and refers to his edition of the text published by Pickering, London, 1837.

*S. A. T. F.* = Société des Anciens Textes Français (publications of the).

*Bart. and Horn.* : refers to *La Langue et la Littérature Françaises depuis le ix<sup>ème</sup> siècle jusqu'au xiv<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, par Karl Bartsch et Adolf Horning. Paris, 1887.

*Gaimar* : *Lestorie des Engles solum Geffrei Gaimar* in the *Rolls Series*.

*Fantosme* : *Chronique de Jordan Fantosme* in the *Rolls Series*.

*Rom. de Rou* : *Maistre Wace's Roman de Rou* herausgegeben von Dr. Hugo Andresen, Heilbronn, 1877-3.

*Godefroy* : refers to his *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne Langue Française*.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

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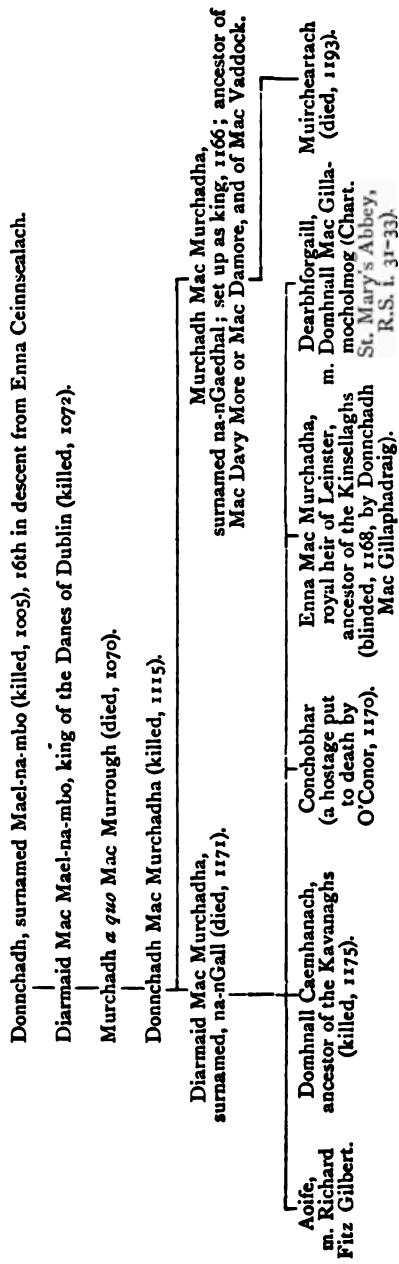
NOTE.—Events bearing on the story, but not mentioned in the text, are included in square brackets.

- 1152. Rape of Dervorgil.
- 1156. [Death of Turlough O'Conor. Murtough O'Loughlin, Ard Righ.]
- 1166. Battle of Leiter Luin, and death of Murtough O'Loughlin.  
Roderic O'Conor, Ard Righ.]  
1st August. Expulsion of Dermot MacMurrough.
- 1167. Return of Dermot accompanied by Richard FitzGodibert.
- 1168. Morice Regan sent to Wales with letters from Dermot.
- 1169. 1st May. Landing of Robert FitzStephen at Bannow.  
Taking of Wexford.  
First Raid into Ossory.  
Raid into Offelan.  
Raid against O'Toole.  
Second Raid into Ossory.  
Defection of Maurice de Prendergast.  
[Hosting of Roderic O'Conor against Dermot at Ferns.]  
Landing of Maurice FitzGerald at Wexford.
- 1170. 1st May. Landing of Raymond at Dundonuil.  
Attack on Dundonuil.  
23rd August. Landing of Strongbow.  
25th August. Taking of Waterford.  
21st September. Capture of Dublin.  
[Raid into Meath.]

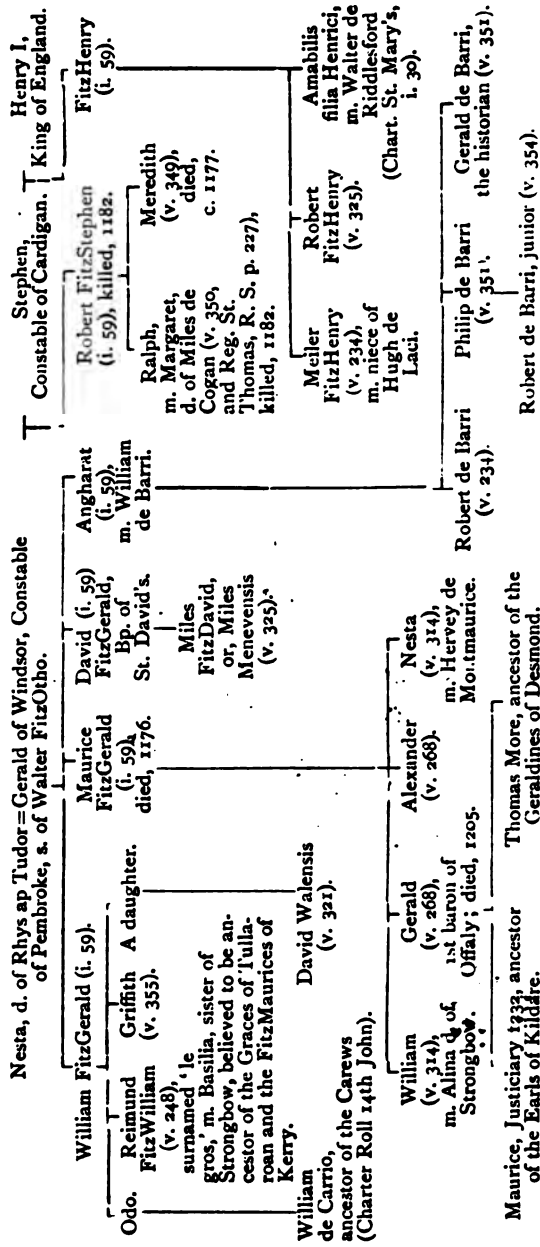
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1171. 1st May. Death of Dermot.  
 Revolt of Hy Kinsellagh.  
*Circa* June and July. Siege of Dublin by Roderic O'Conor.  
 Capture of FitzStephen at Carrick.  
 End of July. Sortie from Dublin.  
 August. Battle in Odrone.  
 August. Expedition of Strongbow and Donnell O'Brien against Ossory.  
 Beginning of September. Departure of Strongbow to meet Henry in Wales.  
 Attack of Hasculf and John the Wode on Dublin (according to Giraldus this took place about the 16th May, before Roderic's Siege).  
 [Attack of Tiernan O'Rourke on Dublin.]  
 17th October. Landing of Henry at Crook near Waterford.  
 11th November. Arrival of Henry at Dublin.  
 [Synod of Cashel.]
1172. 1st March. Departure of Henry from Dublin for Wexford.  
 17th April. Departure of Henry from Ireland.  
 Raid against O'Dempsey, and death of Robert de Quenci.  
 [Death of O'Rourke.]  
 Departure of Raymond to Carew Castle on Strongbow refusing to give him Basilia in marriage.
1173. 8th March. Rebellion of Henry, 'the young king.'  
*Circa* July. Strongbow summoned to aid Henry.  
 10th August. Strongbow sent back to govern Ireland [with Raymond as coadjutor.]  
 Irish garrisons summoned to aid Henry.  
 16th or 17th October. Battle of Fornham near St. Edmund's.  
 [Plundering of Lismore and sea-fight off Youghal.  
 Departure of Raymond to Wales on the death of his father.]
1174. Victory of Donnell O'Brien at Thurles.]  
 Return of Raymond. Relief of the Earl at Waterford and marriage of Raymond and Basilia.  
 Invasion of Meath by Roderic O'Conor, and destruction of Trim Castle.

- 
1175. October. Taking of Limerick.
1176. Destruction of Slane Castle (see Ann. IV. M.). This event is placed out of its order in the text.
- 1st June. [Death of Strongbow.] ✓
1180. 14th November. Death of Archbishop Laurence O'Toole.
- 1190-9. Marriage of Philip de Prendergast and Maud de Quenci.
1225. 11th December. Canonization of Laurence O'Toole.
- 1227-31. Death of Philip de Prendergast.

# PEDIGREE OF DERMOT MAC MURROUGH.



# GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE DESCENDANTS OF NESTA WHO TOOK PART IN THE INVASION OF IRELAND.



NOTE.—The figures in parentheses have reference to the volume and page of the works of Giraldus Cambrensis in the Rolls Series where the position in the family of the person in question is indicated.  
I have not included the de Cogan in this Pedigree; see note to l. 160a.



THE SONG OF DERMOT AND  
THE EARL



## The Song of Dermot:



\* \* \* \* \*

Par soen demeine latimer  
Que moi conta de lui lestorie,  
Dunt faz ici la memorie.  
Morice regan iert celui,  
Buche abuche parla alui 5  
Ki cest iest endita :  
Lestorie de lui me mostra.  
Icil morice iert latimer  
Al rei dermot, ke mult lout cher.  
Ici lirrai del bacheler, 10  
Del rei dermod *vus* voil conter.

E n yrland, a icel ior,  
Ni out reis de tel valur :  
Asez esteit manans e richez,  
Amale francs, hailes chiches. 15

15. M. takes *amale* as if *amable* = *aimable*, but gives no authority for the disappearance of the *b*. To *hailes* he puts a query; and so does Godefroy (Dict. de l'Anc. Lang. Franç.) while assuming it to be an ad-

## An Old-French Poem.

---

\* \* \* \* \*

By his own interpreter  
Who told to me the history of him,  
Of which I here make record.  
This man was Morice Regan,  
Face to face he spake to him 5  
Who related this geste :  
The history of him he showed me.  
This Morice was interpreter  
To King Dermot, who loved him much.  
Here I shall leave off about the bachelor, 10  
About King Dermot I will tell you.

In Ireland, at this day,  
There was no more worthy king :  
Very rich and powerful he was ;  
He loved the generous, he hated the mean. 15

jective. I read the line as if divided thus : *Ama le francs hai les chiches.*  
Many instances of distinct words being run together occur in this MS.  
The adj. *chiches* could not have been applied to Dermot by his panegyrist.

Icil par vn poste  
 Aveit *pris e* conquete  
 Oneil *e* mithe *par* sa guerre,  
 Ostages menad en lajnester*e*:  
 O sei amenad okaruel, 20  
 Le fiz le rei de yriel.

Mes en leschoin iout vn reis,  
 Ororic out *nun* en yrreis,  
 En tirbrun mist la hiduse,  
 Tere lede *e* boschaguse ; 25  
 Mes ororic, li riche reis,  
 Femme aueit bele a celefeis,  
 La fille al rei malathlin,  
 A ki mithe esteit enclin ;  
 Malathlin de mithe iert sire. 30  
 Ki la uerite *vus* ueut dire,  
 Icel esteit de truïn  
 Del bon veil malathlin ;  
 Estreit cil ert de linage  
 Malathlin al fier corage, 35  
 Fiz coleman, le riche reis,  
 Ke tant seingnes *e* curteis.  
 De malathlin uoil lesser,  
 Del rei dermod voil conter.

De lejnester reis dermod, 40  
 Ki cel dame tant amout,  
 De amer li fist bel semblant,

He by his power  
 Had taken and conquered  
 O'Neil and Meath in his war ;  
 Hostages he brought into Leinster :  
 He brought with him O'Carroll, 20  
 The son of the king of Uriel.

N ow in Leath-Cuinn there was a king,  
 O'Rourke he was called in Irish,  
 In Tirbrun, the barren, he dwelt,  
 A waste and woody land. 25  
 But O'Rourke, the rich king,  
 Had a beautiful wife at this time,  
 The daughter of King Melaghlin  
 To whom Meath was subject. }  
 Melaghlin was lord of Meath ; 30  
 Whoever would tell you the truth,  
 She was of the stock  
 Of the good old Melaghlin ;  
 He was sprung from the lineage  
 Of Melaghlin of the bold heart, 35  
 The son of Coleman, the rich king,  
 Who was so well-bred and courteous.  
 About Melaghlin I will leave off,  
 About King Dermot I will tell.

D ermot, king of Leinster, 40  
 Whom this lady loved so much,  
 Made pretence to her of loving,

Mes nel ama tant ne quant,  
 Ne mes qu'il uout a sun poer  
 La grant hunte, sil pout, uenger 45  
 Que cil de lethcoin firent ia dis  
 A ces de lethunthe en son pais.  
 Li reis dermod souent manda  
 A la dame, qu'il tant ama—  
 Par bref e par messagers, 50  
 Souent fist li rei mander  
 Ke ele en fin pur ueir esteit  
 La reigne del siecle qu'il plus ameit ;  
 Si la requist mult souent  
 De fin amur couertement. 55  
 E la dame li ad mande  
 Par vn messenger priue  
 Que tut freit sa uolunte,  
 Al rei ke tant est prise  
 E si remande de richef 60  
 E par buche e par bref  
 Que pur lui uenit en tiel manere  
 Od tut lost de leynestere,  
 E par force e par guerre  
 Od lui la ramist tote la terre ; 65  
 Sauer al rei dermod freit  
 En quel lui la prendreit  
 U ele serreit priuement,  
 Que prendre la pust quitement :

47. *Lethunthe*: the reading of the MS. though M., while printing *Lethunthe* in l. 81, has *Lechunthe* here. As to the true form of the word, see Notes, l. 22. 50. *messagers*: read *messenger*. 53. *La reigne*, i.e. *ren* or *rien*, Lat. *rem* = thing, creature; cf. l. 341, *la ren del munde quil ust plus cher*. 62. *venit*: read *venist*. 65. *la*

While he did not love her at all,  
 But only wished to the utmost of his power  
 To avenge, if he could, the great shame 45  
 Which the men of Leath-Cuinn wrought of old  
 On the men of Leath-Mogha in his territory.  
 King Dermot often sent word  
 To the lady whom he so loved—  
 By letter and by messenger, 50  
 Often did the king send word  
 That she was altogether, in truth,  
 The thing in the world that he most loved ;  
 Thus he besought her very often  
 For her true love covertly. 55  
 And the lady sent him word  
 By a secret messenger  
 That she would do all his will :  
 To the king who is so renowned  
 She returns answer again, 60  
 Both by word of mouth and by letter,  
 That he should come for her in such manner  
 With all the host of Leinster  
 And by force and by war  
 Should carry her away with him from the land ;  
 That she would let King Dermot know 66  
 In what place he should take her  
 Where she should be in concealment,  
 That he might freely carry her off :

*ramist.* M. suggests *l'aramist*, but with what meaning? Perhaps we should read *la ravist*. But I think there is some further corruption, and in the translation I do not pretend to give more than the general sense.  
 67, 70. *lui* : *sic*. Read *lin* = *lieu*.

En *quel* lui en fin serreit 70  
 V *quite* prendre la *purreit*.

MS. p. II. **L**i reis manda hastiuement  
 Par leynestere tute sa gent  
*Que* alui uiengent san de mure  
 De osseri e de leynestere; 75  
 Si lur feiseit a tuz sauer  
 Vers lethcoin *qu'il* uout aler  
 La hunte, sil pust, uenger  
*Que* cil firent iadis premer:  
 La hunte *que* cil firent iadis 80  
 En lethunthe, en son païs.

**I**cil uindrent deliuerement  
 Par le rei commandement.  
 Quant tuz furent assemblez,  
 Vers lethcoin sunt dreit *turnez*; 85  
 Nuit e ior errent auant  
 Riche e poure, petit e *grant*.  
*Que* *vus* irrai *plus* contant?  
 En tirbrun uint li reis uaillant;  
 E la dame mande aueit 90  
 Al rei dermot v ele esteit,  
 Que il nemist od sa gent,  
 Si la preist deliuerement.  
 Li reis dermot maintenant  
 En la place uint errant 95  
 V la dame aueit mande  
 Quele serreit *apreste*.

---

In what place, in short, she should be 70  
Where he might freely carry her off.

The king summoned speedily  
All his men throughout Leinster,  
To come to him without delay  
From Ossory and from Leinster ; 75  
And he let them all know  
That he wished to go against Leath-Cuinn,  
To avenge, if he could, the shame  
Which these men wrought of yore :  
The shame which they had wrought of yore 80  
In Leath-Mogha, in his territory.

Promptly they came  
At the king's command.  
When all were assembled,  
Against Leath-Cuinn they turned straightway ; 85  
Night and day they marched forward  
Rich and poor, small and great.  
Why should I go on telling you more?  
Into Tirbrun came the valiant king.  
Now the lady had sent word 90  
To King Dermot where she was,  
That he should come with his men  
And promptly carry her off  
King Dermot immediately  
Came marching to the place 95  
Where the lady had sent word  
That she would be ready.



En cele manere *dermot* li reis  
La dame *prist* acele feis.

**O**roric forment se pleniout 100  
Pur sa femme *que* perdu out ;  
Mes mut rendi bataille fere  
A la gent de lajnistere.  
Mes, seingnurs, li re *dermot*  
La dame lores od sei menout, 105  
De errer vnques ne finat  
De ci ke mi kencelath.  
E la dame mult longement  
Iloc estoit, solum la gent :  
A fernes estoit asoiorn mise, 110  
Solum la gent, en tel guise.

**O**roric, mult dolusant,  
Vers connoth tendi tut batant ;  
Al rei de connoth tut parcunte,  
Forment se pleint de la hunte 115  
Cum li reis de leynistere  
Sur lui uint en tele manere,  
Sa femme aforce sur lui prise,  
A fernes lad asoiorn mise.  
Al rei de connoth de huntage 120  
Forment se pleint del damage ;  
Mult li requist ententiueement  
De la meyne e de sa gent  
Que lui feseit aprester  
Ki sa hunte pout uenger. 125

105. *lores*: the *e* has been nearly erased, perhaps for the metre.

In this way Dermot the king  
Carried off the lady at this time.

O Rourke bitterly complained 100  
For his wife whom he had lost ;  
While he offered very fierce battle  
To the men of Leinster.  
But, my lords, King Dermot  
Then brought the lady away with him, 105  
Nor ever ceased marching  
From thence to the midst of Hy Kinsellagh.  
And the lady for a good long time  
Was there, as people say :  
At Ferns she was placed for her abode, 110  
As people say, in this manner.

O Rourke, much grieving,  
To Connaught went in all haste.  
To the king of Connaught he relates all ;  
Bitterly he complains of the shame, 115  
How the king of Leinster  
Came upon him in such manner,  
Took his wife by force from him,  
And placed her at Ferns for her abode.  
To the king of Connaught of the outrage 120  
Bitterly he complains, and of the injury ;  
Very earnestly he besought him  
To make ready for him  
Some of his household and of his men  
So that he could avenge his shame. 125

107. *De ci ken mi Kencelath* (M.) or perhaps *Okencelath*, which, admitting the hiatus, would improve the metre.

Li reis de connoth fist mander  
 Al rei de Osseri *premer*  
 Que lur rei ne fausit mie  
*E quil* lur uenist en aie.  
*E* cil li ont asez *pram'ez* 130  
 Que reis li frunt en cel pais,  
 Sil pount en geiter  
 Li reis *dermot* *que* tant est fer.  
*E* cil tantost senturnout  
 Sur sun seingnur li reis *dermot*; 135  
*E* malathlin li *traitur*  
 Si reguerpi son seignur;  
*E* macturkyl de diveline  
 Son seignur guerpi acel *termine*;  
 Si consenti la *traisun* 140  
 Murchid obrien, vn mal felun,  
 Li *quel* mangerent li guar gunn,  
*E vus* dirat la chançon  
*Quant vus* tost *acomplere*  
 En auant en uostre reisun. 145

MS. p. III. *Q*uant *dermot* li reis gentis,  
 Que tant esteit de *grant pris*,  
 Vit *que* lui furent failiz  
 Pareins. cosins. *e* amis,  
 Vn ior monta li reis *dermot* 150  
*E* de sa gent od sei menout,  
*E* va *querant* obrien li fel;

128. *lur rei*, i.e. the king of Connaught. 11. 128-133 represent  
 what the embassy urge upon the king of Ossory. 130. *pram'ez*; sic  
 MS., with mark of expunction under the faulty *e*. 142. *li guar*

The king of Connaught sent word  
 To the king of Ossory, in the first place,  
 That he should not fail their king  
 But should come to their aid.  
 And these men fully promised him 130  
 That they would make him king in that territory  
 If they could cast out of it  
 King Dermot who was so bold.  
 And this man immediately revolted  
 Against his lord, King Dermot; 135  
 And Melaghlin, the traitor,  
 Abandoned his lord;  
 And Mac Torkil of Dublin  
 Abandoned his lord at this moment.  
 There joined in the treason 140  
 Murrough O'Brien, an evil rebel,  
 Whom the dogs devoured,  
 As the song will tell you  
 As soon as we shall complete it for you  
 Further on in your story. 145

When Dermot the noble king,  
 Who was of so much worth,  
 Saw that they had failed him  
 Gossips, kinsmen, and friends,  
 One day King Dermot took horse 150  
 And brought with him some of his men,  
 And went to seek the rebel O'Brien;

*gunn*: see l. 2174, which shows that the true reading is *guaignuns*; cf. Raoul de Cambrai S. A. T. Fr. 333, *gaingnon*. 144-5. Perhaps we should read *nus* and *nostre* for *vus* and *vostre*; but cf. l. 215. 149.  
 The points in this line are in the MS.

A lui *parler* uoleit *e* conseil.  
 Obrien va dunc li reis fuant :  
 A lui ne uolt petit ne *grant* 155  
 Parler ren ne *conseiler*  
 Ne songnur *confort* doner.

**Q**uant ço uist li reis *dermot*  
*Que* al fel *parler* ne pout,  
 Li reis sen est tantost *turne* 160  
 Tut dreit a fernes la cite.  
 A fernes li reis soïornout  
 En vn abeie *que* iloc out  
 De seinte marie la reine,  
 Glorïuse dame *e* uirgine. 165

**D**unc li reis se purpensout  
 De vne veïdie *qu'il* fere uout,  
*Cum* il pust le fel *trouer*  
*E* par engin alui *parler*.  
 A labe feseit li reis *mander*, 170  
 Vne chape lui feseit *prester*,  
 Vne chape a une chanoine  
 V a pruvere v a moyne

**A**knoth ueit idunc li reis  
 Od tut la chape cel feis. 175  
 A vn son dengin lad *troue*,  
*Cum* il me fud endite.  
 Le reis la chape afubla  
*Que* aspïez lui treina,

He wished to parley with him in secret.  
O'Brien, however, kept avoiding the king :  
With him he would not, either much or little, 155  
Parley or counsel aught  
Nor assistance give his lord.

When King Dermot saw this  
That he could not parley with the rebel,  
The king immediately turned back 160  
Straight to the city of Ferns.  
At Ferns the king abode  
At an abbey that was there  
Of Saint Mary the Queen,  
Glorious lady and Virgin. 165

Then the king devised  
A trick that he would play ;  
How he might find the rebel  
And by cunning speak to him.  
To the Abbot the king sent word, 170  
That he should lend him a cope,  
A cope for a canon  
Or for a priest or for a monk.

To Knoth then the king goes  
This time with the cope. 175  
At a *dun* of his he found him,  
As it was related to me.  
The king put on the cope  
Which trailed down to his feet,

Que nul ne pout auiser 180  
Si *pur* moine reuler.

Quant uenuz iert li paumer  
De uant la meison li *traitur*,  
Le fel, *quant* uit le rei, errant  
Vers la forest va dunc fuant; 185  
Kar li malueis *traitur*  
Nel uolt conustre a son *seignur*.  
Li fel ua dunc *escriant*  
Od sa uoiz haut *e grant* :  
'Mauueis reis, *quei* alez *querant*? 190  
Fuez *euuus*, par nun comant ;  
E cil ne fetes *hastiuement*  
Presenter *vus* frai al uent.'

Quant li reis lout entendu,  
Dolent esteit *e* irascu. 195  
Li reis esteit en *grant tristur*  
Pur le dit del *traitur*  
Que manace si la ueit  
*E que* al uent lui *presentereit*.  
Returne est li riche reis, 200  
Que tant fu larges *e curteis*,  
Que turne est li *traitur*  
Sur lur naturel *seignur*.  
Tute sa gent li sunt faille  
De leynestere *e* de osserie. 205

191. The MS. has *euu'*, read *en vus* (M). *nun* read *mun*. 192.  
*cil* for *si le*. 193. *Presenter al vent*: I think O'Brien threatens

So that one could not but take him 180  
For a Monk Regular.

When the Palmer had come  
Before the traitor's house,  
The rebel, when he saw the king, straightway  
Hurried off towards the forest ; 185  
For the wicked traitor  
Did not wish to recognise him as his lord.  
The rebel then shouts  
In a loud and strong voice :—  
' Wicked king, what do you seek ? 190  
Be off with you at my bidding ;  
And if you do not do so speedily  
I shall have you strung up to the wind.'

When the king heard him,  
He was full of grief and wrath. 195  
The king was in great distress  
For the saying of the traitor  
Who had so menaced him  
And would string him up to the wind.  
The rich king returned 200  
Who was so liberal and courteous,  
Since the traitor revolted  
Against his rightful lord.  
All his men failed him  
Both of Leinster and of Ossory. 205

to hang Dermot ; cf. ' pendu fussiez et encroe au vent.' Adenet le Roi  
apud Bart. et Horn, p. 598. 7.



**Q**uant se uit *dermot* li reis  
 Que *tra*i esteit a cele feis—  
 Sa gent demeine lui *sunt* failliz  
 En tel manere iert *tra*iz—  
*E que* uoleint *prendre* 210  
 A ororic liuerer *e* uendre,  
 Si li fist mult *grant* es iurat  
 De connoth li reis dautre part—  
 Ke *vus* irrai *purloinguant*  
 De uostre geste tant ne *quant*? 215

MS. p. IV. **L**e reis *dermot* en unt gete  
 Sa gent *par* uiue poeste,  
 Tollet lui unt tut la reingne  
*E* de *yrland* li unt chace.  
 Quant fut li reis exule, 220  
 A korkeran *eschippe*:  
 Quant li reis esteit waiues,  
 A korkeran est *eschippes*:  
 A corkeran en mer entra,  
 Awelaf okinad od sei mena, 225  
 O sei mena li riche reis  
*E* plus de seisante treis.

**L**e riche reis auait le uent  
 Bon e bel a sun talent:  
 Sigles auaint *par* bel orage; 230  
 A bristod *pernent* lur rivage.  
 A la meison robert *herdin*,

210. *E que il le voleient prendre* (M.). 212. *es iurat*: perhaps  
*esguart* (M.); or better, I think, *essart*. See Glossary. 214. *purloin-*  
*quant*: read *purloingnant*. 221. *est* has fallen out before *eschippe*.

**W**hen Dermot the king perceived  
 That he was betrayed at this time—  
 His own men failed him  
 So completely was he betrayed—  
 And that they wished to take him 210  
 To hand him over and sell him to O'Rourke,  
 While the king of Connaught on the other hand  
 Should make a great destruction of him—  
 Why should I delay you  
 From your geste at all? 215

**H**is people by the strong hand  
 Have cast out King Dermot,  
 Have wrested the whole kingdom from him  
 And have driven him from Ireland.  
 When the king was exiled 220  
 He took ship at Corkeran :  
 When the king was abandoned  
 At Corkeran he took ship :  
 At Corkeran he put to sea,  
 Auliffe O'Kinad he brought with him, 225  
 With him the rich king brought  
 And more than sixty three.

**T**he rich king had the wind  
 Fine and fair to his desire :  
 His ships had a very fair breeze ; 230  
 At Bristol they take the shore.  
 At the house of Robert Harding,

227. *seisante treis*: M. reads, incorrectly, *seisante neis*, which with absurd result he takes to mean sixty ships! There is a brown stain over the word, but it is certainly *treis*. The word for ships is always *nefs*.

A meimes de seint austin,  
 Soiornat li reis dermod  
 Od tant gent cum il out. 235  
 Solum la dit de la gent,  
 La reine ifud ensement.

Qvant li reis out soiorne  
 Tant li uint a gre,  
 Ses cheualers feseit mander, 240  
 Vers normandie uolt errer  
 Pur parler al rei henriz  
 De engleterre, li poestifz.  
 Kar li rei de engleterre  
 En normandie pur sa guere 245  
 Esteit, seignurs, ai cel feis  
 Pur la guere des franceis.  
 Tant ad dermot espleite  
 Par ces iornes e tant erre  
 Que en normandie est ariue, 250  
 Solum la gent de antiquite.  
 Bien est, seignurs, ke io vus die  
 Cum dermod va par normandie :  
 Le rei henri va dunc quere,  
 Amunt, aval, avant, arere ; 255  
 Tant ad mande e enquis  
 Que troue ad li rei henris :  
 A vne cite lad troue,  
 Que seignur esteit clame.

233. *A meimes de.* This is certainly the correct reading ; cf. ll. 1021, 3155. M. reads *A meinies* : a word which he rightly hesitates to identify with *moines*. See Glossary. 239. This line is defective. Perhaps the words *a Bristoud* have slipped out. 259. *Que seignur esteit*

Near to St Austin's,  
King Dermot abode  
With as many men as he had. 235  
According to common report,  
The queen was there also.

When the king had stayed  
[At Bristol] as long as he pleased,  
He had his knights summoned, 240  
He resolved to go to Normandy  
To hold parley with King Henry  
Of England, the powerful.  
For the king of England  
Was, my lords, at that time 245  
In Normandy on account of his war,  
On account of the war with the French.  
So much did Dermot accomplish  
By his journeyings and so far go  
That he landed in Normandy, 250  
According to the old people.  
It is well, my lords, that I should tell you  
How Dermot goes through Normandy:  
To seek King Henry then he goes  
Up and down, forwards and back; 255  
He sent messages and made enquiries  
Until he found King Henry:  
At a city he found him  
Of which he was called lord.

*clame.* It has been suggested that the name of a city, perhaps 'Saintes,' is concealed under the word *seignur*: the Angevin Kings, by Kate Norgate, ii. p. 98, note. This is possible; cf. ll. 805-7. Otherwise we should expect *de quel*; cf. ll. 379 and 1640-1.

Li reis *dermod*, aleinz *qu'il* pout, 260  
 Vers la curt *pur* ueir alout :  
 Vers la curt, pas *pur* pas,  
 Sen est ale tost iuanz  
 Al rei angles *pur* parler,  
 Que tant esteit riches e fier. 265

**Q**uant *dermod*, li reis uaillant,  
 Al rei henri *par* deuant  
 Esteit uenuz a cele fiez,  
 Par deuant li rei engleis,  
 Mult le salue *curteisement*, 270  
 Bien ebel deuant la gent :  
 'Icil deu ke meint en haut,  
 Reis henri, *vus* ward e saut,  
 E *vus* donge ensement  
 Quer e curage e talent 275  
 Ma hunte uenger e ma peine,  
 Que fet me hunte le men demeine !  
 Oiez, gentil reis henriz,  
 Dunc su nez, de *quel* pais.  
 De yrlande su sire ne, 280  
 En yrlande rei clame ;  
 Mes atort me unt degete  
 Ma gent demeine del regne.  
 A *vus* me venc clamer, bel sire,  
 Veans les baruns de tun empire. 285  
 Ti liges home deuendrai  
 Tut iors me *que* uiuerai,

263. *tost iuanz*: read *tost inaus*; cf. l. 1917 *tost ynaus*. See Glossary *ignel*. 268. *a cele fiez*. These words are written over an

King Dermot, as soon as he could, 260  
 Went indeed towards the court :  
 Towards the court step by step  
 He went away very quickly  
 To hold parley with the English king,  
 Who was so rich and so bold. 265

When Dermot, the valiant king,  
 Before King Henry  
 Had come at this time,  
 Before the English king,  
 Very courteously he saluted him 270  
 Fairly and finely before his men :  
 ' May God who dwells on high  
 Guard and save you, King Henry,  
 And give you also  
 Heart and courage and will 275  
 To avenge my shame and my misfortune  
 That my own people have brought upon me !  
 Hear, noble King Henry,  
 Whence I was born, of what country.  
 Of Ireland I was born a lord, 280  
 In Ireland acknowledged king ;  
 • But wrongfully my own people  
 Have cast me out of my kingdom.  
 To you I come to make plaint, good sire,  
 In the presence of the barons of your empire. 285  
 • Your liege-man I shall become  
 Henceforth all the days of my life,

erasure ; read *a cele feis*. 277. *hunte*. This is a mistake of the  
 copyist, caught from the line above, for *unt*. 287. *me* : read with M.  
*mes = désormais*.

Par si *que* mai seez aidant,  
 Que ne sei de tut *perdant* :  
 Tei clamerai sire e *seignur*, 290  
 Veant baruns e cuntur.  
 Dunc li ad le rei *pramis*  
 De engleterre, le poestifs,  
 Que uolunters lui aidereit  
 MS. p. V. Al *plus* tost *qu'il* porreit. 295  
  
 Li rei henri *parla* *premer*  
 L *Que* cil co mist al repeirer.  
 Vers engleterre passat la mer,  
 A bristoud alat soiorner.  
 Le rei henri fist dunc mander 300  
 Par bref e *par* messenger  
 A robert *herding*, cum il lout cher,  
 Que al rei *trouast* *quant* *que* il eust mester,  
 A lui e atute sa gent,  
 De tut en tut, ason talent; 305  
 Si lui *feïst* honorablement  
 Trestut le son *commendement*.  
 A bristoud soiornat li reis,  
 Ne sai *quel*, *quinzein* v un *meins*.  
 Quant *que* le reis uolt *commander* 310  
 Lui fist robert asez auer;  
 Mes de engleterre li reis engleis  
 A *dermot*, solum le leis,  
 Ne lui fist uerreiment  
 For de *pramesse*, solum la gent. 315

303. This l. is too long. Perhaps *al rei* should be omitted. 309.  
*meins*, i.e. *meis* (Lat. *mensem*) = *mois*. For the rhyme, cf. l. 2972.  
 312-3. There is some corruption here. I have taken *leis* as a form of

On condition that you be my helper  
 So that I do not lose at all:  
 You I shall acknowledge as sire and lord, 290  
 In the presence of your barons and earls.  
 Then the king promised him,  
 The powerful king of England,  
 That willingly would he help him  
 As soon as he should be able. 295

King Henry said, in the first place,  
 That he should set about returning home.  
 He crossed the sea to England,  
 And went to stay at Bristol.  
 Then King Henry sent word 300  
 By letter and by messenger  
 To Robert Harding, as he held him dear,  
 • That he should provide for the king whatever he  
     might need,  
 For him and for all his men,  
 In every respect according to his wish. 305  
 Honourably he executed for him  
 All his commands.  
 At Bristol the king abode  
 A fortnight or a month, I know not which.  
 Whatever the king would order 310  
 Robert supplied to him in plenty.  
 But the king of England  
 For Dermot, according to the lay,  
 Did nothing in truth  
 Beyond the promise, as people say. 315

*lai(s)*, meaning the pre-existing 'geste' or 'chanson'; but this is doubtful.



Quant se uit li reis *dermot*  
 Que nul aie auer ne pout  
 Del rei henri *que pramist* lout,  
 Soiorner *plus* ne uolt.  
 Le reis *dermot*, sachez, atant 320  
 Aie ua *partut querant* :  
 Aie *partut quere*  
 En gales *e* engleterre.  
 Tant ad aie de mande  
 Amunt aual en cel regne, 325  
 Que il est uenuz une *part*,  
 Ceo dist la geste, al *quens* ricard.  
 Icil esteit vn *quens* valant,  
 Curteis, larges *e* despendant.  
 Le reis mut ententiueement 330  
 Le *requist* mut ducement  
 Que acun socurs lui feist  
 V *que* sun cors i uenist  
 De *conquere* son regne,  
 Dunt il en est a tort iete. 335  
 Al cunte dist *apertement*  
 Cum *traiz* esteit de sa gent :  
 Cum sa gent lout *traiz*  
*E* de chace, en fute mis.  
 Sa fille li offri amuller, 340  
 La ren del monde *qu'il* ust *plus* cher,  
 Que cele a *femme* auer lui freit  
*E* leynestere lui durreit,  
 Par si *que* en aie lui seit  
 Que *conquere* la purreit. 345

318. *pramist*: a mistake for *pramis*. 319. Supply *iloc*. 322.

When King Dermot saw  
 That he could get no aid  
 • From King Henry as he had promised him,  
 He would not stay there any longer.  
 King Dermot then, you must know, 320  
 Goes everywhere seeking aid :  
 Aid everywhere he seeks  
 In Wales and in England.  
 So far did he ask for aid  
 Up and down in this kingdom 325  
 That he had an interview,  
 • So says the geste, with Earl Richard.  
 He was a brave earl,  
 Courteous, generous, and lavish.  
 Very earnestly the king 330  
 Besought him, very courteously,  
 To give him some succour,  
 Or that he himself should come  
 To conquer his kingdom,  
 From which he had been wrongfully cast out. 335  
 To the earl he told plainly  
 How he had been betrayed by his people :  
 How his people had betrayed him  
 And driven him out and put him to flight.  
 His daughter he offered him to wife, 340  
 The thing in the world that he most loved :  
 That he would let him have her to wife,  
 And would give Leinster to him,  
 • On condition that he would aid him  
 So that he should be able to subdue it. 345

**L**i quens al hore iert bacheler,  
 Femme naueit ne mulier,  
 Si entent del rei *dermot*  
 Que sa fille doner lui uolt  
*Par* si *que* od lui uenist 350  
*E* sa terre lui conquist.  
 Li quens respont od sa gent :  
 'Riche reis, amei entent.  
 Ici ta fie lelment  
 Que a tai uendrai assurement ; 355  
 Mes conge uodrai en iceis  
 De mander del rei engleis,  
 Kar il est li mien seignur  
 De ma terrien honur ;  
 Pur ceo ne pus de sa terre 360  
 Sens conge *prendre* en tel manere.'  
 Li reis al cunte asura  
 Que sa fille alui durra  
 Quant il lui uendreit en aie  
 En yrlande de sa baronie. 365  
 Quant fini unt icel pleit,  
 Li reis uers gales *turnat* dreit ;  
 Vnques ne finnat de errer i  
 MS. p. VI. De cil *qu'il* uint aseint daui.

**I**loec soïornat li reis, 370  
 Ne sai *quel*, deus iors u treis,  
 Pur ses nefs apparailier ;  
 Kar en yrlande uolt passer.

352. *od* : perhaps this should be *oiant*.  
*ment* ; cf. 2290. *ta fie* = *l'afie*.

354. *lelment* : read *leal-*

**T**he earl at this time was a bachelor,  
 He had neither spouse nor wife.  
 When he hears from King Dermot  
 That he was willing to give him his daughter  
 On condition that he would come with him 350  
 And subdue his land for him,  
 The earl replies before his men:—  
 'Rich king, hearken unto me.  
 Here I assure you loyally  
 That I shall assuredly come to you ; 355  
 But I should wish in these matters  
 To crave licence of the English king,  
 For he is the lord  
 Of my landed estate ;  
 Wherefore I cannot go from his territory 360  
 Without obtaining licence in this way.'  
 The king assured the earl  
 That he would give him his daughter  
 When he should come to his aid  
 To Ireland with his barons. 365  
 When they had concluded this accord,  
 The king turned straight towards Wales,  
 And never ceased journeying there  
 Until he came to St. Davids.

**T**here the king abode 370  
 Two or three days, I know not which,  
 In order to equip his ships,  
 For he wished to cross over to Ireland.

358-9. This is a citation from the oath of allegiance.

Mes einz *que* le rei *dermot*  
 La mere sale passer uolt, 375  
 En gales *parlat* a un reis  
 Que *mult* iert uaillans *e curteis*.  
 Reis esteit icil nome,  
*E* de gales fu reis clame.  
 A lure aueit li rei ris 380  
 Vn cheualer de *grant* pris.  
 Li reis li tent en sa *prisun*,  
 Robert le fiz esteuene out nun ;  
 En sa *prisun* le teneit,  
*Pur* se rendre le uoleit. 385  
 Ne sai coment le rei lout *pris*  
 E un chastel en son pais.  
 De li me uoil ici retraire  
*Cum* il fu *pris* ne en *quele manere* ;  
 Mes li riche reis *dermot* 390  
 Li reis ris al *plus qu'il* pout  
 Requist idunc *pur* le cheualer  
 Que il *quite* sen *purreit partir*.  
 Si *mentir* ne *vus* dium,  
 Ne sai sil iert deliuere nun ; 395  
 Par la *requeste* li riche reis,  
 Sil iert deliuere a cele feiz ;  
 Mes puis *apres*, li cheualer  
 En yrlande uint li reis aider.  
 Atant sen *turne* li reis *dermot* 400  
 Vers seint *dauid* tant *cum* il pout,  
 En yrlande dunc passout

382. The word *tent* is an interlineation.387. *e* : read *en* (M).

But before King Dermot  
 Crossed over the salt sea, 375  
 He spake to a king in Wales  
 Who was very brave and courteous.  
 This man was called Rhys,  
 And was acknowledged King of Wales.  
 At this time King Rhys 380  
 Had a knight of great renown.  
 The king kept him in prison,  
 Robert the son of Stephen was his name ;  
 In his prison he was keeping him,  
 He wished him to submit. 385  
 I know not how the king took him  
 In a castle in his country.  
 Concerning him I will not here relate  
 How he was taken nor in what way ;  
 But the rich King Dermot 390  
 Then besought King Rhys  
 As much as he could on behalf of the knight  
 That he might be able to depart freely.  
 Not to tell you an untruth  
 I know not if he was liberated then : 395  
 At the request of the rich king,  
 If he was liberated at that time ;  
 But afterwards the knight  
 To Ireland came to aid the king.  
 Then King Dermot returns 400  
 To St. Davids as soon as he could.  
 To Ireland then he crossed

388. This should be *ne voit* ; cf. l. 3058.  
 [lost] *qu'il pout*, but cf. l. 1107.

391. M. reads *al plus*

Od tant de gent *cum* il out.  
 Mes *dermot*, li gentil reis,  
 Od ses guerreis gent engles 405  
 Ne menad a icel tur,  
 Solum le dist de mun cuntur,  
 Ne mes un ricard, *cum* loi dire,  
 Vn cheualer de penbroc sire,  
 Le fiz godoberd ricard, 410  
 Cheualer iert de bone *part*,  
 Cheualers, archers *e* serianz,  
 Mes io ne sai *desque* a *quanz*;  
 Kar pas ne ierunt longement  
 En yrland icele gent; 415  
 Kar enz ne poient *profite* fere  
 Al rei gueres en la tere  
 Pur *co .que* poi erent de gent  
 Que passerent hastiuement.

**L**i reis *dermot* fist dunc mander 420  
 Par bref *e* *par* messenger,  
 Morice regan fist passer  
 Son demeine latimer.  
*Desque* a gales fud cil passe—  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 Les brefs le rei *dermot* 425  
*Que* li rei *partut* mandout.  
 Cuntres, baruns, cheualers,  
 Vallez, serianz lue deuers,  
 Gent a cheual *e* a pe,  
 Ad li rei *par* tut mande : 430

424. After this line both rhyme and context show that one or more

With as many men as he had.  
 But Dermot, the noble king,  
 Did not bring with his warriors 405  
 Any Englishmen on this occasion,  
 According to the account of my informant.  
 Except one Richard, as I have heard say,  
 A knight of Pembroke-shire,  
 Richard the son of Godibert, 410  
 A knight he was of good parts,  
 Together with knights archers and serjeants.  
 But I know not up to what number.  
 For they were not long  
 In Ireland, these men ; 415  
 For they were hardly able to do any good there  
 To the king in the land,  
 Because they were only a few men  
 Who crossed over in haste.

King Dermot then sent word 420  
 By letter and by messenger,  
 He sent over Morice Regan,  
 His own interpreter.  
 To Wales this man crossed over—  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 The letters of King Dermot 425  
 Which the king sent in all directions.  
 To earls, barons, knights,  
 Squires, serjeants, common soldiers,  
 Horse-men and foot,  
 In all directions the king sent word :— 430

lines have dropped out. 428. *luc deners*. Sic MS. M. prints *luc deners*, 'hired with pence.' I think we should read *soudeners* ; cp. l. 1376.



- 'Que tere uodra v deners,  
 Cheuals, harneis v destres,  
 Or e argent, lur frai doner  
 Liuereson asez plener ;  
 Que tere v *herbe* uoidra auer, 435  
 Richement lus frai feffer.'  
 Asez lur durra ensement  
 Estor e riche feffement.  
 Quant les brefs esteient luz,  
 E la gent les unt entenduz, 440  
 Dunc co fist aparailer  
 Le fiz esteuene robert *premer* ;  
 MS. p. VII. Des*que* en yrlande uolt passer  
 Pur *dermot* li reis eider.  
 Cheualers uaillans de *grant pris* 445  
 Od sei menad ix. v. dis.  
 Le un iert meiler, le fiz henriz,  
 Que tant esteit poetifs ;  
 E milis iuint autresi  
 Le fiz leues*que* de sein dauí. 450  
 Cheualers iuindrent e baruns  
 Dunt io ne sai des acez lur nuns.  
 Si passa vn baruns  
 Sei vtime *compaignuns*,  
 Morice de prendregast out non, 455  
 Cum *nus* recunte le chansun.  
 Si ipassa pur ueir herui  
 Icelui de mumoreci.  
 Bien ipasserent .iii. cens

432. *destres* : read *destrers*.      436. *lus* = *les*.  
 Perhaps this should be *durrai* in the *oratio recta*.

437. *durra*.  
 452. *des acez* :

'Whoever shall wish for land or pence,  
 Horses, armour, or chargers,  
 Gold and silver, I shall give them  
 Very ample pay;  
 Whoever shall wish for soil or sod 435  
 Richly shall I enfeoff them.'  
 He would also give them sufficient  
 Farm-stock and a handsome fief.  
 When the letters were read,  
 And the people understood them, 440  
 Then Robert the son of Stephen  
 Got himself ready the first;  
 He wished to cross over to Ireland  
 In order to aid King Dermot.  
 Brave knights of great renown 445  
 He brought with him, nine or ten.  
 One was Meiler the son of Henry,  
 Who was very powerful;  
 And Miles came there also  
 The son of the bishop of St. Davids. 450  
 Knights came there and barons  
 Whose names for the most part I do not know.  
 There crossed over a baron  
 With seven companions,  
 Maurice de Prendergast was his name, 455  
 As the song tells us.  
 Hervey too, in truth, crossed over,  
 He was of Mount-Maurice.  
 About three hundred crossed over

read *d'assez* = *de beaucoup*; or, perhaps, *de cert*; cp. *Le nombre ne sai de  
 cert nomer*, Poem on New Ross, *Archæologia*, xx. p. 319.

Cheualers e autre menu gens.	460
A la banne ariuerent	
Od tant de gent cum erent.	
Quant il furent ariue	
E erent tuz issuz de nefz,	
Lur gent firent herberger	465
Sur la riue de la mer.	
La gent engleis firent mander	
Al rei dermot par messenger	
Que a la banne od trei nefz	
Esteient lores ariues,	470
E que li reis hastiurement	
I uenist sanz delaïement.	
Li reis dermod le dreit chemin	
Vers la banne, le matin,	
Sen turnat mult leement	475
Pur uer la englese gent,	
Quant uenuz esteit li reis	
A la banne a sa fechelis,	
Vn e un les ad baisez	
Curteisement e saluez.	480
Icele nuit de morerent	
Sur la riue v il erent ;	
Mes li reis lendemain	
Vers weiseford trestut a plein	
Ala tant tost, sanz mentir,	485
Pur la uile asaillir ;	

461. *Banne*: sic, both here and at ll. 469, 474, and 478, but the rhythm requires a trisyllable, and *Banue* is clearly the true reading. Giraldus has *Banua*. 478. Perhaps this line should run—*a la Banue a ses*

---

Knights and common folk besides.	460
At Bannow they landed	
With all their men.	
When they had landed	
And had all disembarked,	
They made their men encamp	468
On the sea-shore.	
The English folk sent word	
To King Dermot by messenger	
That at Bannow with three ships	
They had at that time landed,	470
And that the king should speedily	
Come there without delay.	
King Dermot by the direct road	
Towards Bannow, next morning,	
Set out very joyfully	478
To see the English folk.	
When the king had come	
To Bannow to his liegemen,	
One by one he kissed them	
And courteously saluted them.	480
That night they tarried	
On the shore where they were ;	
But the king on the morrow	
• Towards Wexford directly	
Went immediately, i'faith,	488
To attack the town.	

*fatheils*. I think *ficheis*, l. 813, represents the same word. See *Isidore* : *fedails*, *fatheils*, *fecil*. Cf. Gaimar—*Tous jors serai vostre fedail* '110 form *fatheil* occurs in 'St. Brendan' apud Kart. et H. 11. 70. 2.

La cite asailli a tute sa force.

\* \* \* \* \*

Les autre *pur* garir lur cors

Sa defendirent par de fors.

X. viii. *iperdi* de ces engleis 490

A icel saut li riche reis ;

*E* les traiters aicel feiz

Ne *perdirent* de lur *que* treis.

Trestut ior aiorne

Ad le saut issi dure 495

Des*que* i fud aseiri

*E* la gent sunt *departi*.

La gent *dermod* li aloez

Vers lur tentes se sunt *turnes*.

Mes lendemain tut *premer* 500  
Al rei *dermod* *par* messenger

Firent les *traiters* nuncier

*Que* ostages li frunt liurer,

Homages li frunt *e* feute,

Veant trestut son barone, 505

*Que* od lui serrunt nuit *e* ior

Cum od lur naturel seignur.

Li reis resout bonement

Icele offre, ueant la gent.

*Pur* le conseil de ces engleis, 510

Loffre resut li gentil reis.

Diloec senturne li reis *dermod*

Vers fernez, aleinz *quil* pout,

489. *sa d*: read *se d*. 490. *ces* = *ses*. 494. Cf. *Sy dura cel*  
*assault toute jour ajournee*; Godefroy from Liv. du Chev. de la Tour.

In full force he attacked the city.

\* \* \* \* \*

The enemy in order to protect themselves

Defended themselves from without.

At this attack the rich king 490

Lost eighteen of his English ;

While the traitors at this time

Lost of their men only three.

All day while it was light

The attack thus lasted 495

Until it became late

And the men departed.

The men of Dermot the renowned

To their tents returned.

But next day, the first thing, 500

To King Dermot by messenger

The traitors announced

That they would give him hostages,

Would do him homage and fealty

In the presence of his baronage, 505

That with him they would be night and day

As with their lawful lord.

The king graciously accepted

This offer in the presence of his men.

By the advice of his English, 510

The noble king accepted the offer.

Thence King Dermot set out

Towards Ferns, as soon as he could,

Richel. 2644 f<sup>o</sup>. 113. 495. *le saut*: read *l'asaut*. 496. *aseiri* =  
à *sieri* v. Glos. 510. *Pur*: a mistake for *par*. *ces* = *ses*.

*Pur* ses naffrez saner  
*E pur* ses baruns soiorner. 515  
 Treis semeines soiornout  
 MS. p. VIII. En la cite li reis *dermod* :  
 Treis semeines ad soiorne  
 Tut dreit ad fernes la cite.  
 Li reis feseit *pus* mander 520  
 Robert *e* morice tut *premer*  
 Que od lui uengent tost *parler*  
 Hastiurement, son demorer.  
 Quant le baruns erent uenuz,  
*E dermod* les ad conuz, 525  
 En conseil les ad li rei menez,  
 Si lur ad trestut cuntez  
 Que de osserie les irreis  
 Mult doterent les engleis :  
  
 ' *S* enurs baruns, co dist li reis, 530  
   *Mult vus* dutent les yrreis ;  
*Pur* co, barun cheualer,  
 Par *vus* conseil tut *premer*,  
 Vers osserie uoil aler  
 Mes enemis de barater.' 535  
 Les baruns li ont responduz  
 Ki ia nert remansuz,  
 Ne larrunt en nule manere  
 Le *traitur* ne uoient quere  
 Desque il eint troue 540

530. The coloured initial letters of this and the six following paragraphs are wanting. 537. *nert*: perhaps this should be *n'crent*, the mark of contraction being omitted by mistake. 540. *eint* = *aient*.

In order to heal his wounded  
 And to rest his barons. 515  
 Three weeks King Dermot  
 Abode in the city :  
 Three weeks he abode  
 Close by the city of Ferns.  
 Then the king summoned 520  
 Robert and Maurice, first of all,  
 To come at once to confer with him  
 Speedily, without delay.  
 When the barons were come  
 And Dermot had greeted them 525  
 And brought them to the council,  
 He related all to them  
 How the Irish of Ossory  
 Greatly dreaded the English :

‘ Lords Barons,’ so said the king, 530  
 ‘ The Irish greatly dread you ;  
 Wherefore, brave Knights,  
 With your advice in the first place,  
 I wish to go to Ossory  
 To defeat my enemies.’ 535  
 The barons replied to him  
 That never would they be left behind,  
 Nor would they in any way leave  
 The traitors nor cease to seek for them  
 Until they had found them 540

according to M. ; but the line is defective, and perhaps we should read  
*serreient.*



*E* en plein cham debarate.  
 En *quil* ost alast auant,  
 Treis mil homes combatant  
 A *dermod* uindrent a pes  
 Pur la dute des engleis. 545

*Q*u'ant les baruns ico uirent  
*Que* tant de gent lur syuerent,  
 Sur le rei de osserie  
 Alerent al host banie.  
 Ne le tenez, *seignurs*, a folie: 550  
 Suffrez *impoi que* io *vus* die  
*Cum* li reis de leynistere  
 Od sa gent *quil* lout tant fere  
 Veleit entrer al pais  
 V erent tuz ses enemis. 555  
 Ses enemis *sunt* deuant  
 Bien cinc mil combatant,  
*Que* li reis de osserie  
 Aueit en sa *compaignie*.  
 Macdonthid li *traitur*, 560  
*Que* de osserie ert *seignur*,  
 Aueit iete *par* deuant  
 Treis fosses larges e *grant*:  
 Par deuant, dedens un pas,  
 Treis fosses ignel ias 565  
 Aueit le fel fet ieter

542. *en quil*: read *en qui l'* (M.); but ought it not to be *einz que lost*?  
 547. *lur*: read *la lur* (M.). 550. This expression was a sort of common form of apology; cf. ll. 776 and 2517, and Aymeri de Narbonne, S.A.T.F. 2432, *nel tenez a folor*. 551. *impoi*: sic, but read *un poi*.

And defeated them in open field.  
 Before the host advanced,  
 Three thousand fighting men  
 Made peace with King Dermot  
 Through dread of the English. 545

When the barons saw this  
 That so many men followed theirs,  
 Against the king of Ossory  
 They marched with the assembled host.  
 Consider it not, my lords, as trivial : 550  
 Bear with me a little while I tell you  
 How the king of Leinster  
 With the men whom he had so bold  
 Wished to enter the country  
 Where all his enemies were. 555  
 His enemies are in front,  
 Full five thousand fighting men,  
 Whom the king of Ossory  
 Had in his company.  
 Mac Donnchadh, the traitor, 560  
 Who was lord of Ossory,  
 Had thrown up before him  
 Three trenches wide and deep :  
 Before him, within a pass,  
 Three trenches rapidly 565  
 Had the rebel thrown up

553. *quil lout*: the *l* in *lout* 'was put to point out the pronounciative connection of this word with the preceding' (M.). But might not the word mean 'hired' or 'had in his service,' from *loer* (*locare*)? 565.  
*ignel ias*: perhaps this represents *ignelepas*.

*E* haie *par* de suz leuer.  
 Iloc rendi la bataille  
 Al rei *dermod* le ior, son faille.  
 Iloc esteit la melle, 570  
 Del matin iesque la uespre.  
 Del rei fel de osserie  
*E* des engleis *par* *grant* hatie.  
 Mes les engleis *par* achef de *tur*  
*E* par force *e* *par* uigur 575  
 Les *traiters* en unt iete.  
 Par force *e* *par* poeste.  
 Mes gent iout asez blesez,  
*E* de morz *e* de naufrez,  
 Einz *que* la haie fud *conquise* 580  
 V a force sur euz *prise*.

Quant co uist *dermod* li reis  
 Que *par* la force des engleis  
 Passe esteit en cel manere  
 Od sa gent de leynistere, 585  
 Mult esteit de *grant* baudur.  
 Le riche reis *dermod*, le iur,  
 La tere mist en arson  
*Pur* destruire le felun ;  
 La preie fist *par* tut *quere* 590  
 MS. p. IX. Amunt, aual *par* la tere ;  
 Tant *cum* il trouer pout  
 De la prei od sei menout.  
 Ororuch le rei de altre manere

574. *par achef de tur* : the *par* seems superfluous to both metre and sense ; cf. Gaimar, 5335, *Kal chef del tur*. 594. *Ororuch* ;

And erected a stockade on top.  
There he offered battle  
To King Dermot, without fail, that day.  
There the fight took place 570  
From morning until eventide  
Between the rebel king of Ossory  
And the English with great animosity.  
But the English in the end  
By force and by energy 575  
Hurled the traitors thence,  
By force and by strength.  
But many men were wounded there,  
Both killed and disabled,  
Ere the stockade was won 580  
Or forcibly wrested from them.

When King Dermot saw this  
That by the might of the English  
The pass was won in this way  
With his men of Leinster, 585  
He was full of confidence.  
The rich King Dermot at that time  
Wasted the land with fire  
In order to destroy the rebel;  
He sought for spoil everywhere 590  
Up and down throughout the territory;  
As much as he could find  
Of the spoil he brought away with him.  
Then the king marched in a different way

There is some corruption here. This name, which apparently denotes O'Rourke (though elsewhere in this poem he is always called

Pur mac donchid le fel *quere* 595  
 Que ne fist acele fiez  
 Quant la chape out fublez,  
 Quant parler uolt *e conseiller*  
 Al fel obrien li aduerser.

Quant li gentilz *dermod* 600  
 En son pais *turner* uolt,  
 Dunc ad li reis apelez  
 Le treis baruns alosez :  
 Robert apelat par non  
*E* morice le barun, 605  
*E* herui de momorci  
 Fist apeler autreci.  
 Ices erent acele feiz  
 Cheueintainnes des angleis.

'*S*eingnurs, fet il, escutez 610  
 Pur deu amur e entendez :  
 Vos gens fetes ordener,  
 Kar bien les sauez *conseiller*.  
 Les baruns firent aitant  
 Al rei trestut son comant : 615  
 Icil firent hastiurement  
 Tut li rei *commendement*.  
 Tut le gent de kencelath  
 Baillerint a douenald cheuath.

Ororic or Ororig), suits neither sense nor metre. The rhymer is evidently contrasting Dermot's present attitude, emboldened by English support, with his former forlorn journey in disguise to crave help from O'Brien: see ll. 166-205. Some such word as *errout* may

In order to seek the rebel Mac Donnchadh 595  
 Than he did at that time  
 When he put on the cope,  
 When he wished to parley and advise  
 With the rebel O'Brien, the evil one.

When the noble King Dermot 600  
 Wished to return to his own country,  
 Then the king called  
 The three renowned barons :  
 Robert he called by name  
 And Maurice, the baron, 605  
 And Hervey de Mont-Maurice  
 He caused also to be called.  
 These were at that time  
 Chieftains of the English.

'Lords', quoth he, 'listen to me 610  
 For the love of God and hearken :  
 Draw up your men in ranks,  
 For well you know how to advise them.'  
 The barons thereupon carried out  
 For the king all his command : 615  
 Speedily they carried out  
 All the king's command.  
 All the men of Hy Kinsellagh  
 'They entrusted to Donnell Kavanagh.

have been corrupted into Ororuch. Anyhow, I have little doubt that the translation preserves the general sense.

599. *li adverser*: this word in Old French suggests 'the Devil.'  
 600. To complete the metre insert *reis* before Dermot.

Icil esteit fiz le rei 620  
 De leynistere, si cum io crei.  
 Ki uoudra le ueir sauer,  
 Icil esteit chef *premer* ;  
*E* le cors *dermod* le reis  
 Esteit remis od les engleis ; 625  
 Kar en eus sa fiout  
 De tut en tut li rei *dermod*.  
 Armes erent icel, sen faille,  
 E bien enseigne de bataille.  
*E* douenald keuath tut *premer* 630  
 Par mi un pas uolt passer  
 V *dermod* aueit einz este  
 Par treis eirs de barete.  
 Pur co doterent les yrreis  
 Quil serreient le *quarte* feiz 635  
 Desconfiz *e* de baretez.  
 En fute sunt *pur* co turnez  
 Si *que* o douenald, fiz le rei,  
 Ne remistrent xl. trei.  
*Mac* donthid de osserie 640  
 Sa gent uers li tost relie :  
 Sa gent relie hastiurement  
*Pur* desconfire la englese gent.

S<sup>e</sup>ignurs baruns, acele feiz  
 Sachez *què* la gent engleis 645  
 Aualez erent dedens un ual,  
 Gent a pe *e* a cheual.

623. *chef*: this should probably be *al chef*—in the van, as in ll. 1604.

He was son of the King 620  
 Of Leinster, as I trow.  
 Whoever would wish to know the truth,  
 He was the foremost in the van;  
 While King Dermot himself  
 Remained with the English; 625  
 For in them King Dermot  
 Trusted absolutely.  
 Well armed were they, without doubt,  
 And well skilled in battle.  
 Now Donnell Kavanagh, in the first place, 630  
 Was about to cross through a pass  
 Where Dermot had formerly been  
 On three occasions defeated.  
 Wherefore the Irish dreaded  
 Lest they should be for the fourth time 635  
 Discomfited and defeated.  
 They therefore turned to flight,  
 So that with Donnell, the king's son,  
 There remained but forty-three.  
 Mac Donnchadh of Ossory 640  
 Soon rallies towards him his men:  
 He rallies his men speedily  
 To discomfit the Englishmen.

K now, Lords Barons,  
 That the English at this time 645  
 Had descended into a valley,  
 Both horse and foot soldiers.

1882. 626. *sa fiout* = *s'afout*. 633. *eirs*: read *eires*; cf. l.  
 1967, and see Gloss.



Si lur couent *par* estouer  
 Par mi cele val en fin passer.  
 Pur co doterent les engleis 650  
 La gent yresche a cele feiz  
 Que els lur curusent sure  
 San delai, a cel hore.  
 Kar les engles, *cum* lentent,  
 Guerres auant de iii. cent 655  
 Nerent ad lur od le rei,  
*E* des yrreis .xl trei;  
*E* les autres ueraiment  
 Erent mil *e* set scent.  
 Pur co ne fet a merueiller 660  
 Si li barun cheualer  
 Dutassent icel gent,  
 Que leger sunt *cum* uent.

MS. p. X. **L**ors parlat un barun,  
 Morice de *prendergast* out nun : 665  
 'Segnurs baruns communal,  
 Deliuerement *passum* icel val  
 Que nus fuissoins en la montaine,  
 En dur *champe* *e* en la plaine.  
 Kar armes eymes le plusurs, 670  
 Vassals hardis *e* *combatur*s;  
*E* les *traiteres* sunt tut nues,  
 Haubers ne bruines nunt uestues;  
 Pur co, si *turnum* en dure champ,

668. *fuissoins*: this should probably be *fuissons*. 670. M.  
 translates: 'for the most of you, you like arms'; taking, I suppose,  
*eymes* from *esmer*, *eismer*, *esmer* = *estimer*. I take *armes* as the p.p.; cf. l.

For it happened that they were obliged  
 To pass through the middle of this valley.  
 Wherefore the English dreaded 650  
 The Irishmen at this time  
 Lest they should rush upon them  
 Without delay, at this moment.  
 For the English, as I hear,  
 Were hardly more than three hundred 655  
 At that time with the king,  
 And of the Irish, forty-three ;  
 While their opponents, of a truth,  
 Were one thousand seven hundred.  
 Wherefore it is not to be wondered at 660  
 If the brave knights  
 Dreaded these people  
 Who were swift as the wind.

Then spake a baron :—  
 Maurice de Prendergast was his name— 665  
 ‘Lords Barons all,  
 Let us pass through this valley promptly  
 So that we may be on the mountain  
 On the hard field, and on the open ground.  
 For most of us are well armed, 670  
 Bold vassals and combatants,  
 While the traitors are quite naked,  
 They wear neither hauberks nor breast-plates ;  
 Wherefore if we turn to hard ground

628, and *eymes* = *sommes* ; cf. l. 2520 and Fantosme, l. 999, *nus n'eimes pas venus*. 672-3. *nues* : *vestues* : read *nus* : *vestus*.

Nau~~erunt~~ il de mort garant. 675  
 Ferir ir~~rum~~ uassalement,  
*E* checun communalement  
 Trestuz iferrunt communal,  
 Gent a pe *e* a cheual,  
 Sur la gent de osserie 680  
 Ke *nus* furent encon~~trarie~~.  
 Kar si il sunt de barates,  
 A tut dis serrum dutes ;  
 Kar rien ni ad de fuir  
 V ci uiuere v murir.' 685  
 Co fu la *premer* bataille  
 Que champele fud, san faille,  
 Entre les baruns engleis  
*E* de osserie les yrreis.  
*E* les yrreis a grant eleis 690  
 Suerent la gent engleis.

M orice ses cria ai tant :  
 'Robert smiche, uenez auant.  
 Dirrai *vus que* friez, amis :  
 Archers auerez xl. dis. 695  
 En ceste bruce uerraient  
 Lur frez vn enbuchement,  
 Des*que vus* serrez passez.  
 Les yrreis *que* sunt destrez,  
 Quant passe serrunt cele gent, 700

675. Cf. *ja de morir garant n'eussent*, Rom. de Rou, iii. 6731.

681. *furent* (?) read *serrunt*. 695. *xl. dis*. M. takes this to be 'forty times ten (400)'; but the English were only about 300 altogether (see l. 655). It may mean 50, as *cinquante dis* (l. 1896) = 60; but the party

They shall have no protection from death. 675  
 We shall strike manfully,  
 And each together  
 And all united shall strike,  
 Footmen and horse,  
 Against the men of Ossory 680  
 Who will be opposed to us.  
 Because if they are overthrown  
 We shall be for ever dreaded,  
 And because there is no escaping  
 Either life or death here.' 685  
 This was the first pitched battle  
 That was fought, without doubt,  
 Between the English barons  
 And the Irish of Ossory.  
 And the Irish with great impetuosity 690  
 Followed the Englishmen.

Then Maurice exclaimed:—  
 'Robert Smith, come forward.  
 I shall tell you what to do, friend :  
 You shall have fifty archers ; 695  
 In this thicket, of a truth,  
 You shall make an ambuscade for them,  
 Until you shall be passed.  
 The Irish who are behind,  
 When these men shall have passed, 700

in ambush, possibly by a slip, is afterwards called *les quarante* : see  
 ll. 707, 714, 718. 699. Perhaps we should supply *par* before *Les*  
*Yrreis*, and join the line with the preceding.

Si ses sandrent ferement,  
 Detrefz lur frez vn ualie,  
*E nus vus* uendrum en aie.'  
*E robert* respont al barun :  
 'Sire, a la deu benicon !' 705  
 Atant se sunt abuchez  
 Les *quarante* bien armez.

**E**ste uus *par grant* hatie  
 Le orgoil tut de osserie  
 Les unt ale par suant 710  
*E la* bataille desirrant.  
 Tant se peinerent icel gent  
 Que passe sunt le buschement  
 V les *quarante* adurez  
 En la bruce erent tapez. 715

**Q**uant passes erent les *premers*,  
 Par aime erent .ii. milers,  
*E li* *quarante* archer  
 Ne se oserent de mustrer ;  
*Pur* co *que* tant erent poi de gent, 720  
 Se taperent coiment.

**D**unc out *dermod* li riche reis  
 Pour *grant* de ses engleis  
 Que il serreint afoles  
*E* des yrreis uergundez. 725

701. M. reads *s'essandrent*, and puts a query to it in his notes; but perhaps we should read *sessaudrent* for *s'essaudrunt* from *s'essaillir*, v. n. = *s'élancer*, *se précipiter*, cf. *sauderunt*, l. 1557, *asaudrunt*, l. 1872.

If they dash on boldly,  
 You shall make an attack on them behind, -  
 And we shall come to your aid.'  
 And Robert replies to the baron:—  
 'Sire, with the blessing of God!' 705  
 Then they went into ambush,  
 The forty men well armed.

L o! with great animosity  
 All the pride of Ossory  
 Came pursuing them 710  
 And eager for the battle.  
 So much did these men exert themselves  
 That they passed the ambuscade  
 Where the forty veterans  
 Were concealed in the thicket. 715

W hen the former had passed  
 By estimation they were two thousand,  
 And the forty archers  
 Did not dare to show themselves;  
 Because they were so few men 720  
 They lay hid without stirring.

T hen had Dermot, the rich king,  
 Great fear for the English  
 Lest they should be overthrown  
 And brought to shame by the Irish. 725

714-5. *adurez-tapex*: read *adurix-tapis*. 721. *se taperent*: read *se tapirent*. When the transcript was made, the verb had probably become assimilated to the first conjugation.

*E* li riche rei *dermod*  
 Morice a sei apelout,  
 Si li *requist* mult ducement  
 Qu'il *preist* cure de cele gent :  
 Cure en *preist* de sez amis, 730  
 Les *ques* erent destrefs remis.  
 Li barun respont ai tant :  
 'Sire, tut a tun comant.  
 Volunters les aiderai,  
 Ma peine tut i metterai.' 735

MS. p. XI. *M*orice sen *turne* ai ceste part,  
 La reine tire de blanchard ;  
*E* de osserie les yrreis  
 Siuerent la gent engleis  
 Tant qu'il uindrint en la plaine, 740  
 En la tres dure *champaine*.  
 Lur gent unt *dunques* ordine  
 Bien e bel asez faite.  
 Dunc ceste morice escrie  
*E* sein dauid ad reclame. 745  
 Le fiz esteuene sest *turne*,  
*E* meiler li alose,  
*E* miliz le fiz dauï,  
*E* herui de momorci,  
*E* li barun, cheualer, 750  
 Vallet, seriant e *bachelor*  
 Sur les yrreis se *turnerent*,  
 A seint dauid reclamerent ;  
*E* les *traiturs* en iuneluns

And the rich King Dermot  
Called Maurice to him,  
Very courteously he besought him  
To take care of these men :  
To take care of his friends 730  
Who were left behind.  
Then the baron replied :—  
'Sire, at your command.  
Willingly shall I aid them  
And direct all my efforts thereto.' 735

Maurice turns aside here  
Draws the rein of Blanchard ;  
And the Irish of Ossory  
Followed the English men  
Until they came into the plain, 740  
To the hard open country.  
Then they drew up their men in ranks  
And very skilfully marshalled them.  
Then Maurice shouted  
And invoked Saint David. 745  
The son of Stephen turned,  
And Meiler, the renowned,  
And Miles the son of David,  
And Hervey de Mont Maurice,  
And the barons, knights, 750  
Squires, serjeants, and youths,  
Against the Irish turned  
And invoked St David.  
And the traitors on their knees



Atendrement les baruns 755  
 Issi en tele manere  
 Que un haust de terre  
 Nesteit pas a cele feiz  
 Entre *dermod* e les yrreis.  
 Si *cum* la prise vrent *cumpluz* 760  
 La gent engleis *par* lur uertuz,  
 Les yrreis sen uont desconfiz  
 Ai cel ior de mal en pirz.  
 Cum loi *purreit* ueir conter.  
 Vn des bons esteit meiler. 765  
 En la bataille, ai cel ior,  
 Ni out de li nul meillur.

Quant co uirent les yrreis  
 Que menout *dermod* li reis,  
 Que einz esteint le ior 770  
 En boiz fuiz de pour,  
 Repeire sunt hastiurement  
 Vers lur seignur icel gent;  
 Si se mistrent en le stur  
 Par le comant lur seignur. 775  
 Ne le deuez tener a folur:  
 Vnze vint testes le ior  
 Vindrint al rei icele nuit  
 Sur la barue v il iout

755. *Atendrement*: sic MS., or perhaps *atendreinent*, but without the hair-stroke over the i. Read *attendirent* (M.). 757. *Hauist*: sic MS. M. has *hanst*. Perhaps we should read: *Que une pleine hanste de terre*; cf. Karls des Grossen Reise, in the Altfranzösische Bibliothek, l. 465, 'Tres qu'il il seit pleine hanste de terre desterrez.' 760. M. puts a query to this line. I think it means (literally) when they

Awaited the barons 755  
 Thus in such a way  
 That there was not at that time  
 A lance-length of ground  
 Between Dermot and the Irish.  
 When the English by their valour 760  
 Had grappled with the enemy  
 The Irish went away discomfited  
 On that day from bad to worse.  
 As I heard it, the truth can be told.  
 One of the best was Meiler; 765  
 In the battle that day  
 There was none better than he.

When the Irish saw this  
 Whom King Dermot brought  
 And who had earlier in the day 770  
 Fled in fear to the woods,  
 They returned speedily  
 To their lord, these men:  
 They joined in the combat  
 At the command of their lord. 775  
 You must not regard it as folly:  
 Eleven score of heads that day  
 Were brought to the king in the night,  
 On the Barrow where he lay,

had completed the hold-taking, i. e. when they had come to blows; cf. Mod. Fr. *Venir aux prises*. 763. *de mal en pirs*: the rhyme at once suggests *pis*, but cf. ll. 2530, 3183. The *r* may have been due to a confusion between *pire*, Lat. *pejor*, and *pis*, Lat. *pejus*, but it was clearly silent. 774. *le stur* = *l'estur*. 776. cf. ll. 550 and 2517. 779. *iout*: M. separates this into *i out*; but the rhyme *iut*: *nuit* occurs again

De ses morteles enemiz 780  
 Ki al champ erent occis,  
 Estre les morz e les naffrez  
 Qui del champ erent portez.

Quant cis erent desconfiz,  
 En le champ erent remis. 785  
 A dermod li riche reis  
 E as cheualers engleis  
 Lors parlat vn barun,  
 Le fiz esteuene robert out nun :  
 'Entendez moi, rei uaillant, 790  
 Que io lou, par deu le grant !  
 Que anuit remanez en ceste place,  
 Quant deu vus ad done la grace  
 Que auez, sire, uos enemis  
 Par deu grace desconfiz. 795  
 Tantost cum parra le ior,  
 Querant irrum le traitur.  
 Ia ni finirai tant auant  
 Que nus nel augum pursuant.'

Li reis respont apertement 800  
 .Que co nest mie son talent :  
 'Einz irrum uers lethelin  
 Bien e bel le dreit chemin,  
 Si frum porter nos naffrez  
 Que einz en champ gisent blessez.' 805  
 Il turnat uers la cite,

ll. 2137-8, and the form *jout*, l. 1217, whereas *out* rhymes elsewhere only

Of his mortal enemies 780  
 Who were slain on the battle-field,  
 Besides the killed and wounded  
 Who were borne away from the field.

When these were discomfited 785  
 On the field they were left.  
 To Dermot, the rich king,  
 And to the English knights  
 Then spake a baron,  
 Robert the son of Stephen was his name:—  
 ‘Hearken unto me, valiant king, 790  
 What I counsel with the will of God:  
 That to-night you remain in this place,  
 Since God has given you the grace  
 That you have, Sire, by the grace of God,  
 Discomfited your enemies. 795  
 As soon as day shall appear  
 We shall go to seek the traitor,  
 Nor shall I ever stop before  
 That we go pursuing him.’

The king replies plainly 800  
 That this is not at all his pleasure:  
 ‘Rather we shall go to Leighlin  
 At our ease along the direct road;  
 Thus we shall carry our wounded  
 Who lie hurt on the battle-field.’ 805  
 He turned to the city

with the imperfects of the first conj. and with Dermot. 799. M. by  
 an oversight, omits *h. 15.*

Que lethlin iert clame.  
 Demorirint iloc la nuit  
 A *grant* ioe *e* a dedut :  
 Sur la barue demorerent 810  
*E* cele nuit *herbergerent*.

MS. p. XII. **L** en demain li riche reis  
 Sen *turnat* od ses *ficheis* :  
 Vers fernes se sunt *turnez* ;  
 Od eus portent lur naffrez. 815  
*Quant* il uindrent a la cite,  
 Chescun sen est dunc *turne*.  
 Vers lur osteus *pur herberger*  
 Returnerent li cheualer.  
 Mires firent *par* tut *mander* 820  
*Pur* maladis saner :  
*Pur* saner lur naffrez  
 Mires unt *par* tut mandez.

**S**i cum le gentilz reis *dermod*  
 En la cite soionnout, 825  
 En uiron tu le pais  
 A li uindrent ses enemis  
*Pur* crier al rei merci,  
 Que einz lurent tut *trahi* ;  
*E pur* la dute *qu'il* aueint 830  
 Des engleis *que* od lui esteint,  
 Ostages asez firent liurer  
 Al rei *dermod*, *que* tant fu fer ;

809. *dedut*: read *deduit*, cf. l. 1379.

813. *ficheis*: I take this as

Which was called Leighlin.  
 There they tarried for the night  
 To their great joy and pleasure :  
 By the Barrow they tarried 810  
 And lodged for the night.

On the morrow the rich king  
 Departed with his liege-men :  
 Towards Ferns they turned ;  
 With them they carry their wounded. 815  
 When they came to the city,  
 Then they severally went their ways.  
 To their hostels to lodge  
 The knights returned.  
 They sent everywhere for physicians 820  
 To heal the sick :  
 To heal their wounded  
 They sent everywhere for physicians.

While the noble King Dermot  
 Abode in the city, 825  
 From all the country round about  
 His enemies came to him  
 To crave mercy of the king  
 For having before completely betrayed him.  
 And through the dread they had 830  
 Of the English who were with him  
 They gave many hostages  
 To King Dermot, who was so bold.

*E* mult bien uindrent a pes  
*Pur* la dute des engleis. 835  
Tut le plus de leynistere  
A pes uindrent en cel manere.  
Macdonthid ne uint mie,  
*Que* reis esteit de osserie ;  
Ne le *traitur* mackelan, 840  
Ke reis esteit de offelan ;  
Ne mactorkil le *traitur*,  
*Que* de diueline iert seignur ;  
Kar cil rei tant duterent  
*Que* a pes uenir noserent. 845  
Mes li reis hastiuement  
*Partut* feseit mander sa gent ;  
Sur mackelan uolt aler  
*Pur* lui honir e uergunder.  
Dunc feseit li reis mander 850  
Le treis baruns cheualer  
*Que* alui uengent tost parler,  
Hastiuement, sanz demorer.  
Robert, morice e herui  
Deliuerement uindrent alui. 855  
Le rei lur ad idunc dist  
*E par* buche lur ad descriit  
*Que* il irrat en ofelan  
Sur le *traitur* mackelan,  
*E que* eus feseint aparailer 860  
*Pur* le cors le reis garder.  
Cil responderent ducement :  
'Sire, a tun commandement.'

844. Perhaps we should read *Kar cil le rei tant reduterent*.

---

And very many made peace  
Through dread of the English. 835  
The greater part of Leinster  
Made peace in this manner.  
Mac Donnchadh did not come in,  
Who was king of Ossory ;  
Nor the traitor Mac Kelan, 840  
Who was king of Offelan ;  
Nor Mac Torkil the traitor,  
Who was lord of Dublin ;  
For they were in such dread of the king  
That they did not dare to make peace. 845  
Then the king speedily  
Summoned his men from all sides ;  
Against Mac Kelan he wished to go  
To shame and disgrace him.  
Then the king summoned 850  
The three noble barons  
To come at once to speak to him,  
Speedily, without delay.  
Robert Maurice and Hervey  
Promptly came to him. 855  
The king then told them  
And by word of mouth described to them  
That he would go to Offelan  
Against the traitor Mac Kelan,  
And that they should equip themselves 860  
To guard the person of the king.  
They replied courteously :  
'Sire, at your command.'



**Q**uant cil furent apretez  
*E* lur gent unt ordinez, 865  
*E* le cors le rei *dermod*  
 Des engleis *partir* ne uout,  
 Douenald keuenath *serrement*  
 Guiot la *premer* gent.  
 Tant se sunt icil penez 870  
*Que* en ofelan sunt entrez,  
 La tere unt tote robbe  
*E* mackelan de barete;  
 La *prei* unt trestut *prise*,  
 La gent uencus *e* maumise. 875

**A**fernez sunt *pus* *turnez*  
*Par* orgoil *e* *par* poestez :  
 Vers fernes turnat li rei  
 Od *grant* orgoil, od *grant* noblei.  
 A fernes alad soiorner 880  
 Le noble rei .viii iors enter,  
*E* les baruns uassals engleis  
 Tut dis erent od le reis.

**Q**uant la utime esteit passe,  
 Dunc ad li rei mande 885  
 Sachent *par* tut okencelath;  
 MS. p. XIII. Errer uolt uers glindelath,  
 Othothil uodra robber  
*Que* alui deignout uenir *parler*.

868. *Serrement*. M. suggests *ferrement* = *fidement*; but cf. l. 1247. The word means 'd'une manière très serrée'; cf. Fantosme, R. S.

**W**hen they were ready  
 And had drawn up their men in ranks, 865  
 As King Dermot himself was unwilling  
 To separate from the English,  
 Donnell Kavanagh in close array  
 Led the van.  
 So much did they exert themselves 870  
 That they entered Offelan,  
 Plundered the whole country,  
 And defeated Mac Kelan;  
 The spoil they carried off,  
 And conquered and harried the people. 875

**T**o Ferns then they turned  
 In pride and power:  
 Towards Ferns the king turned  
 With great pride and pomp.  
 At Ferns the noble king 880  
 Stayed for eight whole days,  
 And the brave English barons  
 Were all the time with the king.

**W**hen the eighth day was passed  
 Then the king summoned 885  
 His men throughout Hy Kinsellagh;  
 He wished to march to Glendalough,  
 He would plunder O'Toole  
 For having disdained to parley with him.

l. 1751. 886. *Sachent*: this looks very like a corruption of *sa gent*;  
 cf. ll. 847, 920. 889. *Deignout*: both here and in l. 2781 the

Quant lost esteit assemble, 890  
 Vers glindelath *sunt* erre ;  
*E* li reis ad commande  
 Baruns, cheualers *e* meine  
 Que tuz seient apretez  
*E* de bataille *aparaillez*. 895  
 Icil *escrient* ai tant :  
 ‘Gentils reis, errez auant.  
 Vengez *vus*, reis poestifz,  
 De uos mortels enemis.  
 Reis gentilz, auant errez 900  
 Asez bien *vus* uengerez ;  
 Kar iames ne *vus* fauderum  
*Pur* tant *cum* nus uiuerum.’

O re erre reis *dermod*  
 Vers glindelath *tant* i pout. 905  
 Quant li reis iert uenuz  
 Od ses amis *e* od ses druz,  
 La *prei* dunc feseit robber  
 San cop *prendre* v doner.  
 Mis co est al repeirer, 910  
 Sein e sauf, sanz encumbrer ;  
*E* les engleis ensement  
 Repeire sunt tut sauement.  
 Le rei sen est repeire  
 Od sa gent assez heite. 915  
 A fernez uindrent les baruns  
 Od tretust lur *compaignuns*.

negative appears to be wanting. Perhaps we should read *desdeignout* and omit *venir*.

When the host was assembled, 890  
 Towards Glendalough they marched ;  
 And the king commanded  
 Barons knights and followers  
 That all should be ready  
 And equipped for battle. 895  
 Then they exclaimed :  
 ' Noble king, march forward !  
 Avenge yourself, puissant king,  
 On your mortal enemies.  
 Noble king, march forward ! 900  
 You shall be well avenged ;  
 For never shall we fail you  
 So long as we shall live.'

Then King Dermot marches  
 Towards Glendalough as fast as he could. 905  
 When the king had come  
 With his friends and comrades,  
 Then he had the spoil taken  
 Without receiving or giving a blow.  
 He set about returning home, 910  
 Safe and sound, without hindrance ;  
 And the English also  
 Returned quite safely.  
 The king returned home  
 With his men full of joy, 915  
 To Ferns came the barons  
 With all their companions.

**A** fernes soïornat li reis,  
 Tant *cum* li plut, acele feiz.  
 Sa gent feseit *par* tut mander 920  
 Que a fernes uiengent a li parler :  
 Riches poures ensement,  
 Que tuz uiengent *communement*.  
 De weiseford uindrent la gent  
 Par le rei *commandement*. 925  
 A fernes fu lost asemble,  
 De armis garniz e *apreste*.  
 Lors fist li reis mander  
 Robert e morice tut *premer*,  
 Herui e li bier meiler 930  
 E tut li autre cheualer.  
 Le reis lur *prist* a conseiller :  
 'Oes, seignurs cheualer,  
 Pur *quei* *vus* fiz ici mander.  
 Vers osserie voil aler 935  
 Pur confondre le felun  
 Que ia me fist *grant traisun*  
 Pur le fel *traître* ma tere garder  
 Que ia ne uolt sur reïgner.  
 Si me puisse de lui uenger, 940  
 En moi naurai *que* doler.'  
 Atant li dient li barun :  
 'Sire, a deu benecon !'

**L**ors fist li reis hucher  
 Douenald khuath tut *premer* 945  
 Que il se mist al chief deuant  
 Od cinc mil homes combatant,

**A**t Ferns the king abode  
 As long as he pleased at that time.  
 His men he summoned from all sides 920  
 To come to Ferns to parley with him :  
 Rich and poor, in the same way,  
 All to come together.  
 The men of Wexford came  
 At the king's command. 925  
 At Ferns was the host assembled  
 With arms furnished and prepared.  
 Then the king summoned  
 Robert and Maurice, first of all,  
 Hervey and the baron Meiler, 930  
 And all the other knights.  
 The king took them into counsel :  
 'Hear, Sir knights,  
 Wherefore I summoned you here.  
 To Ossory I wish to go 935  
 To confound the rebel  
 Who has already done me high treason,  
 To protect my land from the traitor  
 That he may never reign over [it],  
 If I can[not] avenge myself on him 940  
 I shall have nothing but grief.'  
 Then the barons said to him :  
 'Sire, with God's blessing !'

**T**hen the king summoned  
 Donnell Kavanagh, first of all— 945  
 That he should place himself at the head in the van  
 With five thousand fighting men,

*E* pus apres erraument  
 De weyseford icel gent ;  
*E* le cors li riche reis 950  
 Esteit remis od ces engleis.  
*Par* mi la tere en tele manere  
 Errout li reis de leynistere,  
 En fotherd esteit uenuz,  
 Sur un ewe descenduz. 955  
 La nuit pristrent lur ostal  
 Sur macburtin amunt, aual.  
 La gent, sachez, de weyseford  
 Le reis hairent a tort.  
*Pur* lur demeine traisun 960  
 MS. p. XIV. *Que* ia dis firent al barun,  
 Duterent le traitur  
 Le gentilz reis nuit e ior ;  
*Pur* co *par* euz se logerent,  
 Nuit e ior le reis duterent. 965  
 En tele manere li reis gentilz,  
*Que* tant iert pruz e hardiz,  
 Iust sur lewe de macburtin  
*E* tut son ost iout en fin.  
  
 Vn enfantesme la nuit lur uint, 970  
*Que* chescun auers le tint.  
 Vn ost grant e meruellus  
*Par* mi les loges a esturz  
 Lur uint sur, bien armez  
 De aubercs e descuz bendez. 975  
 Cil de loges saillent fors

973. *a esturz* : as the rhyme indicates this should be *a estrus*, cf.

And then immediately afterwards  
These men of Wexford ;  
While the rich king himself 950  
Remained with his English.  
Through the midst of the land in this order  
Marched the king of Leinster.  
Into Forth he came  
And descended to a river. 955  
That night they took their hostels  
Upon Mac Burtin up and down.  
The men of Wexford, you must know.  
Wrongfully hated the king.  
Owing to their own treachery 960  
Which they did of yore to their lord,  
The traitors dreaded  
The noble king night and day ;  
Wherefore they lodged by themselves  
And night and day dreaded the king. 965  
In this way the noble king,  
Who was so gallant and courageous,  
Lay by the river of Mac Burtin,  
And all his host was there too.

**A** Phantasm came upon them in the night, 970  
Which each one took for true.  
A vast and marvellous host  
Through the midst of the huts suddenly  
Came upon them, well armed  
With hauberks and with banded bucklers. 975  
Those in the huts then sallied forth



*Pur* defendre idunc lur cors.  
 Del ost engleis un cheualer,  
 Bandolf fiz rouf loi nomer ;  
 La nuit, *pur* li chef gueiter, 980  
 Esteit defors randolf le bier.  
 Mult se *prist* li cheualer  
 De cel ost amerueiller,  
 Quidout *qu'il* fussent *traiz*  
*Par* lur morteus enemis. 985

**I** cil sescrîat haut e cler :  
 'Sein daui ! barun cheualer !'  
*Pus* ad treit le brant dacier ;  
 Vn son compaignun *premer*  
*Par* cop sur le capeler, 990  
*Par* uertu le fist agenuler ;  
 Kar bien quidout *certainement*  
*Que* cil fust del autre gent.  
 Bien quiderent les plusurs  
*Que* icil erent les *traiturs* 995  
 De weyseford la cite  
*Que* cest erent longge.  
 Icel enfanteyme sen parti,  
 Aitant *cum* io *vus* di,  
 Passerent *par* le langport 1000  
 A la gent de weyseford.

979. *Bandolf*. The capital B was inserted by mistake for R.  
 980. *Li chef gueiter* : perhaps we should read *l'eschelgueiter* ; see Glossary.

984. *Quidout* : one would expect *quidout*. Probably this line and the next have been misplaced in the MS. and should follow l. 977.  
 997. *Que cest erent longge*. There is some corruption here..

To defend themselves.  
 A knight of the English host,  
 Randolph Fitz Ralph I heard him named—  
 That night to keep armed watch 980  
 Randolph the baron stood outside.  
 The knight began greatly  
 To wonder at this host;  
 They thought that they were betrayed  
 By their mortal enemies. 985

This man shouted loud and clear:—  
 'St. David! Barons, Knights!'

Then he drew his brand of steel.  
 First of all, one of his companions,  
 By a blow on the helmet, 990  
 By force, he brought him to his knees;  
 For he thought quite certainly  
 That he belonged to the other side.  
 Most of them thought  
 That they were the traitors 995  
 Of the city of Wexford,  
 Who were [really] far off.  
 This phantasm then departed,  
 As I tell you;  
 It passed by the camp 1000  
 To the men of Wexford.

M. suggests *Que c'esteient longge* (which still leaves the line defective),  
 and translates 'who had come upon them unawares.' But *longge* is the  
 p.p. of *loignier* or *longnuer* = *s'éloigner* or *être éloigné* (Godefroy), and  
 I think the sense is as given above.

Icil *quiderent* estre *pris*  
*Par dermod* li reis gentilz.  
 Mes lendemain hastiement  
 Ordiner firent lur gent 1005  
*Par* le riche rei *command*,  
*Cum* il erent le ior deuant.  
 Sur le rei de osserie  
 Alad li reis *par grant* enuie.  
 Macdonthid coiemment 1010  
 Mander fist tote sa gent  
 Ki al pas de hachedur  
 Viengent sanz *contreditur*.  
 Vn fosse fist ieter aitant  
 Haut *e* large, roist *e* *grant*, 1015  
*Pus par* afin ficher  
*E par* deuant ben *herde*ler,  
*Pur* defendre le passage  
 Al rei *dermod* al fer corage.

Le reis erre nuit e ior 1020  
**L** Que ameimes vint de athethur.  
 Sur un ewe de *grant* reddur  
 Se *herbere*gerent li pongneur,  
*E* les engleis de *grant* ualur  
 Se *herber*gerent tut en tur. 1025  
 Le ewe unt lendemain passe  
 Sanz bataille *e* sanz melle,  
 Lendemain passent son faille  
 Sanz melle *e* sanz bataille.

These thought that they were being entrapped  
 By Dermot, the noble king.  
 But on the morrow they speedily  
 Drew up their men in ranks, 1005  
 By the rich king's command,  
 As they were the day before.  
 Against the king of Ossory  
 Went the king with great eagerness.  
 Mac Donnchadh quietly 1010  
 Summoned all his men  
 To the pass of Achadh-ur  
 To come without gainsaying.  
 A trench he then bade them throw up  
 High and wide, steep and deep; 1015  
 And then at the back strengthen it with stakes,  
 And in front with hurdles,  
 In order to dispute the passage  
 With King Dermot of the bold heart.

The king marched night and day 1020  
 Until he came near to Achadh-ur.  
 By a river of great vehemence  
 The warriors encamped,  
 And the English of great worth  
 Encamped round about. 1025  
 On the morrow they crossed the river  
 Without a battle and without a contest:  
 On the morrow they cross, beyond a doubt,  
 Without a contest and without a battle.

	<b>D</b> e weyseforde icele gent	1030
	Le asaut firent <i>premerement</i> ,	
	La haie <i>pristrent</i> asailler.	
	Treis iors enters, san mentir,	
	Les <i>traiteres</i> <i>aques</i> feintement	
MS. p. XV.	Asaillerent icele gent.	1035
	La haie ne pout estre <i>prise</i>	
	<i>Par</i> lur asaut anule guise	
	Des <i>que</i> la engleise gent,	
	Le tiers ior, <i>cum</i> lentent,	
	La haie sur euz unt <i>conquise</i>	1040
	<i>E</i> cele gent en fuite mise.	
	Fui sen est des <i>que</i> atiberath	
	<i>Par</i> mi la tere de wenenath ;	
	<i>E</i> deloc des <i>que</i> abertun	
	Senfui le rei felun.	1045
	Mes <i>dermod</i> , li rei puissant,	
	Le <i>traître</i> vet tant suant—	
	Tant ad sui li <i>traïtur</i>	
	<i>Que</i> mis lad en tel errur,	
	<i>Qu'il</i> defendre ne se pout	1050
	En contre le rei <i>dermod</i> .	
	<i>E dermod</i> , li rei <i>prise</i> ,	
	La tere al felun ad gaste,	
	Preie <i>grant</i> od sei mene	
	Des <i>que</i> a fernes la cite.	1055

1032. *Asailler* : as the rhyme shows, this should be *asaillir*. Prob-

These men of Wexford 1030  
 Commenced the attack :  
 They began to attack the stockade.  
 For three whole days, i' faith,  
 Somewhat half-heartedly these men  
 Attacked the traitors. 1035  
 The stockade could not be carried  
 By their attack in any way,  
 Until the English men  
 On the third day, as I. hear,  
 Carried the stockade against them 1040  
 And put these men to flight.  
 They fled as far as Tubbrid  
 Through the midst of the territory of Wenenath,  
 And from thence as far as ' Bertun '  
 Fled the rebel king. 1045  
 But Dermot, the puissant king,  
 Went so far following the traitor—  
 So far did he pursue the traitor  
 That he sent him on this wandering,  
 Since he could not make a stand 1052  
 Against King Dermot.  
 Then Dermot, the renowned king,  
 Laid waste the rebel's land,  
 And carried off a great spoil with him  
 To the city of Ferns. 1055

ably by the time the transcript was made the word was assimilated to the first conjugation ; cf. ll. 1035, 3192-3.

**D**ermot, li rei poestifs,  
 Aquite aueit son pais,  
 Les plusurs de ses enemis  
 De barates *e* de confiz ;  
 Par les engleis esteit monte 1060  
 En *grant* orgoil, en *grant* ferte.  
 Mes par le *conseil* de sa gent  
 Retenir uolt, *cum* lentent,  
 Les soudeis morice le barun,  
 Solum la geste *que* lisum. 1065

**I**cil sen *parti* del rei *dermot*,  
 Bien od deuscent od sei menout :  
 Des engleis ueraiment  
 Mena morice bien deuscent.  
 Vers weyseford sen *turnout*, 1070  
 La mer uers gales passer uolt.  
 Lors fist li reis mander  
 A weyseford *par* messenger :  
 Morice feseit desturber  
 Tut li mestre notimer 1075  
 Que il ne pout la mer passer  
 Ne a sun pais repeirer.

**Q**uant sout morice la nouele,  
 Mult esteit en aruele ;  
 Pour out a icel hure 1080  
 Que li corusent sure  
 Les *traitres* de weyseford

1064. *soudeis*: perhaps we should read *souders*.

1067. The first

**D**ermot, the potent king,  
 Had subdued his country,  
 Had defeated and discomfited  
 Most of his enemies ;  
 Through the English he was exalted 1060  
 With great pride and haughtiness.  
 By the advice of his people  
 He wished to retain, as I hear,  
 The soldiers of Maurice, the baron,  
 According to the geste that we are reading. 1065

**T**his man departed from King Dermot ; .  
 Full two hundred he brought away with him :  
 Of the English, in truth,  
 Maurice brought away full two hundred.  
 Towards Wexford he set out, 1070  
 He wished to cross the sea to Wales.  
 Then the king sent word  
 To Wexford by messenger :  
 All the master mariners  
 He made obstruct Maurice . 1075  
 So that he could not cross the sea  
 Nor return to his own country.

**W**hen Maurice learnt the news  
 He was in great trouble.  
 He feared at this time 1080  
 That the traitors of Wexford  
 Would fall upon him

*od* seems superfluous.  
*arucle.*

1079. I can only guess at the meaning of *en*



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Par conseil li reis, atort.	
Mes morice hastiuement	
Tant <i>parlad</i> a cele gent	1085
De weyseford la cite	
Que sur le rei sunt <i>turne</i> .	
Morice ne se targa mie	
Al rei manda de osserie	
Que alui uendreit, san mentir,	1090
Si lui plust, pur lui servir ;	
Kar <i>par</i> mal esteit parti	
Del rei <i>dermod</i> <i>quil</i> out serui.	
Quant <i>macdonethid</i> en tendi	
Que morice uendreit alui,	1095
De la nouele esteit heistez	
<i>E</i> de ioie saili a pes.	
Al barun manda erraument	
Que alui uenist assurement ;	
Liueresun li freit doner	1100
Asez richiez <i>e</i> plener.	
Atant san ala le barun	
Lui <i>e</i> tut si <i>compainun</i> ,	
Vers la uile de thatmelin	
Tindrent le dreit chemin.	1105
Mes le fiz al rei <i>dermod</i> ,	
Douenald <i>keuanth</i> , al plus <i>quil</i> pout,	
Le ior asaili le barun,	
MS. p. XVI. Bien ad cinc cent <i>compaignun</i> .	
Mult aueient de restur	1110
La gent morice ai cel ior ;	

1104. M prints *Chatmelin*, but the MS. has, more correctly, *That-*

By the counsel of the king, wrongfully.  
 But Maurice speedily  
 So parleyed with these men 1085  
 Of Wexford city  
 That they turned against the king.  
 Maurice did not delay at all:  
 He sent word to the king of Ossory  
 That he would come to him, without deceit, 1090  
 To serve him, if he wished it;  
 For he had parted on bad terms  
 From King Dermot whom he had served.  
 When Mac Donnchadh heard  
 That Maurice would come to him, 1095  
 He was rejoiced at the news  
 And leaped to his feet with joy.  
 To the baron he straightway sent word  
 That he should certainly come to him;  
 Pay he would give him 1100  
 Very rich and ample.  
 Then the baron departed,  
 He and all his companions;  
 Toward the town of Timolin  
 They took the direct road. 1105  
 But King Dermot's son,  
 Donnell Kavanagh, to the best of his power,  
 Attacked the baron on that day  
 With full five hundred companions.  
 A great conflict they had 1110  
 Maurice's men on that day;

*melin*; see Notes.  
*estur*.

1110. *de restur*: perhaps we should read *dur*

Mes a force e a uertuz  
 A thamelin eerent uenuz.  
 Treis iors ad dunc soiorne  
 Morice iloc od sa meine. 1115  
 Le rei de osserie souent  
 Message tramist a cele gent  
 Que il uendreit le tiers ior  
 San nul autre contreditur.  
 Le reis i vint ueraiment 1120  
 Le ters ior sanz delaement :  
 La uint le rei de osserie  
 Macdonthith od sa compagnie ;  
 E li reis trestut errant  
 A morice feseit beu semblant. 1125  
 Morice e tute sa gent  
 Le rei saluent ducement.  
 Le reis e sa haute gent  
 As angleis firent serment :  
 As angleis iurerent en fin 1130  
 Sur lauter e sur lescrin  
 Que ia traisun ne lur frunt  
 Tant euz od lui serrunt.

Macdonethith ad dunc mene  
 Morice e tute sa meine : 1135  
 Mena li reis en osserie  
 Morice e sa compagnie ;  
 E robert remist od dermod  
 Od tant de gent cum il out,  
 E herui tut ensement 1140  
 Od sa force e od sa gent.

But by force and by valour  
They came to Timolin. •  
For three days accordingly  
Maurice abode there with his followers. 1115  
Often did the king of Ossory  
Send a message to these men  
That he would come on the third day  
Without any further gainsaying.  
The king came there, of a truth, 1120  
The third day without delay :  
Thither came the king of Ossory,  
Mac Donnchadh, with his company ;  
And thereupon the king  
Assumed a friendly manner towards Maurice. 1125  
Maurice and all his men  
Saluted the king courteously.  
The king and his chief men  
Made oath to the English :  
To the English they swore, in short, 1130  
On altar and on shrine,  
That they would never betray them .  
As long as they should be with them.

**M**ac Donnchadh accordingly brought away  
Maurice and all his followers : 1135  
Into Ossory the king brought  
Maurice and his company ;  
While Robert remained with Dermot  
With as many men as he had,  
And Hervey just in the same way 1140  
With his force and his men.

**M**acdonehid ior e nuit  
 La tere *dermod* destruit :  
*Par* morice *e par* sa meine  
 La tere al rei ad *dunc* gaste. 1145  
 Iloc refut le barun,  
 De morice osseriath le nun :  
 Si la pelouent tut dis  
 Les yrreis de cel pais,  
 Que en osserie esteient uenuz 1150  
*E* od le rei remansrus.

**D**e morice uoil ici arester,  
 De un barun uoil cunter,  
 Le fiz gerout : moriz out nun.  
 Ariue esteit li barun : 1155  
 A weyseford iert ariue  
 Od gent bele *e grant* meine ;  
*Pur* aider al rei *dermod*  
 Ariuez esteit a weyseford.

**D**unc ad li barun mande 1160  
 Al reis *quil* iert ariue.  
 Dermot entendi la nouele,  
 Peca ne lui uint tant bele.  
 Le reis, a ceit *desperun*,  
*Pur* encuntrer le barun 1165  
 Sen est turne tut dreit al port  
 Vers la riue de weyseford.

1146. *refut*: so M. and, I think, in the MS., but *f* and the long *s* are easily confounded; cf. l. 1693. I have, however, no doubt that *resut* is the true reading; cf. l. 511. Prendergast is repeatedly called 'Ossriath,'

**M**ac Donnchadh day and night  
 Harried Dermot's territory :  
 With the aid of Maurice and his followers  
 He then laid waste the territory of the king. 1145  
 There the baron received  
 The name of Maurice of Ossory :  
 Thus the Irish of this country  
 Always called him,  
 In that he had come to Ossory 1150  
 And remained with the king.

**A**bout Maurice I shall here stop ;  
 About a baron I wish to tell,  
 The son of Gerald : Maurice was his name.  
 The baron had landed : 1155  
 He landed at Wexford  
 With a goodly force and many followers ;  
 In order to aid King Dermot  
 He had landed at Wexford.

**T**hen the baron sent word 1160  
 To the king that he had landed.  
 Dermot heard the news,  
 For a long time none so good had come to him.  
 The king, with prick of spur,  
 To meet the baron 1165  
 Set out straight to the harbour,  
 To the coast of Wexford.

from this on ll. 1223, 1342, 2825, 2938. 1150. *esteint*: read  
*esteit*. 1151. *remansrus*: perhaps we should read *remanscus*,  
 where *sc* = *s*: cf. l. 1185 and note.

Quant li riche reis li vit,  
 Hastiement li `ad dit :  
 'Bien seez uenuz, barun, 1170  
 Le fiz gerout, moriz *par* nun.'  
 Icil respont aiant :  
 'Deus te beneie, reis uaillant !'  
 Vers fernes sen uont leement  
 Li reis *e* morice ensement. 1175

Mes de osserie en fin li reis  
 A lure esteit ale en leis  
 Sur le seignur de cele tere  
 Que il ne lui feseit guere.  
 Omurthith out nun le seingnur 1180  
 Que leis teneit a icel ior.  
 Macdonehith od ses engleis  
 MS. p. XVII. Destruire uolt tute leis,  
 Quant omurthe le seignur  
*E* macdonehild ascit ior : 1185  
 Ior li ad iloc asis,  
 Ostages durreit de son pais.  
 Ne mes que quatre iors v treis  
 Demurrat iloques le reis.  
 Ostages durreit cinc v cis 1190  
 De sa tere le plus gentilz.  
 Li reis li ad ico grante,  
 Treis iors iad soiorne.

1185. *ascit ior*: M. takes this to mean 'at this day,' and so does Godefroy, dividing it *as cit jor*; but this would be a strange graphic variant, and the phrase would come in awkwardly here. I think the rhymers repeat themselves according to his usual manner, and that *ascit jor*

When the rich king saw him,  
 He straightway said to him :—  
 'Be very welcome, baron, 1170  
 Son of Gerald, Maurice by name.'  
 The latter then replies :—  
 'God bless you, valiant king !'  
 To Ferns they depart joyfully  
 The king and Maurice as well. 1175

N ow the king of Ossory  
 At this time had gone to Leix  
 Against the lord of that territory  
 To prevent his making war on him.  
 O'More was the name of the lord 1180  
 Who held Leix at that day.  
 Mac Donnchadh with his English  
 Was about to harry all Leix,  
 When O'More, its lord,  
 With Mac Donnchadh fixed a day : 1085  
 A day he fixed for him there,  
 He would give hostages of his country.  
 Not more than three or four days  
 Would he delay the king there.  
 He would give five or six hostages 1190  
 The noblest of his territory.  
 The king granted this to him,  
 And abode there for three days.

= *asit* or *assit* (*assist*) *jor.* Similarly we have *scire* = *sire*, l. 2517.  
 1189. *Demurrat.* It seems better to take this actively. No certain  
 conclusion can be drawn from the form *le reis*.



Omurthe manda hastiuement  
 Al rei *dermod* *que* cele gent 1195  
 Par lur force *e* par lur guerre  
 Erent entrez en sa terre,  
*E* *que* il iuenist deliuerement  
 Pur li succure hastiuement.

De leynistere rei *dermod* 1200  
 A robert *e* a fiz gerout  
 Quancque omurthe out mande  
 As dous baruns ad tut cunte ;  
*E* cil al rei dunc unt dist :  
 ‘ Hastiuement, sen nul respit, 1205  
 Vos genz feites apariler.  
 Ni ad, sire, *que* targer.’  
 Li reis feseit en haut *crier*  
 Quancque armes porROUT porter  
 Li suent tut errant. 1210  
 Le reis munte aitant.  
 Le treis baruns ensement  
 Le rei suerent od lur gent,  
 Ne finerent deci *que* a leis,  
 V de osserie esteit li reis ; 1215  
*E* li reis de osserie  
 E un lande iout florie,  
 Tant cum le rei *dermod*  
 Vers li uint *e* li fiz gerout ;  
 Mes il ne sout uerraiment 1220

1207. Perhaps *plus* has dropped out of this line. Cf. Roland, Bart. and Horn, p. 40. 20 :—*quant aler dei, n'i ai plus que targier*.

O'More speedily sent word  
To King Dermot that these men 1195  
By force and by war  
Had entered into his territory,  
And that he should come there promptly  
To give him speedy succour.

Dermot, king of Leinster, 1200  
To Robert and to Fitz Gerald  
All that O'More had announced  
Told to the two barons;  
And they then said to the king:—  
'Speedily and without any respite 1205  
Get your men equipped.  
There is reason, Sire, for no delay.'  
The king then had it proclaimed aloud  
That all who could bear arms  
Should follow him at once. 1210  
The king then mounts horse.  
The three barons likewise  
Followed the king with their men,  
Nor did they stop from there to Leix,  
Where the king of Ossory was. 1215  
Now the king of Ossory  
Lay in a flowery moor,  
While King Dermot  
Came against him, and the son of Gerald;  
But he knew not, of a truth, 1220

1217. *E*: read *En. un lande*: here and in l. 1224 this should be *une lande*, as in ll. 1571, 1597.

Que uers lui uenissent gent.  
 Si cum li reis macdonehit  
*E* moriz ossriath  
 Iurent sur un lande,  
 Ke mut esteit bel *e* grande, 1225  
 Si *pur*pensout vn matin  
 Morice de *prender*gast en fin  
 Ke omorthe, li sire de leys,  
 Trair uolt donehit le reis,  
 Si force en nule manere 1230  
 Auer pout de leynistere.

Aitant este *vus* vn espie  
 Des*que* al rei de osserie ;  
 Si li dist *que* reis *der*mod  
 Od tote la force *qu'il* pout 1235  
 Le fiz esteuene od sei menout  
*E* morice le fiz gerout,  
*E* bien des*que* atreis cent engleis  
 Od lui erent uenuz en leys,  
 Estre tut li autre gent 1240  
*Que sunt* uenuz de seffement.  
 Dunc *commencat* a *parler*  
 Morice de *prender*gast *premer* :  
 'Alum *nus*, sire reis :  
 Trop *nus*, suient gent engleis, 1245  
*E nus* nauum *que* poi de gent ;  
*Pur* co alum tut serrement.  
 Si il *nus* aprucent tant ne *quant*,  
 Bien *nus* *irrum* defendant.'

That men were coming against him.  
So while the King Mac Donnchadh  
And Maurice of Ossory  
Lay in a moor  
Which was very beautiful and extensive, 1225  
Maurice de Prendergast, at length,  
Thought one morning  
That O'More, the lord of Leix,  
Was going to betray King Mac Donnchadh,  
If he could in any way 1230  
Obtain a force out of Leinster.

Then lo! there comes a scout  
To the king of Ossory;  
He told him that King Dermot  
With as large a force as he could 1235  
Was bringing the son of Stephen with him  
And Maurice the son of Gerald,  
And that full three hundred English  
Had come with him to Leix,  
Besides all the other men 1240  
Who came by tenure.  
Then commenced to speak  
Maurice de Prendergast first:—  
'Let us go, lord king.  
Too many Englishmen follow us, 1245  
And we have only a few men;  
Wherefore let us go in close array.  
If they approach us at all,  
Well shall we be able to defend ourselves.'

A tant sen turnat li reis 1250  
 De la tere omorthe de leys  
 Par le conseil son ami  
 Morice, dunt auez oi.

L e rei dermod hastiuement,  
 A qui leynistere apent, 1255  
 Robert e morice ensemment  
 MS.p.XVIII. Tant suierent icel gent ;  
 Mes euz nel atEinstrent pas,  
 Kar passes erent le pas  
 Macdonehid de osserie 1260  
 E morice en ki il sa fie.  
 E dermod, li rei puissant,  
 Vers fernes alat tut batant,  
 Vers fernes sen est repeire,  
 Ostages od sei ad mene : 1265  
 Ostages menout acele feiz  
 De omorthe sire de leys.

M acdonehid od sa compaignie  
 Repeire est en osserie,  
 Aitant sen sunt partiz 1270  
 Sein e saufs en lur pais.  
 E la gent de osserie  
 Mult aueint grant en uie  
 Que il deueint soudorer  
 E as engleis lur sous doner. 1275  
 Li fel iuint dunt conseillant,  
 Vn arere, autre auant ;

1274. *soudorer* : read *soudeier* = *soudoyer*, M.

Then the king went away 1250  
 From the territory of O'More of Leix  
 By the advice of his friend  
 Maurice, of whom you have heard.

Speedily King Dermot,  
 To whom Leinster belongs, 1255  
 Together with Robert and Maurice  
 Followed then these men ;  
 But they did not come up with them ;  
 For they had crossed the pass, .  
 Mac Donnchadh of Ossory 1260  
 And Maurice in whom he trusts.  
 Then Dermot, the puissant king,  
 To Ferns went in all haste :  
 To Ferns he returned ;  
 Hostages he brought with him : 1265  
 Hostages he brought at this time  
 From O'More the lord of Leix.

Mac Donnchadh with his company  
 Returned to Ossory.  
 Then they separated 1270  
 Safe and sound in their country.  
 And the men of Ossory  
 Were much discontented .  
 That they had to hire soldiers  
 And to give their pay to the English. 1275  
 The traitors accordingly began to plot,  
 One behind, another in front ;

Morice uolent *traier*  
*E* son trezor entre euz *partir* :  
 Pur lur or *e pur* lur argent 1280  
 Morthrir uoleint icel gent.  
 Si aueint *purparle*  
 La *traison* tut acele.

**D**euant le rei sunt dunc uenuz  
 Iuuenes, uels, *e* cafs, ueluz : 1285  
 'Entendez *nus*, rei, bel sire,  
 Morice uolum en fin occire ;  
 Asez auum bone pes,  
 De euz na nauum ke fere mes.'  
*E* li reis ad respondu : 1290  
 'Ne place deu ne sa *uertuz*  
 Que ia *par* mei seient *traiz*,  
 Mordrir, mors, hunis ne *pris* !'

**A**l reis est uenu li barun,  
 Ki rien ne sout del *traison*. 1295  
 Dunt *pur* ueir ad demande  
 Del rei bonement congie,  
 Repeirir put en son pais.  
 Le rei, sacez, mut en uis  
 Congie donat al cheualer 1300  
 En son pais de returner ;  
 Mes li reis mult li *requist*

1278. *traier* : read *trair* ; *partir*. 1289. *na nauum*. M. divides these words *n'an auum*. Cf. Gaimar, 3264, *Nen quident mes aver afeire*. But is not *de euz n'an* (= *n'en*) tautological? The *na* is not

They resolve to betray Maurice .  
 And to part his treasure among them :  
 For their gold and silver 1280  
 They resolved to murder these men.  
 Thus they had plotted  
 Treachery all in secret.

Accordingly they came before the king,  
 Young and old, bald and hairy : 1285  
 'Hear us, king, good lord !  
 Maurice we wish, at length, to put to death ;  
 We have a sufficiently good peace ;  
 Of them we have no further need.'  
 And the king replied :— 1290  
 'Please God and his might  
 That they may never be betrayed by me,  
 Murdered, killed, disgraced, or taken !'

To the king came the baron,  
 Knowing nothing of the treachery. 1295  
 Then indeed he demanded  
 Of the king free licence  
 That he might return home to his country.  
 The king, be sure, with much regret  
 Gave leave to the knight 1300  
 To return to his country ;  
 But the king besought him much

needed for either sense or metre. *mes* is written *mejs* with mark of  
 expunctuation under *i*. 1293. *Mordrir*. This should be the p.p.  
*mordris*. 1299. *mut envs* : read *d'm. e*.



Que od lui uncore remansist.  
 Morice respondi al reis :  
 'Passer uolent les engleis, 1305  
 La haute mer uolent passer  
 Pur lur amis uisiter.'  
 Aitant sen est li reis parti,  
 Solum la geste que oiez ici ;  
 A fertekerath ala, se qui, 1310  
 E les engleis a kilkenni  
 Remistrent icele nuit  
 Od grant ioie e od grant brut ;  
 E tut li traitre felun  
 De cele tere en uirun 1315  
 Les pas alerent plessen  
 Par unc il deueient passer.  
 Mes si cum deu le uoleit  
 Que morice garnis esteit  
 De la grant felunie 1320  
 Que ceuz firent de osserie,  
 Mander feseit li barun  
 A sei trestut si compaignun.

Quant il erent assemblez,  
 E morice lur ad cuntez 1325  
 Cum la gent de osserie  
 Par lur grant trecherie  
 Vn aguerre lur unt basti  
 Od deu mil homes bien garni :  
 Cum les yrreis lur sunt deuant 1330

1310. *se* = *si* or *ço*.1313. *brut*. This should probably be

To remain with him still.  
 Maurice replied to the king:—  
 'The English wish to cross over: 1305  
 They wish to cross the high sea  
 To visit their friends.'  
 Then the king departed,  
 According to the geste which you now hear;  
 To Fertakerach he went, I think, 1310  
 While the English at Kilkenny  
 Remained that night  
 With great joy and in great commotion;  
 While all the wicked traitors  
 Of that territory round about 1315  
 Went to plash the passes  
 Through which they had to pass.  
 But as God willed it  
 That Maurice should be forewarned  
 Of the great crime 1320  
 That these men of Ossory did,  
 The baron caused to be summoned  
 All his companions to him.

When they were assembled,  
 And Maurice told them 1325  
 How the men of Ossory  
 By their great treachery  
 Had contrived an ambuscade for them .  
 With two thousand men well armed:  
 How the Irish are in front of them 1330

- MS. p. XIX. Od deu mil homes combatant  
 'En un place *pur* desturber  
 Que *nus* ne poum *par* la passe,  
 Conseil demande, seignur baruns,  
 De ceste afere cument le frums.' 1335  
 Icil responderunt tuz :  
 'Le conseil seit *sur vus*.'  
 A lur ostels sunt *turnez*  
 V einz erent *herbergez*,  
 Asez se tindrint coiment 1340  
 Cum de co ne susent nient ;  
 E morice ossriath  
 Al senechal *macdonehid*—  
 Al senescal fist dunc *mander*  
 Ki demi an v *quarter* 1345  
 Od le rei uoleit remaner  
 Cum il erent auant *premer*.  
 Hastiuement mandat li reis  
 Que *parler* uenist as engleis.  
 Quant despandu e de pople 1350  
 La nouele iert al contre  
 Que morice esteit remis  
 Od le rei de cel pais,  
 Les *traitres* sunt repeirez  
 Del pas v erent abuchez. 1355

L a nuit, *quant* erent endormis,  
 Ad morice idunc *tramis*  
 Par vn *prîue* ualettun  
 Que tuz montassent le barun,

1333. *passe*: read *passer*.

With two thousand fighting men  
 'In a strong place in order to obstruct us  
 That we cannot pass that way.  
 Take counsel, Sir barons,  
 Concerning this affair how we shall act.' 1335  
 They all replied:—  
 'Let the counsel rest with you.'  
 To their hostels they returned  
 Where they were before lodged.  
 Very quietly they kept themselves, 1340  
 As though they knew nothing about it.  
 Then Maurice of Ossory  
 To the Seneschal of Mac Donnchadh—  
 To the Seneschal sent word  
 That for half a year or a quarter 1345  
 He was willing to remain with the king  
 As they had previously been.  
 Speedily the king sent word  
 That he would come to parley with the English.  
 When was spread and published 1350  
 The news throughout the country  
 That Maurice had remained  
 With the king of that country,  
 The traitors returned home  
 From the pass where they were in ambush. 1355

**I**n the night when they were asleep  
 Maurice then sent word  
 By a private page  
 That all the barons should take horse,

Archer, ualet <i>e</i> seriant	1360
<i>E</i> li petit <i>e</i> li grant.	
Iceus <i>que</i> uoleient passer	
Se feisent tost <i>aparailer</i> :	
Icil sege firent <i>aprest</i> er,	
Ne uoleient <i>plus</i> demorer.	1365
Vers la mer co sunt <i>turnez</i>	
<i>Pur</i> passer en lur contrez.	
A watreford la cite,	
Cum les menat destine,	
Sunt uenuz li cheualer	1370
Seinz <i>e</i> saufs <i>e</i> tut enter.	
La soiornerent li baruns	
Od trestut lur <i>compaignuns</i> .	
Mes eloec erent desturbez	
<i>Par</i> vn home ki ert naffrez :	1375
Ke vn soudener ape,	
Vn sithezein aueit naffre,	
Ki de la plaie <i>pus</i> murit.	
Ne le tindrent pas en deduit	
Le cithezeins de la cite	1380
De watreford, cum ai cunte.	
Iloec furent atachez	
Tut li barun alosez ;	
Mes <i>par</i> le conseil li bier	
Morice, ki ert lur en <i>parler</i> ,	1385
<i>E par</i> sen <i>e par</i> sauer	
Les fist morice tut passer.	
En galeis furent tuz ariuez	
Seinz <i>e</i> saufs, ioius <i>e</i> lez.	

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Archers, squires, and sergeants,	1360
Both small and great.	
Those who wished to cross over	
Soon equipped themselves :	
They got themselves ready	
Nor would they delay any longer.	1365
Towards the sea they turned	
To cross to their own countries.	
To the city of Waterford,	
As fate led them,	
The knights came	1370
Safe and sound and none missing.	
There the barons stayed	
With all their companions.	
But there they were hindered	
Through a man who was wounded :	1375
For a foot-soldier	
Had wounded a citizen,	
Who afterwards died of the wound.	
Nor did they consider it as sport	
The citizens of the city	1380
Of Waterford, as I have mentioned.	
There they were arrested	
All the illustrious barons ;	
But by the counsel of their lord	
Maurice, who was their pleader,	1385
And by his good sense and tact,	
Maurice enabled them all to cross over.	
In Wales they all landed	
Safe and sound, joyous and glad.	

De cele gent ici lerrum, 1390  
Del rei *dermod vus conterum*.

**C**onter uoil del rei *dermod*,  
Cum il bailla weyseford  
A vn barun cheualer  
Le fiz esteuene, robert le bier. 1395

E' morice le fiz gerout  
A karret *pus* se affermout  
Par le rei ottei *e par* le grant  
Dermot le rei poant.

Pus apres hastiement 1400  
Li *quens* richard od sa gent  
En yrlande aueit *tramis*  
Od ses baruns ix. v. x.

Le *premer* esteit reymond le *gros*,  
Vn cheualer hardi *e os*. 1405

A domdonuil ariuerent  
MS. p. XX. V chastel *pus* ifermerent  
Par le otrei li riche reis  
Dermot, *que* tant esteit *curteis*.

Iloec remist le *gros* reymund 1410  
E li cheualer *e* li barun.

La tere feseit dunc rober,  
Les naches *prendre* etuer.  
Mes de watreford la gent  
E de osserie ensement 1415

Lur ost firent assembler,

1397. *Karret*: this should probably be *Karrec*. 1398. *rei*: this word seems superfluous. *ottei*: sic read *otrei*. 1401. This line is defective. I think the translation gives the general sense. 1412.

About these men we shall here leave off, 1390  
About King Dermot we shall tell you.

I wish to tell of King Dermot  
How he delivered Wexford  
To a noble baron,  
The son of Stephen, Robert the baron. 1395  
And Maurice the son of Gerald  
Fortified himself at Carrick,  
By the permission and by the desire  
Of Dermot, the potent king.  
Then soon afterwards 1400  
Earl Richard sent over  
Some of his men to Ireland,  
With nine or ten of his barons.  
The first was Raymond le Gros,  
A bold and daring knight. 1405  
At Dundonuil they landed  
Where they then constructed a fort  
By the permission of the rich king  
Dermot, who was so courteous.  
There Raymond le Gros remained 1410  
With his knights and barons.  
Then he plundered the territory,  
Took and killed the cows.  
But the men of Waterford  
And of Ossory likewise 1415  
Assembled their hosts ;

M. here by a curious mistake reads *Robert* for *rober*. 1413. Here  
and in ll. 1448 and 1451, the MS. has *naches* for *uaches*.



Vers dondonuill uoleint aler  
*Pur* le chastel asailir.  
 Les engleis *quident* bien honir.  
 Del deys douenald offelan, 1420  
*E* de odrono orian,  
*E* tuz les yrreis de la cuntre  
 Le chastel uñt auirune.  
*Par* aime erent les yrreis  
 Desque a quatre mil v treis; 1425  
 Reymund e la sue gent  
 Nerent mie auant de cent.  
 Les vaches mistrent a chastel  
*Par* reymund e sun conseil.  
 De watreford icel gent 1430  
 Vindrent tut ferement  
*Pur* le chastel agrauanter;  
 Les engleis *quident* uergunder.

Reymund parole a sa gent :  
 'Seignurs baruns, amoi entent. 1435  
 Vos enemis veez uenir  
 Ki *vus* uolerunt asailir.  
 Meuz *uus* uaut a honor cis  
 Que ceinz estre mors v pris.  
 Ore *vus* fetes tuz armer, 1440  
 Cheualer, seriant e archer;  
 Si *nus* mettrum en plein champ,  
 Al non del pere tut poant.'  
 Li cheualer e li barun,

1430. *offelan*. M. read *osfelan*. *ff* and *sf* are very similar, but there

Against Dundonuil they resolved to go  
 In order to attack the fort.  
 They think surely to shame the English.  
 Donnell O'Phelan of the Decies, 1420  
 And O'Ryan of Odrone,  
 And all the Irish of the country  
 Surrounded the fort.  
 By estimation the Irish were  
 As many as three or four thousand ; 1425  
 Raymond and his men  
 Were not more than a hundred.  
 They drove the cows into the fort  
 By the counsel of Raymond.  
 The men of Waterford 1430  
 Came very fiercely  
 To demolish the fort ;  
 They think to disgrace the English.

Raymond speaks to his men :—  
 'Sir barons, hearken to me. 1435  
 You see your enemies coming  
 Who have resolved to attack you.  
 It is more honourable for you here  
 Than within to be killed or taken.  
 Come now, do you all arm yourselves, 1440  
 Knights, sergeants, and archers ;  
 Thus shall we place ourselves in open field  
 In the name of the Almighty Father.'  
 The knights and the barons,

is no more reason for reading *osfclan* here than *nasfrez* in l. 1469, or *asfermout*, l. 1397.

Par le conseil li *gros* reymund, 1445  
 Des portes uoleient issir  
*Pur* les yrreis en uair.  
 Les naches erent affreez  
 De la gent *que* erent armez;  
*E pur* la noise *que* il funt, 1450  
 Les naches tutes a vn frunt  
*E* a force *e* a uertuz  
 A la porte sunt issuz.  
 Co fu la *premere* conrei  
*Que* del chastel issi, le crei. 1455  
 As yrreis sunt curru surre  
 En bref *terme*, en poi dure.  
 Les yrreis nel porreint souffrir:  
 A force lur couint *partir*;  
*E* reymund od ses engleis 1460  
 Se mist entre les yrreis.  
*Pur* co furent de *partiz*,  
 Les yrreis erent de confiz,  
 Si ke le derein conre  
 Sen fuerent *par* cel effre. 1465  
 Iloec esteint desconfiz  
 Les yrreis tuz de cel pais.  
 Al camp erent mil remis,  
 Vencus, mors, naffrez *e* pris  
*Par* force *e* *par* uertu 1470  
*Que* lur fist le bon ihesu;  
*E* de dute *e* de pour  
 Cen afailiz erent le ior.

1464-5. *conre*: *effre*. Perhaps these should be *conrei*: *effrei*.  
 1473. *Cen afailiz erent*. Godefroy, quoting this passage alone, gives

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By the advice of Raymond le Gros,	1445
Resolved to sally from the gates	
In order to charge the Irish.	
The cows were scared	
At the men who were armed ;	
And owing to the tumult that they made	1450
The cows all in front	
By force and by strength	
Sallied forth at the gate.	
This was the first company	
That sallied from the fort, I trow.	1455
Upon the Irish they rushed	
In a short space, in a few moments.	
The Irish could not stand against them :	
They were forced to separate ;	
And Raymond with his English	1460
Threw himself amid the Irish.	
Wherefore they were divided,	
The Irish were discomfited,	
So that the last company	
Fled away through this fright.	1465
There they were discomfited	
All the Irish of this district.	
On the field a thousand were left	
Vanquished, killed, wounded, or taken,	
By the force and by the strength	1470
That the good Jesus created against them.	
And through dread and through fear	
They were enfeebled that day.	

*afailir*, v. n. = *manquer*, *faillir*, *tomber*. It is almost as easy to read *ceus* as *cen*, and the former suggests that *ceus* is the true reading. It is a

- Des yrreis esteint *pris*  
 Bien *desque* a seisant dis ; 1475  
 Mes li barun cheualer  
 Iceuz firent de coler,  
 A vn baesse firent bailler  
 Vne hache temple de ascer,  
 Que tuz les ad de coles 1480  
*E* pus les cors aphaleises,  
*Pur* co *que* aueit le ior  
 MS. p. XXI. Son ami perdu en lestur.  
 Aliz out non de *berueni*,  
 Que les yrreis seruist isi. 1485  
*Pur* les yrreis *uergunder*  
 Vnt co fet li cheualer.  
*E* les yrreis de la tere  
 Desconfiz sunt entele *manere*,  
 Returne sunt en lur pais 1490  
 De baratez *e* desconfiz :  
 En lur pais sunt *returnez*  
 Desconfiz *e* de baratez.
- A** dundounil remist reymur  
 Lui e tut sa *compaignun*, 1495  
*E* herui de mumoreci  
*E* walter bluet altre si.  
 Mult se contindrent bien *priuement*  
 Contre cel yresche gent.

remarkable fact that the *s*'s in the MS. appear to have been in general added after the rest was written. This addition may have been forgotten here.

1478. *un baesse*. This should be *une*.

1481. *aphaleises*. M.

Of the Irish there were taken  
 Quite as many as seventy. 1475  
 But the noble knights  
 Had them beheaded. '  
 To a wench they gave  
 An axe of tempered steel,  
 And she beheaded them all 1480  
 And then threw their bodies over the cliff,  
 Because she had that day  
 Lost her lover in the combat.  
 Alice of Abervenny was her name  
 Who served the Irish thus. 1485  
 In order to disgrace the Irish  
 The knights did this.  
 And the Irish of the district  
 Were discomfited in this way.  
 To their country they returned 1490  
 Outdone and discomfited :  
 To their country they returned  
 Discomfited and outdone.

At Dundonuil remained Raymond  
 He and all his companions, 1495  
 And Hervey de Mont Maurice  
 And Walter Bluet likewise.  
 They kept very much to themselves .  
 As against these Irishmen.

puts a query to this word in his notes, but see Gloss. 1498. *se*  
*contindrent*. Reading *se tindrent* and omitting *bien* would improve the  
 metre. Cf. l. 1340. The 'con' may have been caught by the copyist  
 from the 'contre' in the next line.

Solum le dit as anschienz, 1500  
 Bien tost *apres*, richard li *quens*  
 A watreford ariua ;  
 Bien *quinz* cent od sei mena.  
 La uile seint bartholomee,  
 Esteit li *quens* ariue. 1505  
 Regenald *e* smorch erent clame  
 Les plus poanz de la cite.  
 Le ior seint bartholomee,  
 Li *quens* *richerand* al cors sene  
 Watreford la cite 1510  
 A force *pris e* *conqueste*.  
 Mes mult iout occiz einz  
 De watreford les citheinz  
 Einz *que* ele fud *conquise*  
 V a force sur euz *prise*. 1515

Quant *prise* aueit la cite  
 Li *quens* *par* sa poeste,  
 Li *quens* tantost fist mander  
 Al rei *dermod* *par* messenger  
 Que a watreford ert ariue 1520  
*E* *conquise* aueit la cite,  
 Que alui uenist li riche reis,  
 Si amenast ses engleis.  
 Li reis *dermod* hastiuement  
 I vint, sachez, mult noblement. 1525  
 Li reis en sa *compaignie*  
 Asez imena barunie,  
*E* sa fille imena ;

1509. *Richerand*: a blunder for *Richard*.1510. Supply *ad*.

According to the statement of the old people,  
 A Very soon afterwards Earl Richard . 1501  
 Landed at Waterford.  
 Full fifteen hundred men he brought with him.  
 On the eve of St. Bartholomew  
 Did the earl land. 1505  
 The most powerful persons in the city  
 Were called Ragnald and Sidroc.  
 On St. Bartholomew's day,  
 Earl Richard, the prudent,  
 Took by assault and won 1510  
 The city of Waterford.  
 But there were many killed there  
 Of the citizens of Waterford  
 Before that it was won  
 Or taken by assault against them. 1515

When the earl by his power  
 Had taken the city,  
 The earl immediately sent word  
 To King Dermot by messenger  
 That he had come to Waterford 1520  
 And had won the city,  
 That the rich king should come to him  
 And should bring his English.  
 King Dermot speedily  
 Came there, be sure, right royally. 1525  
 The king in his company  
 Brought there many of his barons,  
 And his daughter he brought there;

1512. *cinz*: read *ceinz* = *çans*; cf. l. 1439.



Al gentil cunte la dona.  
 Li *quens* honorablement 1530  
 La espusa, veant la gent.  
 Li reis *dermod* ad dunc done  
 Al cunte, ki ert tant *preise*--  
 Leýnistere lui dona  
 Od la fille, *que* tant ama, 1535  
 Ne mes *qu'il* ust la seignurie  
 De leýnistere tute sa uie.  
*E* li *quens* ad tute *grante*  
 Al riche rei sa uolente.  
*Pus* sunt *turne* vne *part* 1540  
 Li reis *e* li *quens* richard.  
 Si alad reýmud le *gros*,  
 Vn cheualer hardi *e* os,  
*E* morice tute ensement  
 De *prendergast*, *cum* lentent ; 1545  
 Kar od le cunte *uer*aiment  
 Repeire fud, *solum* la gent.  
*Par* le conseil le cuntur,  
 Repeires iert li pugneur.  
 A cel conseil de fi 1550  
 Esteit meiler le fiz *henri*  
*E* meint barun cheualer  
 Dunt ne sai les nuns numer.  
 Ilœc *pristrent* a conseiller  
 Tut li barun cheualer 1555  
*Que* a deuelin tut dreit *irrun*t  
*E* la cite sauderunt  
 Atant sen *parti* lireis

1542. *reymud*: sic MS.1550. *de fi*: supply *saches*.

To the noble earl he gave her.  
 The earl honourably 1530  
 Wedded her in the presence of the people.  
 King Dermot then gave  
 To the earl, who was so renowned—  
 Leinster he gave to him  
 With his daughter, whom he so much loved, 1535  
 . Provided only that he should have the lordship  
 Of Leinster during his life.  
 And the earl granted  
 To the king all his desire.  
 Then they turned aside 1540  
 The king and Earl Richard.  
 Raymond le Gros joined them,  
 A bold and daring knight,  
 . And Maurice de Prendergast  
 Likewise, as I hear; 1545  
 For with the earl, of a truth,  
 He had returned, as people say.  
 By the advice of the earl  
 The warrior had returned.  
 At this council in sooth 1550  
 Was Meiler the son of Henry,  
 And many a brave knight  
 Whose names I cannot mention.  
 There all the brave knights  
 Proceeded to advise 1555  
 . That they should go straight to Dublin  
 And should assault the city.  
 Then the king departed

1557. *sauderunt*: read *asauderunt*.

1558. *parti*: read *departi*.

- MS. p. XXII. Vers fernes od ses engleis.  
 Somundre feseit sa gent 1560  
*Par* tut *e* forciblement.  
 Quant tuz furent assemblez,  
 Vers watreford sunt dreit *turnez*.  
 Li *quens* richard ad dunc baille  
 Sa gent enwarde la cite : 1565  
 En watreforde ad dunc lesse  
 Vne *partie* de sa meyne.  
 Vers diueline sunt dunc *turne*  
 Li reis *e* li *quens* *preise*.
- Mes tut le orguil de yrlande 1570  
 A clondolcan en une lande,  
*E* de connoth esteit li reis  
 A clondolcan icele feiz.  
*Pur* les engleis asailer,  
 Ses cunreis feseit *partir*. 1575  
 Les pas firent *partut* plessen  
*Pur* les engleis desturber,  
 Que euz ne uenissent *ueraiment*  
 A diuiline sanz corocement.  
*E* le rei *dermod* esteit garniz 1580  
*Par* espie *qu'il* out *tramis*  
 Que les yrreis sunt de uant  
 Bien trent mil *combatant*.  
 Le rei *dermod* fist *demande*  
 Le cunte, *que* uenist alui *parler*. 1585  
 Li *quens* *hastiuement*  
 Al rei uint *deliuerement*.

Towards Ferns with his English.  
 He caused his men to be summoned 1560  
 Everywhere and in great force.  
 When they were all assembled,  
 Towards Waterford they set out directly.  
 Earl Richard then gave  
 The city in charge of his men : 1565  
 In Waterford he then left  
 A portion of his followers.  
 Then they turned towards Dublin  
 The king and the renowned earl.

Now all the pride of Ireland 1570  
 Was at Clondalkin in a moor, ·  
 And the king of Connaught  
 Was at Clondalkin at this time.  
 In order to attack the English  
 He divided his troops. 1575  
 They plashed the passes everywhere  
 In order to obstruct the English, ·  
 So that in fact they should not come  
 To Dublin without hostility.  
 And King Dermot was warned 1580  
 By a scout whom he had sent  
 That the Irish were in front  
 About 30,000 strong.  
 King Dermot sent to ask  
 The earl to come to parley with him. 1585  
 The earl speedily  
 Came promptly to the king.

1574. *asailer* : read *asailir*.

‘Sire *quens*, co dist li reis,  
 Entendez a moi a ceste feiz :  
 Vos gens fetez ordiner 1590  
*E* uos serianz renger.  
 En cest irrum la montaine,  
 En champ dure, *e* en la plaine ;  
 Kar les boys sunt plesses  
*E* les chemins fossaes, 1595  
 E tuz nos enemis de yrlande  
 Nos sunt de uant en une lande.’

Li *quens* feseit dunc mander  
 Tut li barun cheualer.  
 Milis iuent tut *premer*, 1600  
 Vn noble barun guerrer :  
 Miles out nun de cogan,  
*Qui* le cors out fer *e* plain.  
 Icel esteit al chief de uant  
 Od set cent engleis *combatant* ; 1605  
*E* douenald keuath ensement  
 Esteit remis od cele gent,  
*E* *pus* apres le *gros* reymun  
 Bien od .viii. cent *compaingnun*.  
 Al tiers cunrei li riche reis 1610  
 Bien desque amil yrreis.  
*E* richard, li *quens* curteys,  
 Od sei out .iii. mil engleis.  
 Bien erent en cel conrei  
 Vassals quatre mil, co crei. 1615

1592. M. suggests *en ceste ure*, but cf. *en iceis*, l. 356. To complete the metre *par* should be inserted before *la montaine*, cf. ll. 668, 1620.

‘Sir Earl,’ thus spake the king,  
 ‘Hearken to me at this time:  
 Draw up your men in ranks 1590  
 And marshal your sergeants.  
 We shall now go by the mountain  
 On the hard field and on the open ground;  
 For the woods are plashed  
 And the roads trenched across, 1595  
 And all our enemies of Ireland  
 Are before us in a moor.’

The earl then summoned  
 All the brave knights.  
 Miles came to him, first of all, 1600  
 A noble and brave warrior:  
 Miles had the name de Cogan  
 And his body was bold and burly.  
 He was at the head in front  
 With seven hundred English soldiers; 1605  
 And Donnell Kavanagh likewise  
 Remained with these men.  
 And then afterwards Raymond le Gros  
 With about eight hundred companions.  
 In the third company the rich king 1610  
 With about a thousand Irish.  
 And Richard, the courteous earl,  
 Had with him three thousand English.  
 In this company there were about  
 Four thousand vassals, I trow. 1615

1600. *ivent*. M. has *vient*, but undoubtedly the dash to mark the *i* is over the first upright.

Larewarde feseit li reis  
 Ordiner des yrreis.  
 Bien esteint trestut armez  
 Les baruns engleis alosez.  
*Par* la montaine fist li reis 1620  
 Le ior guier lost engleis.  
 Sanz bataille *e* sanz melle  
 Sunt uenuz a la cite.  
 Mes la cite esteit le ior  
 Prise sanz contreditur. 1625  
 Le ior la postle seint mathe,  
 Arst diuiline la cite.

Quant co uirent les yrreis  
 Ke uenuz iert *dermod* li reis  
*E* le cunte ensement 1630  
 Od tute ses englesche gent,  
 La unt iurenez  
 Les baruns vassals alosez,  
 De connoth sen *turnat* li reis,  
 Sanz plus dire, a cele feiz, 1635  
*E* les yrreis de cel pais  
 En lur cunte sunt *partiz*.  
 Macturkil esculf le tricheur  
 En la cite remist le ior  
*Pur* defendre la cite 1640  
 De *quel* il ert clame  
 Sire, seignur, *e* avue  
*Par* trestut la cunte.

MS.  
 p. XXIII.

1616. *Larewarde*: perhaps this should be *l'arere w.*, cf. l. 2800.

In the rear-guard the king  
 Had the Irish drawn up in ranks.  
 They were all well armed,  
 The renowned English barons.  
 By the mountain did the king 1620  
 Guide the English host that day.  
 Without a battle and without a contest  
 They arrived at the city.  
 Moreover the city was that day  
 Taken beyond gainsaying: 1625  
 The day of St. Matthew the Apostle  
 The city of Dublin was burning.

When the Irish saw this  
 That King Dermot was come  
 And the earl also 1630  
 With all his English troops,  
 And that the illustrious liege barons  
 Had surrounded the city,  
 The king of Connaught went away  
 Without a word at this time, 1635  
 And the Irish from this district  
 To their country departed.  
 Hasculf MacTorkil, the deceiver,  
 Remained in the city that day,  
 In order to defend the city 1640  
 Of which he was acknowledged  
 Sire, lord, and defender,  
 Through all the country.

1632. *La unt iurenez*. This line is defective. I have supposed it to run, *La cite unt avirunez*, cf. l. 1423.



De hors les murs de la cite  
 Se est li reis *herberge* ; 1645  
*E* richard li bon cuntur,  
 Ki des engleis esteit *seingnur*,  
 Esteit remis od ses engleis  
*E* od le cors *dermod* li reis.  
 Le *plus* *prochein* de la cite 1650  
 Esteit milis *herberge*,  
 Li bon milun de cogan  
 Ke *pus* sire de knoc brandan :  
 Co est trestut le *plus* foren  
 Ke seit asecle, montaine v plein. 1655  
*E* *dermod*, li reis gentilz,  
 Morice regan ad *tramis*  
*E* *par* morice ad nuncie  
 A cithiceinz de la cite  
 Que san delai, san nul respit, 1660  
 Sen rendissent san *contredit* :  
 San nul altre *contreditur*,  
 Se rendissent alur *seignur*.  
 Ostages trente ad demande  
 Li reis *dermod* de la cite. 1665  
 Mes cil dedenz, san mentir,  
 Ne sauient entre euz *partir*  
 Les ostages de la cite,  
 Le *quels* serreient al rei liure.  
 Hesculf ad dunc remande 1670  
 A *dermod* li rei preise  
 Que lendemain hastiurement  
 Freit tut son *commandement*.

---

Outside the walls of the city  
Was the king encamped ; 1645  
While Richard, the good earl,  
Who was lord of the English,  
Remained with his English  
And with King Dermot himself.  
Nearest to the city 1650  
Was Miles encamped,  
The good Miles de Cogan  
Who was afterwards lord of Mount Brandon,  
Which is the wildest spot,  
Mountain or plain, in the world. 1655  
Now Dermot, the noble king,  
Despatched Morice Regan,  
And by Morice proclaimed  
To the citizens of the city  
That without delay, without any respite, 1660  
They should surrender without gainsaying :  
Without any further gainsaying  
They should surrender themselves to their lord.  
Thirty hostages demanded  
King Dermot of the city. 1665  
But those within, i' faith,  
Could not separate among themselves  
The hostages of the city  
Who should be delivered to the king.  
Hasculf accordingly made answer 1670  
To Dermot, the renowned king,  
That on the morrow speedily  
He would perform all his command.

**M**ult en uet al barun,  
 Icil de cogan, li bon milun, 1675  
 Ki tant remist le parlement  
 Entre le rei e tute sa gent.  
 Miles escria tut premer :  
 'Barun, cogan, cheualer !'  
 Senz le rei commandement 1680  
 E senz le cunte ensement,  
 Asaili ad la cite.  
 Li ber miles od sa meyne  
 Par orgoil e par hatie  
 La cite unt dunc en vaie. 1685  
 Li ber miles le lose  
 A force ad prise la cite.  
 Deuant quil sust dermod le ior  
 V richard le bon cuntur,  
 Esteit miles li bier membre 1690  
 En diuiline en fin entre ;  
 La cite aueit ia conquise  
 E macturkil en sute mise.  
 E la gent de deuelin  
 Fui sen sunt par marine ; 1695  
 Mes asez i out remis  
 Ke en la cite erent occis.  
 Asez conquist los le ior  
 Miles, qui ert de tel ualur ;  
 E les baruns alosez 1700  
 Asez trouerent richetez :  
 Asez trouerent en la cite

1674. *en uet* = *enuet, enuiet*.      1684. *par hatie* : supply *grant* ;  
 cf. ll. 573, 708.      1686. *lose* : read *alose*.      1693. *sute* : so in the

It greatly vexed the baron,  
 The good Miles de Cogan, 1675  
 That the parley lasted so long  
 Between the king and all his people.  
 Miles shouted all at once:  
 'Barons, knights, A Cogan!'  
 Without the king's command 1680  
 And without the earl's either,  
 He attacked the city.  
 The baron Miles with his followers  
 With audacity and with great fury  
 Then set upon the city. 1685  
 The baron Miles, the renowned,  
 By main force took the city.  
 Before that Dermot knew it that day  
 Or Richard the good earl,  
 Had Miles, the strong-limbed baron, 1690  
 Actually entered into Dublin,  
 Had already conquered the city,  
 And put MacTorkil to flight.  
 And the men of Dublin  
 Fled away by the sea; 1695  
 But many remained there  
 Who were killed in the city.  
 Much renown acquired that day  
 Miles who was of such worth;  
 And the renowned barons 1700  
 Found much wealth:  
 In the city they found

MS.; read *fute* = *fuite*; not the only instance in which the long *s* and *f* are confounded; cf. l. 1146.

Tresor e autre richete.  
 Venuz se sunt aitant  
 Li reis *e* li *quens* brochant: 1705  
 A la cite sunt uenu  
 Li reis *e* li *quens* andu.  
*E* miles li barun *preise*  
 Al cunte rendi la cite.  
 La cite ad milis rendu, 1710  
*E* li *quens* ad dunc receu.  
 MS. Asez *trouerent* garisun  
 p. XXIV. *E* ben uitaile a *grant* fuisun.  
 Li *quens* ad dunc soiorne,  
 Tant *cum* il plout, en la cite; 1715  
*E* li reis est repeire  
 Vers fernes en sa cuntre.  
 Mes a la feste seint remi,  
 Quant aust esteit *departi*,  
 Tost *apres* le seint michel, 1720  
 Richard li *quens* naturel  
 A miles ad, sachez, liure  
 En garde pur ueir la cite.  
 Vers *watreford* sen est *turne*  
 Li *quens* od sa *grant* meyne. 1725  
 Li *quens* iad soiorne  
 Tant *cum* li uint agre.  
 A fernes pus demorout  
 En cel yuer li rei *dermod*.  
 Li reis, *qui* tant esteit gentils, 1730  
 A fernes gist enseueliz.

*Si est mort li rei Dermot. Propitius sit Deus anime!*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These words are in red paint, similar to that used for some of the

---

Much treasure and other wealth.  
 Thereupon there came  
 The king and the earl riding quickly : 1705  
 To the city they came  
 The king and the earl together.  
 And Miles, the renowned baron,  
 To the earl gave up the city :  
 The city Miles gave up, 1710  
 And the earl thereupon received it.  
 Much provision they found  
 And good victuals in great plenty.  
 The earl then abode  
 While he pleased in the city ; 1715  
 And the king returned  
 To Ferns in his own country.  
 But on the festival of St. Remy,  
 When August was over,  
 Soon after Michaelmas, 1720  
 Richard, the noble earl,  
 To Miles delivered, you must know,  
 The wardship of the city.  
 To Waterford he set out  
 The earl and his ample suite. 1725  
 There the earl abode  
 So long as it pleased him.  
 At Ferns then tarried  
 King Dermot during this winter.  
 The king, who was so noble, 1730  
 Lies buried at Ferns.

*King Dermot is dead. May God have mercy on his soul!*  
 initial letters. The Latin prayer is barely legible.

**T**uz les ýrreis de la cunte  
 Sur le cunte sunt *turne*. 1735  
 Des ýrreis a cele feiz  
 Od lui ne sunt remis *que* treis :  
 Douenald keuath tut *premer*,  
 Ki ert frere a sa muiller ;  
 De tirbrun macheli, 1740  
 Le tiers awalap ocarui ;  
*E* les ýrreis de okenselath  
 Ki erent reis murierdath,  
 Icil moueient *pus grant* guere  
 Sur le cunte de leýnistere. 1745  
*E* de connoth, li riche reis,  
 De tut ýrlande les ýrreis  
 A lui les ad fet mander  
*Pur* dýuelin aseger.  
 Icil uindrent a vn ior 1750  
*Que* uns lur aueit lur seignur.  
 Quant il erent assemblez,  
 Seissant mil erent armez.  
 A chastelknoc, acele feiz,  
 De connoth iout li riche reis ; 1755  
*E* macdunleue de huluestere  
 A clontarf ficha sa banere ;  
*E* obrien de monestere  
 A kylmainan od sa gent fere ;

1740. *De Tirbrun Macheli*. Macheli is, I think, a transcriber's error for *O'Rageli*, perhaps written *oracheli*, *or* and *m* being very much alike in the MS. ; cf. ll. 1788 and 1909, where the same triumvirate recur, and see Notes. 1741. I put a semicolon after this line and

remove the full stop of M.'s ed. after 1743, so as to connect ll. 1742-5. Of the Irish of Hy Kinsellagh, some were at this time besieging Fitz-

All the Irish of the country  
 Revolted against the earl. 1735  
 Of the Irish at this time  
 There remained with him only three :  
 Donnell Kavanagh, in the first place,  
 Who was brother to his wife,  
 O'Reilly of Tirbrun, 1740  
 And thirdly Auliffe O'Garvy ;  
 While the Irish of Hy Kinsellagh,  
 Who were with King Murtough,  
 They then stirred up a great war  
 Against the earl of Leinster. 1745  
 And the rich king of Connaught  
 Summoned to him  
 The Irish of all Ireland  
 In order to lay siege to Dublin.  
 They came on the day 1750  
 That their lord had appointed for them.  
 When they were assembled  
 They were sixty thousand strong.  
 At Castleknock, at this time,  
 Was the rich king of Connaught ; 1755  
 And MacDunlevy of Ulster  
 Planted his standard at Clontarf ;  
 And O'Brien of Munster  
 Was at Kilmainham with his brave men ;

Stephen at Carrick, while others were with their king, Muriardath, at  
 Dalkey (ll. 1760-1), supporting O'Conor. Some of them, no doubt,  
 followed Donnell Kavanagh in his allegiance to the English (l. 1785) ;  
 but they were too few to assist Fitz Stephen. 1751. *uns* : sic MS.,  
 read *mis* (M.).



*E* murierdath, *cum* lentent, 1760  
Vers dalkei fu od sa gent.

**L**i *quens* al hure en la cite  
Esteit, sachez, de uerite.  
Le fiz esteuene de sa gent  
Al cunte *tramist* erraument: 1765  
*Pur* lui aider *e* succure  
Lui *tramist* gent acel ure.

**Q**uant robert *tramis*  
De sa gent ben trente sis  
*Pur* eider le cunte richard 1770  
*Que* tant esteit der regard,  
A robert sunt curu sure  
Les traitres tut sen demure.  
En la uile de weyseford  
Sa gent vnt occis atort: 1775  
Sa gent vnt trestut *traiz*,  
Morz, detrenchez *e* honiz.  
De denz un chastel sur slani,  
Solum la geste *qu'il* cunte ici,  
Vnt robert les *traitres pris*, 1780  
A becherin en prisun mis:  
Cheualers vnt cinc en fin  
En prisunes en becherin.  
*E* douenald iuint okeuath  
*E* les yrreis de okenselath: 1785  
Venuz esteit a dyueline

1768. Supply *avait* before *tramis*.1771. *der regard*: there is

---

And Murtough, as I hear, 1760  
Was near Dalkey with his men.

The earl, you must know, at this time  
Was within the city, of a truth.  
The son of Stephen promptly sent  
Some of his men to the earl: 1765  
In order to aid and succour him  
He sent men to him at this crisis.

When Robert had sent  
About thirty-six of his men  
To aid the earl Richard, 1770  
Who was [the subject of such anxiety],  
The traitors without any delay  
Fell upon Robert.  
In the town of Wexford  
They wrongfully slew his men: 1775  
His men they utterly betrayed,  
Killed, cut to pieces, and brought to shame.  
Within a castle on the Slaney,  
According to what the geste here tells,  
The traitors took Robert 1780  
And put him in prison at Begerin:  
Five knights, in short, ,  
They imprisoned in Begerin.  
And there came Donnell Kavanagh  
And the Irish of Hy Kinsellagh: 1785  
To Dublin he came

some corruption here and the line is defective. I can only guess at the meaning.

MS. p. XXV.	Al gentils cunte cel <i>termine</i> .	
	Od lui uint orageli	
	<i>E</i> awelaph autre ci.	
	Al <i>quens</i> vnt tretut cunte	1790
	Cum robert fu enprisune	
	<i>E</i> cum sa gent erent occis,	
	Desconfiz, mors <i>e</i> traiz.	
	Le cunt respont aitant :	
	'Douenald, ne fetes ia semblant,	1795
	Ne fetes ia semblant, amis,	
	Ke les nos seint honis.'	
	<b>L</b> i <i>quens</i> feseit dunc mander	
	Tut li barun conseiller,	
	Que alui uiengent tost parler	1800
	Hastiuement, san demorer.	
	Robert iuint de <i>quenci</i> ,	
	*   *   *   *   *	
	De ridelisford iuint <i>water</i> ,	
	Barun noble guerrier ;	
	Morice iuint ensement	1805
	De <i>prendergast</i> , cum lentent ;	
	<i>E</i> si iuint li bon milun,	
	Suz ciel niout meillur barun ;	
	<i>E</i> meiller le fiz henri,	
	<i>E</i> milis le fiz dauï,	1810
	<i>E</i> richard iuint de marreis,	
	Cheualer nobles & curteis ;	
	<i>E</i> <i>water</i> bluet iuint.	

1802. One or more lines have here dropped out. Giraldus gives

To the noble earl at this juncture.  
 With him came O'Reilly,  
 And Auliffe also.  
 To the earl they told all, 1790  
 How Robert was imprisoned,  
 And how his men were slain,  
 Discomfited, and treacherously killed.  
 The earl thereupon replies :—  
 'Donnell, let it not appear, 1795  
 Let it not appear, my friend,  
 That our men are brought to shame.'

**T**he earl then summoned  
 All the lord councillors  
 To come to him at once to advise 1800  
 Speedily, without delaying.  
 There came Robert de Quency,  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 And Walter de Riddlesford came,  
 A brave and noble warrior ;  
 Maurice de Prendergast also 1805  
 Came, as I hear ;  
 And there came the good Miles,  
 Under heaven there was no better baron ;  
 And Meiler the son of Henry,  
 And Miles the son of David, 1810  
 And Richard de Marreis came there,  
 Noble and courteous knights ;  
 And Walter Bluet came there ;

Maurice Fitz Gerald a prominent part in the siege of Dublin, and his name may have been mentioned here.

Cheualers baruns des*que* a xx :  
 Venuz sunt alur seignur 1815  
 Tut li barun de *grant* valur.  
 Quant les baruns alosez  
 Al conseil erent asemblez,  
 Conseil ad li *quens* requis  
 De tuz ces charnals amis : 1820

'Seignurs,' co dist li *quens* uaillans,  
 'Deu del cel *nus* seit guarrans !  
 Veez, seignurs, uos enemis  
 Que ore *vus* unt ceinz asis ;  
 Si nauum guers de manger 1825  
 Auant de *quinzeine* enter :  
 Kar la mesure de forment  
 Vendeit lum vn marc de argent,  
 E de orge la mesure  
 Demi marc *prist* lem acel ure : 1830  
 Pur co, seignurs cheualer,  
 Al rei fesum nuncier.  
 Dunc li *quens* alose  
 Al rei ad nuncie  
 Que sis home de uendra, 1835  
 Leynistere de lui tendra.

'Ore, seignurs naturals,  
 Al rei de connoth dous uassals  
 Par uoz conseilz *transmetrum*,  
 E le arceues*que* en uerrum, 1840

1820. Perhaps supply *e* before *amis*. 1825. *nauum* : read *naurum*.

Knights barons as many as twenty :  
 All the barons of great worth 1815  
 Came to their lord.  
 When the renowned barons  
 Were assembled in council,  
 The earl sought counsel  
 Of all his kinsfolk and friends. 1820

‘ **M**y lords,’ thus spake the valiant earl,  
 ‘ May God of Heaven protect us !  
 You see, my lords, your enemies  
 Who have now besieged you here.  
 We shall have hardly anything to eat 1825  
 Before the fortnight is out :  
 (For the measure of corn  
 Was sold for a silver mark,  
 And for a measure of barley  
 One got at that time half a mark :) 1830  
 Wherefore, Sir Knights,  
 Let us send a message to the king.’  
 Then the renowned earl  
 Sent a message to the king  
 That he would become his man 1835  
 And would hold Leinster of him.

‘ **C**ome now, free-born lords,  
 To the king of Connaught two vassals  
 By your counsel we shall despatch,  
 And we shall send the archbishop, 1840

Que feute lui uodra fere,  
 De lui tendrai leýnistere.<sup>1</sup>  
 Vn arceuesque unt an uee,  
 Que seint laurence *pus* ert clame.  
 Le arceuesque vnt dunt *tramis* 1845  
*E* de prendre od lui moriz.  
 Al rei unt dunc nuncie  
 Quant le cunte out mande.

Li reis lur ad aitant dist,  
 Sanz *terme* prendre v respist : 1850  
 Respondu ad al messenger  
 Que cele ne freit a nul fere ;  
 Ne mes sulement watreford,  
 Dýuelýne e weýseford  
 Tant lirreit al cunte richard 1855  
 De tut ýrrlande a sa *part* ;  
 Plus ne durreit i mie  
 Al cunte ne a sa compainie.  
 Li messagers sunt *turne*  
 Vers dýuelin la cite : 1860  
 Repeire sunt li messenger  
 Hastiuement, san demorer.  
 En haut dient lur message,  
 Oiant trestut li barnage ;  
 Al cunte vnt dist a estrus 1865  
 Que mande li rei orguluz :  
 Ne li uolt *plus* doner tere  
 En trestut leýnistere,

MS.  
 p. XXVI.

1841. *vodra*. This should be *vodrai*. 1843. *an uee* : i.e. *envoyé*.  
 1846. *prendre* : this should be *Prendregast*. Perhaps the copyist took

That I shall be willing to do fealty to him,  
 And will hold Leinster of him.'  
 An archbishop they sent,  
 Who was afterwards called St. Laurence.  
 The archbishop they then sent 1845  
 And Maurice de Prendergast with him.  
 To the king they accordingly announced  
 The message of the earl.

Thereupon the king said to them  
 Without taking time or respite : 1850  
 He answered to the messenger  
 That he would by no means do this ;  
 No more than Waterford  
 Dublin and Wexford alone  
 Would he leave to Earl Richard 1855  
 Of all Ireland as his share ;  
 Not a whit more would he give  
 To the earl or to his followers.  
 The messengers turned back  
 To the city of Dublin : 1860  
 The messengers returned  
 Speedily without delaying.  
 Aloud they tell their message  
 In the hearing of all the barons :  
 To the earl they told completely 1865  
 The reply of the haughty king :—  
 That he would not give him more land  
 In the whole of Leinster,

*prendre* for the verb and added *od lui* to fill the metre. 1852. *u*  
*nul fere* : read *a nul fuer*.



Fur sulement les treis citez  
 Les *quels vus* ai deuant nomez ; 1870  
*E* si co ne li uent a gre,  
 Si asaudrunt la cite ;  
 Si cel offre ne uoleit *prendre*,  
 Plus ne uolt le reis entendre ;  
 Kar lendemain, co dist li reis, 1875  
 Asaili serrunt les engleis.

**Q**uant le cunte out escute  
 Que larceuesque ad cunte,  
 Dunt feseit li *quens* hucher  
 Milis de cogan al cors leger : 1880  
 ‘Fetes, baruns, tant de gent armer,  
 Deuant isteres al chief *premer* ;  
 Al nun del pere tut poant,  
 Isterez al *premer* chief deuant.’  
 Quarante cheualers ben sunt 1885  
 Od milis deuant al frunt,  
 Seisante archers *e* sent serianz  
 Out milis a sez *commanz*.  
 Apres, le gros reymun  
 Od quarante *compaignun*, 1890  
*E* si out cent pugners  
*E* cinquante *e* dis archers.  
*E* pus apres, le bon cuntur  
 Od quarante pugneur,  
 Od cent seriant aduriz 1895  
*E* des archerz cinquante dis.  
 Mult esteint ben armez

1889. Supply *E* *pus* before *apres* (as in ll. 1608 and 1903) to com-

Except only the three cities  
Which I have already named to you ; 1870  
And if this did not meet his pleasure  
They would attack the city ;  
If he would not accept this offer  
The king would hear no more,  
For on the morrow, so said the king, . 1875  
The English would be attacked.

When the earl had heard  
What the archbishop related,  
Then the earl caused to be summoned  
Miles de Cogan the light of limb : 1880  
' Make all your men arm, barons,  
Sally forth in the foremost van ;  
In the name of the Almighty Father  
In the foremost van sally forth.'  
About forty horsemen 1885  
Are with Miles before in the front,  
Sixty archers and one hundred sergeants  
Had Miles under his orders.  
And then next, Raymond le Gros  
With forty companions, 1890  
And he had one hundred fighting-men  
And three-score archers.  
And then next, the good earl  
With forty fighting-men  
With one hundred hardy sergeants 1895  
And three-score archers.  
Very well armed they were

plete the line.

Cheualers, serianz *e* souder.  
*Quant* li *quens* estut issuz  
 Od ces amis *e* ces druz, 1900  
 Miles co mist a chef deuant  
 Od deus cenx vassals combatant ;  
*E* pus apres, le gros reymun  
 Ben od deus cent compainun ;  
 A terce conrei, li *quens* gentils 1905  
 Od deus cent vassals aduris.  
 Douenald keuen~~n~~ath ueraiment,  
 Awelaph ocarui ensement,  
*E* de tirbrun orageli,  
 Dunt auez auant oi, 1910  
 Deuant esteint o milun,  
*Cum nus* recunte le chansun.  
 Mes les yrreis de la tere  
 Ne surent ren de cel afere,  
 Des baruns si armez 1915  
*E* de la bataille aparaillez.

**M**ilis de cogan tost yuaus  
 Le dreit chemin uer finglas  
 Ver lur cencens aitant  
 Sen est *turne* tut batant. 1920  
*Quant* miles esteit *aprochez*  
 V les yrreis erent loges,  
 'Cogan !' *escrïa* od sa uoiz,  
 'Ferez, al nun de la croiz ;  
 Ferez, baruns, ne targez mie, 1925

1899. *estut*. This may be the perf. of *ester*, Lat. *stare*, or perhaps we should read *esteit*. 1916. It would be better to omit *la*, as in l. 895.

Horsemen, sergeants, and hired soldiers.  
 When the earl had sallied forth  
 With his friends and his comrades, 1900  
 Miles placed himself at the head in the van  
 With two hundred fighting vassals ;  
 And then next Raymond le Gros  
 With about two hundred companions ;  
 In the third company the noble earl 1905  
 With two hundred hardy vassals.  
 Donnell Kavanagh, of a truth,  
 Auliffe O'Garvy likewise,  
 And O'Reilly of Tirbrun,  
 Of whom you have already heard, 1910  
 Were in the van with Miles,  
 As the Song tells us.  
 But the Irish of the district  
 Knew nought of this affair :  
 Of the barons thus armed, 1915  
 And equipped for battle.

Miles de Cogan very quickly  
 By the direct road towards Finglas  
 Towards their stockades thereupon  
 Set out at a rapid pace. 1920  
 When Miles had drawn near  
 To where the Irish were encamped,  
 'A Cogan !' he shouted aloud,  
 'Strike, in the name of the Cross !  
 Strike, barons, nor delay at all, 1925

1917. *yuaus* : sic MS. ; read *ynaus*, or perhaps *vias* ; see Gloss.  
 sub voce, *ignel*. 1919. *cencens* : sic MS. ; read *cencus* ; see Glossary.

Al nun ihesu le fiz marie ;  
 Ferez, cheualerz gentils,  
 Sur uos mortels enemis.'  
 Li barun vassals alosez  
*E* as loges *e* as trefs 1930  
 Vnt les yrreis asailiz  
*E* les tente en uais ;  
*E* les yrreis desgarnis  
*Par* mi les landes sunt fuis :  
 Fui sen sunt *par* la cuntre 1935  
 Comme bestes esgarre.

MS.  
 p. XXVII.

**R**eymund le *gros* *altreci*  
 Souent reclama sein dauï,  
 Les yrreis ala pursuiant  
 Pur acomplir son talant ; 1940  
*E* ricard, li bon cuntur,  
 Si ben ala fesant le ior,  
 Si ben ala li *quens* fesant  
*Que* tuz erent ameruolant ;  
 Et meiler le fiz henriz, 1945  
*Que* tant estait de *grant* pris,  
 Se contint si ferement  
*Que* se merueillerent la gent.  
 Sent *e* plus iout ossis  
 En bain, v il erent assis ; 1950  
*E* plus de mil *e* cinc cent  
 I out ossis de cele gent,  
*E* des engleis iout naufre  
 Ne mes vn seriant ape.

1932. *tente* : read *tentes* (M.).

1950. *En bain* : M. prints this

In the name of Jesus the son of Mary !  
Strike, noble knights,  
At your mortal enemies !'  
The renowned liege barons  
At their huts and cabins 1930  
Attacked the Irish  
And fell upon their tents ;  
And the Irish unarmed  
Fled through the moors :  
Throughout the country they fled away 1935  
Like scattered cattle.

**R**aymond le Gros also  
Oft invoked St. David,  
And went pursuing the Irish  
To work his will upon them ; 1940  
And Richard the good earl  
Did so well that day,  
So well did the earl do, .  
That all were astonished ;  
And Meiler the son of Henry, 1945  
Who was of such renown,  
Bore himself so bravely  
That men wondered.  
A hundred and more were slain  
While bathing where they were beset, . 1950  
And more than one thousand five hundred  
Of these men were slain,  
While of the English there was wounded  
Only one foot-sergeant.

with a capital B as if it were the name of a place, but see Notes.

Le champ esteit remis le ior 1955  
 A ricard, le bon cuntur ;  
 Et les yrreis sunt returnez  
 Desconfiz e debaretez :  
 Cum deu uolait, a cele feis  
 Remist le champ a nos engleis. 1960  
 Tant trouerent garnesun,  
 Ble, ferin e bacun,  
 Desque vn an en la cite  
 Vittaille urent aplente.  
 Vers la cite od sa gent 1965  
 Sen ueit la cunte mult léement.

Li quens ricard al cors leger  
 Sa eire fet aparailier,  
 Vers ueisseford uolt errer  
 Pur le barun deliurer. 1970  
 Le fiz esteuene le barun  
 Vnt les traiturs en prisun,  
 De weiseford liuent enfin  
 En prisun en becherin.  
 Diuelyn baila a garder 1975  
 Al bon miles le guerrier.  
 Atant sen ala le cuntur  
 Ver weyseford nuit e ior.  
 Tant ad le cunte espleite,

1962. *ferin* : M. puts a query to this word. Godefroy, quoting the passage, gives the meaning *bête sauvage, gibier*. I prefer *ferine*, i.e. *farine* = meal. 1966. *lément*, so accented in MS. 1973-4.

There is some corruption here. M. reads *liuent*, with no meaning. It might stand for *livrent*, the mark of contraction being omitted. We

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The field remained that day 1955  
 With Richard, the good earl,  
 And the Irish departed  
 Discomfited and outdone :  
 As God willed, at that time,  
 The field remained with our English. 1960  
 So much provision did they find,  
 Corn, meal, and bacon,  
 That for a year in the city  
 They had victuals in abundance.  
 To the city with his men 1965  
 The earl went very joyfully.

E arl Richard, light of limb,  
 Makes preparations for his journey.  
 To Wexford he resolved to go  
 To set free the baron. 1970  
 The baron the son of Stephen  
 The traitors hold in prison :  
 The traitors of Wexford hold him, in short.  
 Imprisoned in Begerin.  
 The wardship of Dublin he gave 1975  
 To the good Miles the warrior.  
 Then the earl proceeded  
 Towards Wexford night and day.  
 So much did the earl accomplish

might just as easily read *luient* (as there is no mark to indicate the position of the *i*), if a suitable meaning could be extracted therefrom. I incline to think the rhymers repeat themselves, as he so often does, merely adding the names of the places, and that we should read *li unt*, and perhaps *en prisune*; cf. ll. 1782-3.



<i>Par</i> ses iornes tant erre	1980
<i>E</i> tant de iors <i>e</i> tant de nuiz	
<i>Que</i> en odrono est uenuz.	
Mes les yrreis de la cuntre	
Al pas erent assemble :	
<i>Pur</i> en contrer li <i>quens</i> richard	1985
Asemblez erent vne <i>part</i> :	
<i>Pur</i> asailer les engleis	
Asemblez erent les yrreis.	
Li <i>quens</i> richard od sa gent	
<i>Par</i> mi un pas assurement	1990
<i>Quidout</i> ben auant passer	
<i>Quant</i> lui vint vn encumbrer.	
De odrono li rei felun,	
Orian ert de li le nun,	
En haut sest dunc <i>escrie</i> :	1995
'Mar estes, engles, ariue.'	
Icil reliout od lui sa gent,	
Les engleis asaili egrement ;	
<i>E</i> les engleis <i>ueraiement</i>	
Se defenderent vassalement.	2000
Mes meiler le fiz henriz	
Le ior en porta le <i>pris</i> :	
En la bataille, sachez de fi,	
Niout meillur ke le fiz henri.	
<i>E</i> mult esteit le ior <i>prise</i>	2005
Nichol, vn moine achape ;	
Kar de vne sete oscist le ior	
De drone le seygnor :	
De vne sete, <i>cum vus</i> dis,	
Iert orian le ior occis.	2010

---

By his day's marches, and so far go,	1980
For so many nights and so many days	
That he came to Odrone.	
Now the Irish of the district	
Were assembled at the pass :	
To meet the earl Richard	1985
At one side they were assembled :	
To attack the English	
Were the Irish assembled.	
The earl Richard with his men	
Through the midst of the pass in safety	1990
Thought surely to advance,	
When an obstacle met him.	
The rebel king of Odrone, .	
O'Ryan was his name,	
Shouted out loudly :	1995
'To your destruction, Englishmen, have you come !'	
He rallied his men to him,	
And attacked the English sharply ;	
And the English, of a truth,	
Manfully defended themselves.	2000
But Meiler, the son of Henry	
Carried the prize that day :	
In the battle, know in sooth,	
There was no better than the son of Henry.	
And much renowned that day	2005
Was Nichol, a cowled monk ;	
For with an arrow he slew that day	
The lord of Odrone :	
By an arrow, as I tell you,	
Was O'Ryan slain that day.	2010

MS.  
p. XXVIII.

*E* meiler, le bier membre,  
De vn cop esteit astiue  
De vne pere en cele guere  
Qu'il chancelad a la tere.  
Mes quant orian esteit occis, 2015  
Les yrreis se sunt partiz.  
Cel boys esteit *pus* nome  
Le pas le cunte *e* clame,  
Pur co *que* la iert asailis  
Le cunte *par* ces enemis. 2020

**D**eloc sen est li *quens* turne  
Vers weyseford la cite  
Pur aquiter robert en prisune,  
Dunt *vus* ai auant cunte.  
Mes li culuert *traitur* 2025  
Nel uoleint rendre al cuntur.  
Vers becherin sen sunt fuiz,  
*E* weyseford vnt en arsun mis.  
Kar la mer cureit en fin  
Trestut entur becherin ; 2030  
Pur co ne pout, sonz mentir,  
Li gentils *quens* a euz uenir.

**D**unc sen est li *quens* turne  
Vers watreford od sa meyne.  
Al rei de lymerich ad mande 2035  
*Par* ces brefs encele

2012. *astiue* = *frappé* (Godefroy, quoting this passage only), but perhaps we should read *astine*, which might represent *estone* = stunned ; cf. R. de Camb. S. A. T. F. 2593. 2017. M. has *Del boys*, but says we must

And Meiler, the strong-limbed baron,  
Was stunned by a blow  
Of a stone in this fight,  
So that he reeled to the ground.  
But when O'Ryan was slain  
The Irish separated.  
This wood was afterwards named  
And called the earl's pass,  
Because the earl was attacked there  
By his enemies.

1013

1010

Thence the earl turned  
Towards Wexford city  
To liberate the imprisoned Robert,  
Of whom I have before told you.  
But the perfidious traitors  
Would not deliver him up to the earl.  
To Begerin they fled  
And Wexford they set on fire.  
For the sea ran entirely  
All around Begerin;  
Wherefore the noble earl,  
Could not, i' faith, get at them.

1028

1010

Then the earl set out  
Towards Waterford with his followers.  
To the king of Limerick he sent word  
By his sealed letters

1038

read *E li boys*. The initial letters are here partly cut off in the *manuscript*, but a careful comparison will show that *Cel* is the *M.S.* reading.

Que il uenist en osserie  
 Od trestut sa baronie  
 Sur *macdonkid*, li reis  
 Que de osserie teneit les leis. 2040  
 Kar le rei de l<sup>y</sup>merich out  
 La fille al riche rei *dermod* ;  
 La fille *dermod* del altre *part*  
 Out amuller le *quens* richar,  
 Pur co *que* vrent deus sorur 2045  
 Li reis obrien *e* li cuntur.  
 Sen vint enforciblement  
 En osserie od sa gent.  
 Li *quens* richard, le bon cuntur,  
 En contre obrien vint le ior 2050  
 En odoth od sa gent fere  
 En contre le reis de monestere,  
 V dous mil homes erent ben  
 Li gentil *quens e* reis obrien.  
*Macdonethit* vn message *tramist* 2055  
 Des*que* al conte, *que* lui dist  
 Que il uolenters vendreit  
 Al cunte v adescereit  
 La hunte *e* le meffet  
 Dunt li barun vnt retret. 2060  
 Al cunte vendreit en fin *parler*  
 Par si *que* quite sen pust realer,  
 Ne mes *que* moriz li barun  
 De prendre, cum nus chantum,  
 A mein le prist sur sa fei 2065

2045. M. puts a full stop after this line and no stop after the next.

2053. As *li quens* and *reis* are properly subjects, probably *erent* is a

That he should come to Ossory  
 With all his baronage  
 Against MacDonnchadh the king  
 Who held sway in Ossory. 2040  
 For the king of Limerick had  
 A daughter of the rich king Dermot ;  
 A daughter of Dermot on the other hand  
 Earl Richard had to wife ;  
 So that they had to wife two sisters 2045  
 King O'Brien and the earl.  
 He came in great force  
 Into Ossory with his men.  
 Earl Richard, the good earl,  
 Went to meet O'Brien that day 2050  
 To Idough with his brave men,  
 To meet the king of Munster,  
 Where there were about two thousand men  
 Of the noble earl and King O'Brien.  
 MacDonnchadh sent a messenger 2055  
 To the earl to tell him  
 That he would of his own accord come  
 To the earl, to whom he would redress  
 The outrage and the wrong  
 With which the barons had upraided him. 2060  
 To the earl he would come, in short, to parley,  
 On condition that he could freely return,  
 Provided that Maurice the baron  
 Of Prendergast, as we tell in our song,  
 Should take him by the hand upon his faith 2065

mistake for *urent*. 2064. Here again the MS. has *prendre* for *Prendergast*; cf. l. 1846.

De sauf *condure* le riche rei.  
*E* morice tut erraument  
 Des*que* al cunte hastiuement  
 Ala ; li barun gentils,  
 La pes del rei del cunte ad *pris*. 2070  
 Li *quens* li ad respondu ben :  
 ' Morice, ia mar dutez ren ;  
 A mei fetez le rei uenir ;  
 Quant li plerra, sen put *partir*.  
*E* morice, si *cum* io crei, 2075  
 De chescun barun *par* sei  
 Aueit *pris* le serment  
 Que amener le pust surement  
*E* sanement sen put *partir*,  
 Quant lui uenist apleisir. 2080  
*E* morice le uassal  
 Atant munta le cheual,  
 Si sen ala aitant  
 Cuntre le rei tut *brochant*,  
 Des*que* en la curt lad dunc mene 2085  
 De uant le cuncte en sauuete.

Li *quens* lad dunc acope  
**L** *E* tut li barun alose  
 Macdonehith de osserie  
 De sa *grant* trecherie, 2090  
 En *quel* manere il out *traiz*  
 Li bon *dermod*, le rei gentils.  
 Li reis obrien vet conseiller  
 Al gentil cunte guerrier

MS.  
 p. XXIX.

2070. *del rei*: this should, perhaps, be *al rei*.

'To safe-conduct the rich king,  
 And Maurice at once  
 To the earl speedily  
 Went; the noble baron  
 Obtained from the earl peace for the king. 2070  
 The earl replied to him:—  
 'Maurice, you do wrong to fear;  
 Make the king come to me;  
 When it shall please him he can depart.'  
 And Maurice, as I trow, 2075  
 From each baron individually  
 Exacted an oath  
 That he might bring him securely,  
 And that in safety he could depart  
 Whenever it should please him. 2080  
 And Maurice, the vassal,  
 Then mounted his horse,  
 And straightway departed  
 To meet the king with all speed.  
 To the court he then brought him 2085  
 Before the earl in safety.

The earl then accused him—  
 As did all the renowned barons,—  
 MacDonnchadh of Ossory,  
 Of his great treachery: 2090  
 In what manner he had betrayed  
 The good Dermot, the noble king.  
 King O'Brien counsels  
 The noble earl, the warrior,



Qu'il feît prendre li trecheur, 2095  
 Si li feît liurer a deshonor ;  
 E li baruns, san mentir,  
 Le uoleint tuz consentir.  
 E reis obrien de monestere  
 Sa gent tramist par la tere : 2100  
 Sa gent feseit par tut aler  
 E pur la tere rober,  
 Tant cum macdonthid esteit  
 De uant le cunte e pleideit.

Quant morice le barun 2105  
 Garniz esteit del traisun,  
 Sa gent feseit par tut mander  
 Que euz se fesent tost armer.  
 Dunt se est morice escrie :  
 ' Baruns, ke auez en pense ? 2110  
 Vos feiz auez trespassez,  
 Vers moi estes pariures.'  
 Moriz a dist a sa meïne :  
 ' Muntez, cheualers enseigne.'  
 Morice par sa espe ad iure 2115  
 Ni ad uassal si ose  
 Que sur le rei ai cel ior  
 La meineimet ad deshonor,  
 Lequel seit sen v folie,  
 Ne seit par mie la teste asuie. 2120  
 E richard, li quens vailland,  
 Al barun morice ai tant

2118. *La meineimet*: i.e. *la meïne i met*.2120. *asuie*. M.

That he should have the traitor seized 2095  
 And should have him consigned to infamy;  
 And the barons, i' faith,  
 Were all willing to consent thereto.  
 And King O'Brien of Munster  
 Sent his men through the land : 2100  
 Made his men go everywhere  
 To plunder the land,     ^  
 While MacDonnchadh was  
 Before the earl and was pleading.

When Maurice, the baron, 2105  
 Was warned of this treachery,  
 He sent word to his men everywhere  
 That they should arm themselves quickly.  
 Then Maurice exclaimed:  
 'Barons, what are you meditating? 2110  
 Ye have broken your oaths,  
 Towards me ye are forsworn.'  
 To his followers Maurice said:  
 'To horse, illustrious cavaliers!'  
 Maurice by his sword sware 2115  
 That there was no vassal so bold .  
 As on the king that day  
 Should lay a hand to his dishonour .  
 But, right or wrong,  
 Should have his head struck in two. 2120  
 And Richard, the valiant earl,  
 To the baron Maurice thereupon

puts a query to this word; but might not *asuiure*, *asuir*, have a meaning similar to *cosuiure*, *cosuir*? Cf. l. 2445 and Glossary.

Macdonehith ad dunc baille  
*E par* la main li ad liure.  
 Atant imunte li barun, 2125  
 Lui e tut si *compaignun* ;  
 Li reis unt en fin mene  
 Desque en boÿs en sauuete.  
 La gent obrien vnt en contre  
 Que la tere vrent robe, 2130  
*E* moriz ad dunc occiz  
 De cele gent v. nef v. dis.  
*E par* force *e par* ualur,  
 De la curte sun seignur  
 Aueit moriz *e* sa meÿne 2135  
 Li reis en boÿs le ior mene.  
*E* morice de *prendergast* iut  
 Od *macdonkid* icel nuit ;  
 Mes lendemain la matine  
 Sest moriz repeire 2140  
 Vers la curt sun seignur,  
 Que tant esteit de *grant* valur.  
 Les baruns vnt moriz rete  
 Del rei *qu'il* ad en boÿs mene,  
*Qui* ert enemi mortel 2145  
 A richard le bon cunte naturel ;  
 Kar cil reis *par* sa guerre  
 Dermot en ieta de leÿnistere.  
*E* morice a sun *guant* plee,  
 A son seignur lad baille, 2150

2149. *a sun guant plee*. This is the reading of the MS., though M. prints *a sun grant parlee* in his text, and in the note says the MS. has *a sun gant plee*, but that it must be read *guant plee*. The fact is that

Gave up MacDonnachadh  
 And delivered him to him by the hand.  
 Then the baron mounts horse, 4143  
 He and all his companions;  
 The king they brought at length  
 To the woods in safety.  
 They met O'Brien's men  
 Who had spoiled the land, 4144  
 And Maurice then slew  
 Nine or ten of these men;  
 And by force and by valour  
 From his lord's court  
 Did Maurice and his followers 4145  
 Bring the king to the wood that day  
 And Maurice de Prendergast lay  
 With MacDonnachadh that night,  
 But next day in the morning  
 Maurice returned 4146  
 To the court of his lord  
 Who was of so great worth.  
 The barons blamed Maurice  
 For having brought the king to the wood  
 In that he was the mortal enemy 4147  
 Of Richard the good and lawful king  
 For that king by his men  
 Gave him brotherly love  
 And Maurice should not give  
 And gave it to the king as a friend 4148

Quen sa curt ad dressereit  
 De *quant* *qu'il* mespris aueit.  
 Asez lunt replegeez  
 De vassals engleis alosez.

**Q**uant fini vrent icel pleist, 2155  
 Li reis obrien vers lymeric veit.  
 Li *quens* sest dunc *turne*  
 Tut dreit uers fernes la cite.  
 Vit iors ad soiorne  
 Li *quens* gentil *e* sun barne. 2160  
 Dunc ad li *quens* *partut* *tramis*  
 Vallez, serianz *e* mechins ;  
 Morthoth obrien wnt dunc *quere*  
 Amunt, aual, *par* la tere.  
 Tant lunt *quis* *par* le pais 2165  
 Que *troue* lunt *pur* ueir e pris.  
 Tut dreit uers fernes la cite  
 Obrien li fel vnc dunc mene ;  
 MS. p. XXX. Al cunte lont dunc liure  
 Obrien le *traître* *pruue*. 2170  
*Pur* co *que* *traï* auet li fel  
 Dermot li sires dreiturel,  
 Le fist li *quens* decoler,  
 Le cors aguaignus *pus* liurer.  
 Le chens lunt tut deuore 2175  
*E* la char de lui mange.  
*E* douenald keuennath vn sun fiz

2159. Supply *iloecc*.2168. *Obrien*: the MS. has *Obrie<sup>n</sup>l. unc*:  
 read *unt*.2174. *guaignus*: M. rightly supplies *n*: *guaignuns*; cf.  
*gaignon*, Renart ap. Bartsch, 296. 11; *gaingnon*, Raoul de Cambrai,

That he would redress in his court  
 Whatever transgression he had committed.  
 And the renowned English vassals  
 Went sufficient security for him.

When they had finished this pleading 2158  
 King O'Brien goes to Limerick.  
 The earl then set out  
 Straight to the city of Ferns.  
 Eight days he abode there,  
 The noble earl and his baronage. 2160  
 Then the earl sent in all directions  
 Squires, sergeants, and attendants;  
 Murtough O'Brien they go to seek.  
 Up and down throughout the land.  
 So well did they seek him through the country 2168  
 That they found him, in truth, and took him.  
 Straight to the city of Ferns  
 They then led the rebel O'Brien;  
 To the earl they then delivered him,  
 O'Brien the convicted traitor. 2170  
 Because the rebel had betrayed  
 Dermot his rightful lord,  
 The earl had him beheaded  
 And his body then thrown to the hounds.  
 The dogs wholly devoured him 2178  
 And ate up his flesh.  
 And one of his sons Donnell Kavanagh

Aueit al cunte mene *e pris*.  
 A fernes erent amdeus occis,  
 Veant la gent de cel pais. 2180  
 De okencelath li reis yrreis  
 Al cunte vint lores a peis ;  
 Co fu le fel murtherdath  
 Que *pus* ert reis de okencelath.  
 Li *quens* li ad dunc *grante* 2185  
 De okencelath la regne ;  
 De leynistere le pleis ballout  
 A douenald keuenath, le fiz *dermod*.  
 Icil deus erent reis clame  
 Des yrreis de la contre. 2190  
 En yrland erent reis *plusur*,  
 Cum alures erent les cunturs ;  
 Mes *qui* tent mithe *e* leynistere  
 E desmund *e* munestere  
 E connoth *e* uluestere 2195  
 Que ia dis tendrent le sis frere,  
 Qui celes tenent sunt chef reis  
 De yrlande, solum les yrreis.

Quant le cunte out apeise  
 Les yrreis de la cunte, 2200  
 Dunc fist li reis engleis mander,  
 Desque al cunte nuncier  
 Que, san de lai, san contre dit,  
 San *terme* prendre v respit,  
 Venist li *quens* hastiuement 2205  
 A lui parler deliuerement.  
 E le cunte al cel *termine*

Had taken and brought to the earl.  
 At Ferns they were both put to death  
 In the presence of the people of that district. 2180  
 The Irish king of Hy Kinsellagh,  
 Then made peace with the earl;  
 This was the rebel Murtough  
 Who was then king of Hy Kinsellagh.  
 The earl then granted to him 2185  
 The kingdom of Hy Kinsellagh;  
 The pleas of Leinster he entrusted .  
 To Donnell Kavanagh, the son of Dermot.  
 These two were called kings  
 Of the Irish of the country. 2190  
 In Ireland there were several kings,  
 As elsewhere there were earls;  
 But whoever holds Meath and Leinster  
 And Desmond and Munster  
 And Connaught and Ulster, 2195  
 Which the six brothers formerly held,  
 Those who hold these are head-kings  
 Of Ireland, according to the Irish.

When the earl had appeased  
 The Irish of the country, 2200  
 Then the English king sent  
 To the earl to announce  
 That, without delay, without gainsaying,  
 Without taking time or respite,  
 The earl should come speedily 2205  
 To speak to him at once.  
 And the earl at this juncture



A milis bailla deueline,  
 Vne cite mult loe  
*Que* hathcleÿth iert einz nome. 2210  
*E* watreford la cite,  
*Que* portlargi esteit clame,  
 Bailla li *quens* gentil richard  
 A gilibert de borard.  
 Li *quens* se fist dunc *aprester*, 2215  
 Vers engleterre volt passer;  
 Passer uolt li *quens* gentils  
*Pur* parler al rei henris :  
 Al rei henri curt mantel  
*Que* ert si feres dreiturel. 2220  
 Ses nefs fist dunc *apariler*  
*Pur* les undes *trauerser*.  
 Passer uolt la haute mer,  
 Al rei engleis irrad *parler*.  
 Tant cest li *quens* espleite 2225  
*Que* la mer ad ia passe.  
 En gales esteit ariue  
 Li *quens*, *que* tant esteit dute.

Li *quens* richard, a cele feiz,  
 A penbroc *troua* li riche reis. 2230  
 Li *quens* gentil de *grant* ualur  
*Par* deuant le son seignur  
 Od ses amis e od ses druz  
 De uant son seignur esteit uenus.

2210. M. prints *Hatheleyth*, but the MS. has *hathcleÿth*, which except for the aspirate is very close to the Irish spelling, *Ath-clíath*. 2220. M. reads incorrectly *frères dreiturel*. The MS. has *feres*, but I have

To Miles gave the custody of Dublin :  
 A city much renowned.  
 Which was formerly called Ath-Cliath. 2210  
 And the custody of the city of Waterford,  
 Which was called Port-Lairge,  
 The noble Earl Richard gave •  
 To Gilbert de Boisrohard.  
 The earl then got ready, 2215  
 He resolved to cross over to England ;  
 The noble earl resolved to cross over  
 To speak to King Henry :  
 To King Henry Curt-Mantel,  
 Who was his rightful lord. 2220  
 His ships he then equipped  
 To traverse the waves.  
 He resolved to cross the high seas,  
 He will go to speak to the English king.  
 So much did the earl hasten 2225  
 That he soon crossed the sea.  
 In Wales he landed,  
 The earl who was so much dreaded.

Earl Richard at this time  
 At Pembroke found the rich king. 2230  
 The noble earl of great worth  
 Into the presence of his lord,  
 With his friends and his comrades  
 Into the presence of his lord came.

little doubt that *sires* is the true reading, *s'* and *s* being very similar ;  
 cf. l. 2172. 2225. *cest*, l. 6. *s'est*.

Li gentil *quens* ad salue 2235  
 Del fiz le rei de maiste ;  
*E* li reis de bone *part*  
 Respons donat al cunte richard.  
 Li reis respond ai tant :  
 'Teu te beneie tut pussant !' 2240

MS.  
 p. XXXI.

**M**es, *cum* il me fu cunte,  
 Auques esteit li *quens* melle :  
 Li *quens* gentils de *grant* valor  
 Melle esteit a sun seignur.  
*Par* mensuge de la gent 2245  
*E par* maueise en tisement  
 Esteit richard, li *quens* gentils,  
 Auques melle al rei henris.  
 Li riche reis ne *purquant*  
 Al cunte feseit beu semblant. 2250  
 Semblant ne fist a cele feiz  
 De nul coruce li riche reis ;  
 Mes mult li honura li rei henriz,  
 Que fiz esteit lemp~~er~~iz.  
 Atant *cum* li pugneur 2255  
 Esteit remis a son seignur,  
 Este *vus* vn fel ai tant  
 Vers dýuelin vint siglant.  
 Sus dýuelin iert ariuez  
 Hesculf macturkil od cent nef~~s~~. 2260  
 Mult de gent ad od sei menez  
 Bien uint mil aprestez.

2235-6. Cf. ll. 2511-12. 2240. *Teu*. Probably a mistake for *Deu*, the initial capitals being inserted after the lines were written.

The noble earl saluted him 2238  
 In the name of the Son of the King of Majesty  
 And the king graciously  
 Made answer to Earl Richard.  
 The king thereupon replied :  
 ' May God Almighty bless you ! ' 2240

N ow, as it was told to me,  
 The earl was somewhat embroiled :  
 The noble earl of great worth  
 Was embroiled with his lord.  
 Through the lies of people 2248  
 And through evil instigation '  
 Was Richard, the noble earl,  
 Somewhat embroiled with King Henry.  
 Nevertheless the rich king  
 Towards the earl assumed a friendly manner. 2250  
 The rich king at this time  
 Made no show of anger ;  
 But King Henry, who was the empress' son,  
 Honoured him much.  
 Then while the warrior 2258  
 Remained with his lord,  
 Lo ! a rebel thereupon  
 To Dublin came sailing.  
 Below Dublin he landed,  
 Hasculf MacTorkil with a hundred ships. 2260  
 He brought many men with him :  
 About twenty thousand he got ready.

*pussant* : sic = *puissant*, which M. reads. 2248, *menunge*, *mensonge*  
*mensonge* = *mensonge*. 2252, *Quid li rei*. 2262, *how many men*

De eir uindrent *e* de man ;  
*E* de norwiche iuint Johan.  
 Vn vassal, Johan le deue, 2265  
 Ad *macturcul* od sei mene.  
 New ert cil riche reis  
 De norwiche, solum les yrreis.  
 A steine erent ariue  
 Hescul *e* Johan le deue. 2270  
 De hors dýueline la cite  
 Erent iceus aloge.  
*Pur* la cite asailir,  
 La gent firent de nefis issir.  
 Armer se fist li bon milun, 2275  
 Lui e tut si compaignun.  
 Defendre se uolt li gentil hom  
 Tant *cum purrat* defension :  
 De *par* deu omnipotent,  
 Defendre se uolt uers la gent. 2280  
 Atant este *vus* un reis  
 De cel pais v un yrreis,  
 Gýlmeholmoch out cil nun,  
 A peis esteit al bon milun ;  
 A milun ivint cil *parler*, 2285  
 Al barun conseil demander.  
 Kar milun al fer corage  
 De cel rei aueit ostage  
*Que* cil tendreit od le cuntur  
 Lealment *e* nuit *e* ior. 2290  
 Li bon mile al reis ad dist :

2272. *Aloge*: the MS. has *alonge* with a mark of expunctuation

From the Isles they came and from Man ;  
 And from Norway came John.  
 A brave man, John the Wode, . 2265  
 MacTorkil brought with him.  
 He was nephew of the rich king  
 Of Norway, according to the Irish.  
 At the Steine they landed,  
 Hasculf and John the Wode. 2270  
 Outside Dublin city  
 Were these men encamped.  
 In order to attack the city  
 They disembarked their men.  
 The good Miles armed himself, 2275  
 He and all his companions.  
 The noble man resolved to defend himself  
 So long as he could have defence :  
 With the aid of Almighty God  
 He resolved to defend himself against these  
 men. 2280  
 Then behold ! a king  
 Of this country, an Irishman,  
 Gilmoholmock was his name, \  
 He was at peace with the good Miles ;  
 With Miles he came to parley, 2285  
 To ask counsel of the baron.  
 For Miles of the bold heart  
 Held hostages of this king,  
 That he would hold with the earl  
 Loyally night and day. 2290  
 The good Miles said to the king :

under the n. 2278. *purral defension* : sc. *aver* ; cf. ll. 3194-5.

'Entendez, sire, vn petit.  
 Vos ostages *vus* frai liurer  
 Seinz *e* saufz *e* tuz enter :  
 Vos ostages auerez *par* si 2295  
 Que tu faces co *que* tu di,  
 Par si *que* ne seez aidant  
 Ne *nus* ne euz tant ne *quant*,  
 Mes *que* en coste de *nus* seez  
*E* la bataille agarderez 2300  
 Par en coste od ta gent,  
 Si *que* ueez apertement  
 La melle *e* la bataille  
 Entre *nus e* euz, san faille.  
*E*, si deus le *nus* consent 2305  
 Que seient desconfiz icele gent,  
 Que *nus* seez od tun poer  
 Eidant *pur* euz debareter ;  
*E* si *nus* seimis recreant,  
*Vus* lur seez del tut aidant 2310  
 De *nus* trencher *e* occire,  
 Le nos liurer amartire.'  
 Li reis li ad ico *grante*,  
 Sa fei pleine *e* iure,  
*Quanque* milis li ad dist 2315  
 Freit li reis san nul respit.

Gylmeolmoch aitant  
 De hors la cite maintenant  
 Se est cil reis *pur* ueir asis

2296. *tu di* : for *tei di*.2314. *pleine* : both here and in l. 3403 the

'Hearken, Sire, a moment.  
 I shall deliver up your hostages to you  
 Safe and sound and all complete :  
 You shall have your hostages on condition • 2295  
 That you do what I tell you,  
 On condition that you aid  
 Neither us nor them at all,  
 But that you stand to one side of us  
 And watch the battle 2300  
 From the side with your men,  
 So that you may see clearly  
 The contest and the battle  
 Between us and them, without fail.  
 And if God grants it to us 2305  
 That these men be discomfited,  
 Then that you aid us with your force  
 To overthrow them ;  
 And if we be recreant  
 That you aid their men in all things 2310  
 To cut us to pieces and slay us  
 And hand our men over to destruction.'  
 The king granted this to him,  
 Pledged his faith and sware  
 That all that Miles said to him 2315  
 The king would do without any delay.

Gilmoholmock thereupon  
 Outside the city instantly  
 Posted himself, in truth, the king

MS. has *pleine*, but I think the true reading must be *plevie*. The expression *plevir sa foi* was common.



MS.	Od cel gent de son pais.	2320
p. XXXII.	De sur la hogges de sustein,	
	De hors la cite, en vn plein,	
	<i>Pur</i> agarder la melle	
	Se sunt iloques asemble :	
	<i>Pur</i> agarder icel estur,	2325
	Gylmeholmoch se sist le ior ;	
	En vne place uereiment	
	Se sist od sa meine gent.	
	 E ste <i>vus</i> Johan le deue	
	Vers dyuelyn tut serre,	2330
	Vers la cite od sa gent,	
	En dreite la porte del orient,	
	Vers la porte seint marie,	
	La cite vnt dunc asaillie.	
	<i>E</i> milis, od le hardi chere,	2335
	Vn barun vassal out afrere.	
	Ricard out icil anun,	
	Frere esteit al bon milun.	
	Icil se feseit ben armer,	
	Od lui ben trent cheualer.	2340
	<i>Pur</i> la dute del occident	
	Issus sunt tut priuement	
	Si <i>que</i> nuls ne saueit	
	Nis nul <i>que</i> sunt frere esteit.	
	<i>E</i> milis sa gent ad ordine,	2345
	Defendre uoleit la cite,	
	Les serianz feseit auant aler	

2321. This line should run—*Desur la Hogges desus Steine* ; see Notes.

With the men of his district. 2320  
 On the summit of the Howe over the Stein,  
 In a plain, outside the city,  
 To watch the contest  
 They there assembled :  
 To watch the combat 2325  
 Gilmoholmock posted himself that day ;  
 In an open place, of a truth,  
 He posted himself with his followers.

L o! John the Wode  
 Towards Dublin with serried ranks, 2330  
 Towards the city with his men,  
 Against the eastern gate,  
 Towards St. Mary's gate,  
 They then attacked the city.  
 Now Miles, with the undaunted mien, 2335  
 Had a brother, a brave baron.  
 Richard was his name,  
 Brother he was to good Miles.  
 He armed himself well,  
 With him about thirty horsemen. 2340  
 Through the western entrance  
 They issued quite secretly,  
 So that none knew of it,  
 Not a single one except his brother.  
 And Miles marshalled his men, 2345  
 He wished to defend the city,  
 The sergeants he made go in front

2323. *pur* : M. has incorrectly *par*. 2324. *ilques* : M. has in-  
 correctly *ilque*. 2344. *sunt* : a mistake for *sun*.

*Pur* lanceer e segeter.  
 Icels tut dreit as muraus,  
*Pur* defendre les kerneus, 2350  
 Se *turnerent* ai tant  
 Li archer e li seriant.  
*E* miles, *que* tant esteit hardis,  
 Od tuz les cheualers de *pris*  
 En lurs cheuals erent muntas, 2355  
 Des armes garnis e *aprestez*.  
 Les gent Johan *par* hatie  
 La cite vnt dunc en vaie,  
*E* les engleis de *grant* valor  
 Se defenderent ben le ior. 2360  
*E* ricard esteit uenus,  
 Einz *qu'il* erent aperceuz,  
 Sur la garde *que* ert dètrefs ;  
 Sis ad forment *escriez*.  
 Ricard *sescrie* ai tant : 2365  
 'Feres, cheualers vaillant.'  
*E* li barun *par* *grant* uertuz  
 En la *presse* sunt feruz.  
 Mult fu *grant* la melle  
*E* li hu e la *crie*. 2370  
*E* Johan ad dunc assente  
 La noise des trefs e la hue ;  
 De la cite sest *partiz*,  
 Succurre volt ses amis  
 Ki trefs erent remis, 2375

2362. We might expect *ert*, which M. reads; but the MS. has *erent*.  
 2364. *Sis ad*: i.e. *si s'ad*. M. has *si's ad*. 2368. M. suggests *s'unt férus* = have striked (*sic*) (meaning 'struck'), taking

To hurl their lances and shoot their arrows.  
 These men close to the walls  
 In order to defend the battlements 2350  
 Thereupon turned,  
 Both archers and sergeants.  
 And Miles, who was so daring,  
 With all his knights of worth  
 Were mounted on their horses 2355  
 With arms furnished and prepared.  
 John's men with great fury  
 Then fell upon the city,  
 And the English of great worth  
 Defended themselves well that day. 2360  
 And Richard came  
 Before that they were perceived,  
 Upon the guard that was behind;  
 Loudly he shouted.  
 Richard thereupon shouts : 2365  
 'Strike, valiant knights !'  
 And the barons with great force  
 Threw themselves into the throng.  
 Very great was the contest  
 And the hue and cry. 2370  
 And John then scented  
 The noise of those behind and the shouting;  
 From the city he departed,  
 He wished to succour his friends  
 Who were left behind, 2375

*si* as an expletive particle. If any change is required, I should suggest  
*en la presse se sunt feruz. se férir = se jeter, s'élancer*; cf. La Mort  
 Aym. de Narb. S. A. T. F. 837, *L'amirals s'est en la presse feruz.*

Ne sai le *quel*, nef mil v dis.  
 Parti sen est de la cite  
 Icil Johan *e* sa meyne  
 Pur succure lur gent de trefs  
 Qu'il ne seient de baretez. 2380  
*E* miles li alose  
 Issuz esteit de la cite :  
 Issuz fu od sa gent,  
 Od uassals armes ben treis cent  
 Estre tut li autre meyne, 2385  
 Archers, *serians e* ioude a pe.  
 De uant *que* miles esteit issuz,  
 Cinc cent erent abatuz ;  
*E* cels cinc cent erent naffrez  
 Que ia ne serrunt resauetz. 2390

Quant miles esteit uenuz  
*E* vassals engleis menbruz,  
 Miles sest dunc *escriez* :  
 ' Feres, baruns alosez !  
 Feres, uassals, hastiement ; 2395  
 Nesparniez icel gent ! '

MS.  
 p. XXXIII.

Quant al champ esteit milun,  
 Lui e tut si compaignun,  
 Mut esteint esbauduz  
 Les vassals engleis aduriz. 2400  
 Cum deu le uolt tut poant,  
 Par sa uertu *que* tant est grant,  
 Solum le dit lestorie,

2390. *resauetz*, sic MS: read *resanez*.

2399. *esbauduz*: read

Nine or ten thousand, I know not which.  
 They departed from the city,  
 This John and his followers,  
 To succour their men behind  
 That they should not be outdone. 2380  
 And Miles, the renowned,  
 Made a sortie from the city :  
 Made a sortie with his men,  
 With about three hundred armed vassals  
 Besides all his other followers, 2385  
 Archers, sergeants and foot-soldiers.  
 Before Miles made his sortie  
 Five hundred were laid low ;  
 And these five hundred were wounded  
 So that they shall never be healed. 2390

When Miles came up  
 And the strong-limbed English vassals,  
 Miles then shouted out :  
 'Strike, renowned barons !  
 Strike, vassals, speedily, 2395  
 Spare not these men !'

When Miles was on the field,  
 He and all his companions,  
 Very much emboldened were  
 The hardy English vassals : 2400  
 As God Almighty willed it,  
 By his power which is so great,  
 According to the statement of the history,

*esbauliz*, rhyming with *aduriz* ; cf. Fantosme, R. S. 1590.

As engleis dona la uictorie.  
 Mes des engleis ai cel ior 2405  
 Esteit ricard de tut la flur.  
 Mut iout *grant* discipline  
 De cele gent lee la marine.  
 Fui se sunt ai tant  
*E* li petit *e* li *grant* 2410  
 De cel *grant* hu *quurent* mene  
 Hesculf *e* Johan le deue.

**Q**uant gylmeholmoch, sachez, li reis  
 Vist fuir les northwicheis  
*E* cil de eir *e* cil de man, 2415  
 La meine hesculf *e* Johan,  
*E* li reis *pur* ueir se vist  
 Que cil erent desconfist,  
 En pes sen est li reis saili,  
 A haute uoiz hautement cri : 2420  
 'Ore sus, seignurs vassals!  
 Aidum as engleis *naturals*.  
 Ore, sus tost ! si aiderum  
 A bon ricard *e* a milun.'  
*E* les yrreis ai tant 2425  
 De tut *pars* wnt occiant :  
 Occiant wnt de tut *pars*  
*E* de gaelocs *e* de dars  
 Icele gent ki erent uenus  
 Od esculf li veil chanuz. 2430  
*E* cil sen wnt desconfiz

2411. *quurent*: i.e. *qu'urent*. M. has *qu'erent meue*, and translates 'which was made,' but I think wrongly. 2415. *man*: MS. *main*,

To the English he gave the victory.  
 But of the English on that day 2405  
 Was Richard the flower of all.  
 A very severe punishment there was  
 Of these men near the sea.  
 Thereupon they fled,  
 Both small and great, 2410  
 From this great hue that they had brought on,  
 Hasculf and John the Wode.

When Gilmoholmock, you must know, the king  
 Saw the Northmen take to flight,  
 Both those from the Isles and those from Man, 2415  
 The followers of Hasculf and of John,  
 And the king perceived for certain  
 That they were discomfited,  
 To his feet the king leaped,  
 And with a loud voice shouted : 2420  
 'Up now, brave sirs!  
 Let us aid the free-born English  
 Up now, quickly! we shall aid  
 Good Richard and Miles.'  
 And the Irish thereupon 2425  
 Went in all directions slaying:  
 Slaying they went in all directions  
 With their javelins and their darts  
 These men who had come  
 With Hasculf, the old hoary-head. 2430  
 And these went away discomfited

with mark of expunctuation under the *i*. 2418. *desconfist*: the final *t* seems to be added for the sake of the rhyme; cf. l. 2431.



Le ior en fin destruction  
*E* des engleis *perdicion*. 2460

**A**sez iganerent tresor  
 Les engleis, argent *e* or ;  
*E* milis *e* sa meyne  
 Vers dýuiline sunt *turne*.

Quant uenus sunt ala cite, 2465  
 Hesculf vnt dunc de cole ;

*Pur* sa *grant* desmesure  
 Descole lunt adreit ure ;  
*Pur* son orgoil *e* ses fous dis,  
*Pus que* ricard hesculf out *pris* 2470

MS.  
 p. XXXIV.

Veant la marine gent.  
 Fui sen sunt *par* la montaine  
 Les norwicheis *e par* la plaine,  
 Les eskauz as nefs *turnerent*, 2475

La mer passer ben *quiderent* ;  
 Mes les engleis lur sunt detrefs  
*Que* lur contredient les nefs.

Si la fuissez ai cel ior,  
 Des homes hesculf li *trecheur* 2480

V cent veisez le ior *plunger*  
 Des*que* ala *parfund* de la mer.

Issi erent *uerament*  
 Desconfiz la marine gent.

Le champ vrent le ior uencu 2485  
 Les engleis *par* la deu *uertu*.

Les autres erent *departiz*,

2468. *adreit ure* : i. e. à *dreiture*.

Great destruction, in short,  
And ruin at the hands of the English. 2460

A goodly treasure the English gained  
Of silver and gold;  
And Miles and his followers  
Returned to Dublin.  
When they came to the city 2465  
They then beheaded Hasculf;  
On account of his outrageous conduct  
They rightfully beheaded him:  
On account of his insolence and mad sayings,  
After Richard had taken him prisoner, 2470  
They speedily beheaded him,  
In the presence of the sea-folk.  
The Northmen fled away  
Over mountain and plain;  
To the ships they turned their skiffs, 2475  
They fully thought to cross the sea;  
But the English are behind them  
To dispute their ships with them.  
If you had been there on that day,  
Of the men of Hasculf the traitor 2480  
You would have seen five hundred plunge  
Into the depths of the sea.  
Thus, of a truth, were  
The sea-folk discomfited.  
The English by the aid of God 2485  
Had that day won the field.  
Their enemies were scattered,

2487. M. reads incorrectly *departri*.

Mort, naffrez *e* de confiz.  
 En lur pais *uer*aiment  
 De cel norwicheis gent 2490  
 Ne reuindrent *que* dous miller  
*Pur* lur dreitures chalenger.  
 Issi larrum la reisun  
 Del bon ricard *e* de milun,  
 Del reis engleis *vus* conterum, 2495  
 Henri od fere facun.

Tant *cum* li reis unt sur la mer  
 A penbrocscire *pur* passer,  
 Atant este*vus* al port  
 Traiterez duzze de weyseford 2500  
 Ariue *sunt* en vn batele  
 A penbroc dreit suz le castel.  
 Tantost *cum* erent ariuez,  
 Vers le castel sunt *turnez* ;  
 Parler voleint li fel 2505  
 Al rei henri curt mantel.  
 Tant vnt les *traitres* espleite  
*Que* al paleis *sunt* entre  
*Par* deuant le rei henris,  
 Ke fiz esteit lemp*eriz*, 2510  
 Et si li salüent hautement  
 De deu le pere omnipotent.  
 Li riche reis erraument  
 Lur respondi docement  
 Ki ben seint venuz, 2515  
 Ses bien voillanz *e* ses druz.

2497. *unt*: sic, with hair-stroke as if to mark the letter i, read *unt*.

Killed, wounded, and discomfited.  
 To their country, of a truth,  
 Of these Northmen 2490  
 There returned only two thousand  
 To claim their rights.  
 Here we shall leave the story  
 Of the good Richard and of Miles;  
 Of the English king we shall tell you, 2495  
 Of Henry with the stern aspect.

As soon as the king came to the sea  
 At Pembrokeshire, in order to cross over,  
 Lo! then at the harbour  
 Twelve traitors from Wexford 2500  
 Came to land in a boat  
 At Pembroke close under the castle.  
 As soon as they had landed,  
 Towards the castle they turned;  
 The caitiffs wanted to speak 2505  
 To king Henry Curt-Mantel.  
 So far did the traitors go  
 That they entered the palace  
 Into the presence of King Henry,  
 Who was the son of the empress, 2510  
 And they saluted him aloud  
 In the name of God the Father Almighty.  
 The rich king straightway  
 Replied to them graciously,  
 That they were welcome, 2515  
 His well wishers and his friends.

' **T**el tenez, scire, a folur,'  
 Co li vnt dist li *traïtur*,  
 ' Si *vus* dirrum, sacez les tuz,  
*Pur quei eimes venus a vus.* 2520  
 Pris awm uostre felun,  
 Robert fiz estephene ad nun,  
 Ki ia dis *vus* fist boidie,  
 Souent grant mal e *tricherie* ;  
 Plusurs feiz *vus* vnt fet guerre 2525  
 En gales, e engleterre,  
 En yrlande vint od nauire,  
 Liurer *nus* volt amartire,  
 Destrure volt nostre pais,  
 Souent *nus* mist de mal en pirs. 2530  
 En vn chastel lawm pris,  
 En prison forte lawm mis ;  
 A tei rendrum, gentil reis,  
 Que sire estes des engleis ;  
 E *vus*, gentil rei preise, 2535  
 De sco fret ta volente.'  
 Li reis lur ad respondu :  
 ' Par tel couenant been seez uenu  
 Que *vus* me facez liurer celui  
 E pus co que frai de lui.' 2540  
 E cil li vnt asuere,  
 Pur ueir pramis e iure,  
 Tantost cum erent passe la mer,  
 Al rei henri, que tant est fere,

2517. *Tel*: the initial *T* was inserted here by mistake for *N*. *Nel*  
 = *ne le*. 2525. *vnt*: sic, read *ad* or *out*. 2536. *De sco fret*:  
 sic, M. reads *descofre(t)* = *découvre*. But this is not very satisfactory.

**H**AD I NOT LIVED AS I DO,  
 THUS SINCE THE TIMES WERE BOTH,  
 'TIL WE SHALL SET IN YOU—BE IT KNOWN TO YOU ALL  
 THAT WE HAVE DONE TO YOU.  
 WE HAVE TAKEN YOUR REBELIOUS VASSAL,  
 ROBERT FITZ STEPHEN IS HIS NAME,  
 WHO WAS FULLY OF PERDITY TOWARDS YOU AND MINE,  
 OFTEN OF GREAT EVIL AND TREACHERY:  
 MANY TIMES HAS HE WAGED WAR AGAINST YOU  
 IN WALES AND IN ENGLAND:  
 TO IRELAND HE CAME WITH A SHIP,  
 HE WISHED TO HAND US OVER TO DESTRUCTION,  
 HE WISHED TO DESTROY OUR COUNTRY,  
 OFTEN DID HE PUT US FROM BAD TO WORSE.  
 IN A CASTLE WE TOOK HIM,  
 IN A STRONG PRISON WE HAVE PLACED HIM:  
 TO THEE WE SHALL GIVE HIM UP, NOBLE KING,  
 WHO ART LORD OF THE ENGLISH,  
 AND DO YOU, NOBLE RENOWNED KING,  
 DO YOUR PLEASURE IN THIS MATTER.  
 THE KING REPLIED TO THEM:  
 'ON THIS CONDITION BE YE WELCOME,  
 THAT YOU HAND OVER THIS MAN TO ME  
 AND THEN YE WILL SEE WHAT I SHALL DO WITH HIM.'  
 AND THEY ASSURED THE KING  
 AND PROMISED TRULY AND SWORE  
 THAT, AS SOON AS THEY HAD CROSSED THE SEA,  
 TO KING HENRY, WHO WAS SO STERN,

Perhaps we should read *De sco fres la volente*. 2540. Some word,  
 such as *verres*, seems to be wanting. 2541. *asuer*: perh. *asuer*,  
 from Lat. *assecurare*.

MS.  
p. XXXV.

Lui frunt robert en fin liurer 2545  
*E* tut li altre cheualer  
 Tant cum il vnt en prisun  
*E* en lur possessiun.

**S**eignurs, ore vus uoil dire 2550  
*Pur que* li prist si grant ire  
 Li reis, que tant ert enseigne,  
 Del barun robert la lose ;  
 Kar li reis veraiment,  
 A ki engleterre apent,  
 Mut amout li barun 2555  
*Que* cil tindrent en prisun :  
*Pur* co aueit li reis pour  
*Que* li felun traitur  
 Le bon robert feseient murthrir,  
 Vergunder v hunir : 2560  
*Pur* co feseit li rei semblant  
 De coruz *e* de ire grant  
*Que* il aueit vers le barun,  
*Pur* la dute de traisun  
 Ke feseint li tricheur 2565  
 En vers robert li pugneur.

**L**i reis iad dunc mercie  
 A traitres de lur laute,  
 Ki sun enem i vnt pris,  
 En bues *e* en auans mis, 2570

2550. *Pur que* li : read *pur quei* (M.) ; cf. 2520. 2567. *iad* :  
 sic MS. M. reads *l'ad*, incorrectly. 2570. *en auans* or *auans* : it

They would at length hand over Robert 2545  
 And all the other knights  
 As many as they had in prison  
 And in their possession.

Now, my lords, I will tell you  
 Why the king, who was so well-bred, 2550  
 Showed such great wrath  
 Against the renowned baron Robert;  
 For, of a truth, the king,  
 To whom England belongs,  
 Loved the baron much 2555  
 Whom these men held in prison;  
 Wherefore the king feared  
 That the perfidious traitors  
 Would murder the good Robert  
 Or bring him to shame and dishonour; 2560  
 Wherefore the king made pretence  
 Of anger and of great wrath  
 That he had for the baron,  
 For fear of the treachery  
 Which these knaves might do 2565  
 Against Robert, the warrior.

The king accordingly thanked  
 The traitors for their loyalty,  
 In that they had taken his enemy  
 And put him in gyves and fetters, 2570

is difficult to say which. The correct reading is *en anaus = en an-  
 neaux*; cf. 2632.



*E* de co *que* *pramis* lunt  
*Que* *robert* liurer li frunt.  
 Atant vnt lur congie *pris*  
 Les *traitres* del rei *henris*,  
 Si sen wnt uers lur ostal 2575  
 En la cite *principal*.  
 Iloec attendrent lur uent  
 Li reis *e* euz ensement.

O *iez*, seignurs, del rei *henriz*,  
*Que* fiz esteit lemp~~er~~iz, 2580  
*Cum* il uolt la mer passer  
*E* yrlande conq~~ue~~ster  
 Trestut *par* le loement  
 Del gentil conte, solum la gent.  
 Le rei *henri* est dunc passez 2585  
 En yrlande od ses nefs.  
 Li reis ad dunc od sei menez  
 Quatre cent cheualers armez.  
 Li rei *henri*, *quant* eskipa,  
 A la croiz en mer entra : 2590  
 A pemleoc shire a cele feiz  
 En mer entra li riche reis.  
 Od lui passa li gentil *quens*,  
 Solum le dist des anciens.  
 A wat~~re~~ford li gentil reis 2595  
 Ariua od quatre mil engleis  
 A la tusseinz *uer*aiment,  
 Si la geste ne nus ment ;

2577. *attendrent* : for *attendirent*, perhaps by analogy to *tindrent* or

- And in that they had promised him  
To deliver up Robert to him.  
Then the traitors took  
Their leave of King Henry  
And went away to their hostel 2575  
The chief one in the city.  
There they waited for the wind,  
The king and they in the same way.

Hear, my lords, concerning King Henry,  
Who was the son of the empress, 2580  
How he resolved to cross the sea  
And to conquer Ireland  
Entirely through the recommendation .  
Of the noble earl, according to the people.  
King Henry then crossed over 2585  
To Ireland with his ships.  
The king then brought with him  
Four hundred armed knights.  
King Henry when he took ship  
Put to sea at the Cross: 2590  
At Pembrokeshire at this time  
The rich king put to sea.  
With him the noble earl crossed over,  
According to the statement of the old people.  
At Waterford the noble king 2595  
Landed with four thousand English,  
On All Hallows' Day, of a truth,  
If the geste does not deceive us ;

De uant la feste sein martȳn  
 En ȳrlande vint li reis en fin. 2600  
 Od le rei erent passez  
 Vassals ben aparentes.  
 Willame le fiz audeline  
 Od lui vint a cel termine,  
 Umfrei de boun altresī, 2605  
 Le barun huge de laci.  
 Si vint od le cors le rei  
 Le fiz bernard, robert, co crei ;  
 Vn barun iuint alose,  
 Bertram de uerdun iert clame ; 2610  
 Cundes, baruns de grant pris  
 Asez uindrent od le henris.

Li quens par sun eindegre  
 Al rei rendi la cite ;  
 Al reis rendi watreford 2615  
 Par sun gre e par sun cord.  
 Homage de leȳnistere  
 Fist a rei de engleterre ;  
 Li quens de grant valor  
 Homage fist asun seignur. 2620  
 Leȳnistere lui ad grante  
 Li riche reis en herite.  
 Li rei henri, al cors gailard,  
 Al barun robert le fiz bernard  
 MS. p. XXXVI. Watreford ad la cite 2625  
 Al fiz bernard idunc baille.

2612. Perhaps, *i uindrent od le rei henris*. 2613. *cindegre* : M. reads

Before the feast of St. Martin  
 The king at length came to Ireland. 2600  
 With the king there crossed over  
 Vassals of good kindred.  
 William the son of Audeline  
 Came with him on this occasion,  
 Also Humphrey de Bohun, 2605  
 And the baron Hugh de Lacy.  
 With the king himself there came  
 The son of Bernard, Robert, I trow ;  
 A renowned baron came,  
 Bertram de Verdun he was called ; 2610  
 Earls and barons of great worth  
 Came in numbers with Henry.

The earl of his own free will  
 Surrendered the city to the king :  
 To the king he surrendered Waterford 2615  
 Of his own will and agreement.  
 Homage for Leinster  
 He did to the king of England :  
 The earl of great worth  
 Did homage to his lord. 2620  
 The rich king granted to him  
 Leinster in fee.  
 King Henry, the gallant,  
 To the baron Robert the son of Bernard—  
 The custody of the city of Waterford 2625  
 He then gave to the son of Bernard.

Quant li reis iert ariue  
 A watreford en sauete,  
 Este *vus* les *traitres*,  
 Que de weyseford erent seignurs, 2630  
 Le fiz estephene en unt mene  
 Par deuant lui en anele.  
 En watreford la cite,  
 Al cors le rei li unt liure.  
 Li reis receut le cors, 2635  
 Veant baruns e cunturs.  
 Iloc len cupa li reis gentils  
 De quantque il auait mespris  
 En uers lui, ki ert sun seignur,  
 Par deuant le traitur. 2640  
 Le fiz estephene pleia sun guant,  
 Al rei le tendi maintenant :  
 De quantque lui sauerat retter  
 Lui vodrat robert adrescer  
 En sa curt mult uolenters 2645  
 Par la garde de tuz sez pers.  
 Asez le plegerent errant  
 Franceis, flamengs e normand.  
 De watreford le rei henris  
 Sen turnat od ses marchis, 2650  
 Vers dyuelin od sa gent  
 Ala sanz delaement.  
 La cite lui rendi errant  
 Ricard, li gentil quens uaillant.

2629. *traitres*: one would expect *traiturs* to rhyme with *seignurs*.  
 According to the strict rules of declension neither word would have the  
 final *s*. 2632. *en anele*: i. e. *enanelé*, p.p. used as adj. 2635. This

When the king had landed  
 At Waterford in safety,  
 Lo ! the traitors,  
 Who were lords of Wexford, 2630  
 Brought the son of Stephen  
 Into his presence in chains.  
 In the city of Waterford  
 To the king himself they delivered him up.  
 The king received the body 2635  
 In the presence of his barons and earls.  
 There the noble king accused him  
 Of whatever transgression he had done  
 Towards him, who was his lord,  
 In the presence of the traitors. 2640  
 The son of Stephen folded his glove,  
 And straightway offered it to the king :  
 For whatever he should be able to accuse him of  
 Robert would be willing to give redress  
 In his court very willingly 2645  
 On the guaranty of all his peers.  
 French, Flemmings and Normans  
 Went sufficient bail for him at once.  
 From Waterford King Henry  
 Set out with his marquises, 2650  
 To Dublin with his men  
 He went without delay.  
 Richard, the noble and valiant earl,  
 Straightway surrendered the city to him.

line is defective ; the phrase appears to be a legal one, as in our proceedings under the writ of habeas corpus. 2637. *len culpa* i.e. *l'encupa*.  
 With the following passage cf. ll. 2143-54.

Dyuelin li rei henri 2655  
 A huge baillad de laci,  
*E* cil ad *pus* garde  
*Par* commandement le rei la cite ;  
*E* li reis de engleterre  
 Diloc *turnat* uers monestere, 2660  
 Vers la cite de cassele  
 Turnat li reis od sa gent bele,  
 V alore esteit lesse  
 De monestere le archeuesche.  
 De cassele *turnat* auant 2665  
 Vers lysmor li rei pussant.  
 Li rei henri curt mantel  
 A lismor uoleit vn chastel  
 Fermer : se volt li rei henriz,  
 Que fiz esteit li emperiz. 2670  
 Ne sai *pur quei*, mesnepurquant  
 A cel feiz remist atant.

Vers leynestere sest *turnez*  
 Li reis engleis a cele feiz :  
 Ver leynistere la garnie 2675  
 Turnat od sa cheuarie.  
 Dis *e* wit simeins, *plus* ne meins,  
 Solum le dist as anciens,  
 Remist le duc de normandie  
 En yrlande od sa baronie. 2680

2657. This line is defective and the next redundant. 2663. *lesse* :  
 read *le se* i.e. *sie(d)* ; cf. Rom. de Rou III. 693-5, ' L'iglise de l'arceues-

Dublin King Henry gave 2655  
 To the custody of Hugh de Lacy,  
 And he afterwards guarded the city  
 By the command of the king.  
 And the king of England  
 Thence turned towards Munster, 2660  
 To the city of Cashel  
 Went the king with his splendid following,  
 Where at that time was the seat  
 Of the archbishopric of Munster.  
 From Cashel the puissant king 2665  
 Went on to Lismore.  
 King Henry Curt Mantel  
 At Lismore wished to fortify  
 A castle: so wished King Henry,  
 Who was the empress' son. 2670  
 I know not why, but nevertheless  
 At this time he put it off.

Towards Leinster the English king  
 Set out at this time:  
 Towards Leinster, the rich, 2675  
 He went with his chivalry.  
 Eighteen weeks, nor more nor less,  
 According to what the old people say,  
 The duke of Normandy remained  
 In Ireland with his baronage. 2680

quie | De Ruen, sun plus riche sie, | Fist abatré.  
 sic MS., read *cheualerie*; cf. l. 2778.

2676. *cheuarie*:



	De normandie a cele feis	
	Esteit ducs li riche reis ;	
	De gascoine e de britaine,	
	De peito, de ango e de almaine	
	Esteit li rei henris clame	2685
	Sire, solum lantiquite.	
	En yrlande esteit li reis	
	Bien quinzeine e quatre meis.	
	En la terre, amont, aual,	
	Errout li reis natural.	2690
	La vitaille esteit trop chere	
	Par trestut leynestere,	
	Kar ne lur vint garnesun	
	De nul autre region.	
	A dyuelin esteit li rei henriz,	2695
	E a kyldare li quens gentils.	
	Li quens suiorneit	
	Od tant de gent cum il aueit.	
	Tant cum li reis preise	
MS.	En dyuelin iert la cite,	2700
p. XXXVII.	Estevus vn mes batant	
	De engleterre vint batant.	
	Estevus vn messenger	
	Al rei vint nuncier	
	Que henri sun fiz eine	2705
	Esteit pur uers sur lui turne	
	E quil li volt de normandie	
	Tut tolir la seignurie.	

2684. *almaine*: M. takes this to be Germany, *Allemagne*. I think it must represent *Maine*; perhaps *de Maine* is the true reading.

Of Normandy at this time  
 The rich king was duke ;  
 Of Gascony and of Brittany  
 Of Poitou, of Anjou, and of Maine,  
 Was King Henry called 2685  
 Lord, according to the old people.  
 In Ireland was the king  
 About a fortnight and four months. •  
 In the land up and down  
 Marched the noble king. 2690  
 Victuals were very dear  
 Throughout all Leinster,  
 For no provisions came to them  
 From any other region.  
 At Dublin was King Henry, • 2695  
 And at Kildare the noble earl.  
 There the earl abode  
 With as many men as he had.  
 While the renowned king  
 Was in the city of Dublin, 2700  
 Lo ! a messenger in haste  
 Came in haste from England.  
 Lo ! a messenger  
 Came to announce to the king  
 That Henry, his eldest son, • 2705  
 Had in truth revolted against him,  
 And that he sought to deprive him wholly  
 Of the lordship of Normandy.

2694. M. reads *ne nul* and suggests *ne de nul*, but the MS. has *de nul*.

2697. Supply *illoques*, or some such word.

**L**ores fist li rei mander  
 Hüge de laci tut *premer* 2710  
*E* ses cuntés *e* ses uassals  
*E* ses baruns naturals.  
 Li riche rei ad dunc baille  
 Dýuelin en garde la cite  
*E* le chastel *e* le dongun 2715  
 A hüge de laci le barun,  
*E* watreford del autre part  
 Al barun robert le fiz bernard.  
 Le fiz estephene a cel termine  
 Esteit remis adýueline, 2720  
 E meiler le fiz henri  
*E* miles le fiz dauí;  
 Od hüge erent icil remis  
 Par commandement le rei henris.

**E**ýnces *que* acel termine 2725  
 Li reis de parti de dýueline,  
 A hüge de laci ad done  
 Mithe tut en erite :  
 Mithe donat li guerrer  
 Pur cincquante cheualer 2730  
 Que li barun feist auer  
 Le *seruise* quant eust mester ;  
 A vn iohan uluestere,  
 Si a force la peust conquere.  
 De curti out anun iohan, 2735  
 Ki *pus* isuffri meint han.  
 Pus sen alad li reis al port

2736. *meint han* : read *ahan* (or *haan*, Gaimar R. S. 1526).

Then the king summoned  
Hugh de Lacy, first of all, 2710  
And his earls and his vassals  
And his free-born barons.  
The rich king then gave  
The custody of the city of Dublin  
And of the castle and the keep . 2715  
To the baron Hugh de Lacy,  
And Waterford, on the other hand,  
To the baron Robert the son of Bernard.  
The son of Stephen at this juncture  
Was left at Dublin, 2720  
And Meiler the son of Henry  
And Miles the son of David ;  
With Hugh these were left  
By the command of King Henry.

Before that, at this juncture, 2725  
The king left Dublin,  
To Hugh de Lacy he granted  
All Meath in fee :  
Meath the warrior granted  
For fifty knights 2730  
Whose service the baron should let him have  
Whenever he should have need of it.  
To one John he granted Ulster,  
If he could conquer it by force ;  
John de Courcy was his name, 2735  
Who afterwards suffered many a trouble there.  
Then the king went away to the port,

Vers la cite de weyseford ;  
 Ses nefes feseit *aparailler*  
 A tut li mestre notimer. 2740  
*E* ricard li *quens* *prise*  
 Vers fernes *turnat* la cite.  
 Sa fille iad marie ;  
 A robert de *quenci* lad done.  
 Iloc esteit le mariage 2745  
 Veant tut le barnage.  
 A robert la donat de *quenci*  
*E* tut le *duftir* *altresi*,  
 Le conostable de *leynestere*,  
*E* len segne *e* la banere. 2750  
 Del conte voil ici lesser,  
 A ma *materie* *repeirer* ;  
*Wdra*, *seignurs*, sachez de fi,  
*Parler* del riche henri.

Li reis demorat ala mer 2755  
 A weyseford *pur* passer.  
 Li reis gentil est donc passe,  
 A portfinan ariue.  
 Od lui passa li bon milun  
*E* meint vassal *e* meint barun. 2760  
 A demi lui de sein dau  
 Ariua li rei henri ;  
*E* li reis *uers* normandie  
 Alad od sa *grant* *seignurie*  
*Pur* vn sun fiz guerrier, 2765

2753. *Wdra*: read *Wdrai* or *vodrai*, as in l. 356. 2754. *del*  
*riche*: supply *rei*. 2761. *lui*: *liue* = *lieue*, would be the more

Towards the city of Wexford ;  
 He made all the master mariners  
 Get ready his ships. 2740  
 But Richard the renowned earl  
 Went to the city of Ferns.  
 There he married his daughter ;  
 To Robert de Quency he gave her :  
 There the marriage took place 2745  
 In the presence of all the baronage.  
 To Robert de Quency he gave her,  
 And all the Duffry also,  
 The constablenesship of Leinster, "  
 And the standard and the banner. 2750  
 Here I shall leave off about the earl  
 And return to my subject ;  
 I would wish, my lords,—know in sooth—  
 To speak of the rich King Henry.

The king tarried by the sea 2755  
 At Wexford in order to cross over.  
 The noble king then crossed over  
 And landed at Porth'stinian.  
 With him crossed over the good Milo  
 And many a vassal and many a baron. 2760  
 At half a league from St. Davids  
 King Henry landed ;  
 And the king towards Normandy  
 Went with his great nobles  
 In order to make war against a son of his 2765

correct form.  
 reading.

2765. *guerrier* : *guerreier* is probably the true

Que lui uolt deseriter.  
 Guerre out li riche reis  
 En normandie des *franceys*.  
 En yrlande esteit remis  
 Li gentil *quens* od ses amis. 2770  
 A kылdare suiornout  
 Od tant de force *cum* il out.  
 Souent alad en offali  
*Pur* rober odimesi.  
 Odimesy iert dunc clame 2775  
 De offali sire *e* auue.

MS.  
 p. XXXVIII.

L i *quens* alad en offailie  
 Od tut sa cheualerie  
*Pur* preer *e* *pur* rober  
 Odymesy ki tant iert fer 2780  
 Que al cunte deignout *parler*,  
 Ostages ne li uolt liurer,  
 Al cuncte ne uolt apes uenir.  
 Odymesy od la sue gent  
 Mult se contint vassalment, 2785  
 Odymesy lores, san mentir,  
 Contre li *quens* *veraiment*  
 A *qui* leynestere apent.

Q uant li cuncte od sa meyne  
 En offailie esteit entre, 2790  
 Rober feseit dunc la tere  
 En boys, en plains, les vaches *quere*.

2781. Cf. l. 889; read *desdeignout* or *ne deignout*.

2786. This

Who wished to despoil him.  
 War had the rich king  
 With the French in Normandy.  
 In Ireland remained  
 The noble earl with his friends. 2770  
 At Kildare he stayed  
 With all the forces he had.  
 Often he entered Offaly  
 In order to plunder O'Dempsey.  
 O'Dempsey was then called 2775  
 Lord and defender of Offaly.

The earl entered Offaly  
 With all his chivalry  
 In order to spoil and plunder  
 O'Dempsey, who was so bold, 2780  
 In that he did not deign to parley with the earl,  
 Nor would deliver hostages to him.  
 O'Dempsey then, i' faith,  
 Would not make peace with the earl.  
 O'Dempsey with his men 2785  
 Very bravely, of a truth,  
 Contended against the earl,  
 To whom Leinster belongs.

When the earl with his followers  
 Had entered Offaly, 2790  
 He then plundered the territory  
 And sought for cattle in wood and plain.

line is misplaced in the MS. It ought to come in before l. 2783, as in the translation.



Quant il aueit assemble  
 La *preie* de tut la cuntre,  
 Vers *kýldare* sunt repeires 2795  
 Les baruns engleis aloses.  
 Li *quens* esteit al frunt de uant  
 Od mil vassals *combatant* ;  
 Le conestable esteit des trefs  
 En la rere garde remes. 2800  
 Tut dreit al issir del pas  
 Lur currut sure tost vias,  
 Sur lur currut *odýmesý*  
*E* les *ýrreis* de offaili.  
 La rere garde vnt asailiz 2805  
 Les tuz de cel pais.  
 Le ior en fin esteit occis  
 De *quenci* robert li [gen]tis,  
 Que tut len seigne *e* le penum  
 De *leýnestere* la regiun, 2810  
 A *qui* li *quens* aueit done  
 La conestablerie en herite.  
 Mult fu de pleint, sachez de fi,  
 Le barun robert de *quenci*,  
*E* mult esteit en *grant* *tristur* 2815  
*Pur* sa mort sun bon seignur.

Quant cil robert esteit occis,  
 Le cors unt ben enseuelis.  
 Vne fille *pur* uers aueit  
 Robert, *qui* tant gentils esteit, 2820

2806. This line is defective. Supply *Yrreis* ; cf. l. 1734. 2808.  
 The surface of the skin is defective here, and the letters *gen* are supplied

When he had collected  
 The spoil from all the district,  
 To Kildare returned 2795  
 The renowned English barons.  
 The earl was ahead in front  
 With a thousand fighting men ;  
 The constable remained behind  
 With the rear-guard. 2800  
 Right at the exit from the pass  
 He fell upon them very quickly,  
 O'Dempsey fell upon them,  
 And the Irish of Offaly.  
 All the Irish of the district 2805  
 Attacked the rear-guard.  
 That day, in short, was slain  
 The noble Robert de Quency,  
 Who held the standard and the pennon  
 Of the region of Leinster, 2810  
 And to whom the earl had given  
 The constableness in heritage.  
 Greatly was he regretted, know in sooth,  
 The baron Robert de Quency,  
 And in very great grief 2815  
 For his death was his good lord.

When this Robert was slain  
 They buried him honourably.  
 Robert, who was so noble,  
 Had indeed a daughter 2820

conjecturally. 2809. *tut* : sic MS. Read (with M.) *tint. penum* :  
 sic. 2819. *fille* : MS. sic, with hair-stroke over each i.

De sa espuse ueraiment,  
 Solum le ancienne gent,  
 Que pus iert done a vn barun,  
 Phelip de prendergast out nun,  
 Le fiz moriz ossriath, 2825  
 Ki pus uesquist en okencelath.  
 De cil phelip voil lesser,  
 Del gentil cunte voil parler  
 E de vn barun cheualer,  
 Reymund le gros loi nomer, 2830  
 Cum cil barun de grant valur  
 Al cunte requist sa sorur  
 Que lui donast amuiller  
 E a amie e a per  
 Od tut la conestablie 2835  
 De leynestere le garnie,  
 Desque len fant fust de cel age  
 Que tener pust sun heritage  
 La fille robert de quenci,  
 Dun auez auant oi, 2840  
 V desque fud ele done  
 E a tel home marie  
 Qui pust guier la banere  
 E le seigne de leynistere.

R espondi ad li gentils quens 2845  
 Qu'il nesteit pas conseilles  
 De fere le peticiun  
 Dunt li requist le barun.

By his wife, of a truth,  
 According to the old people;  
 And she was afterwards given to a baron,  
 Philip de Prendergast was his name,  
 The son of Maurice of Ossory, 2825  
 Who afterwards lived in Hy Kinsellagh.  
 Concerning this Philip I shall leave off,  
 Of the noble earl I wish to speak,  
 And of a brave knight,  
 Raymond le Gros I heard him called,— 2830  
 How this baron of great worth  
 Besought the earl for his sister,  
 That he should give her to him to wife  
 And as his friend and consort  
 With all the constablenesship 2835  
 Of Leinster, the rich,  
 Until the infant should be of an age  
 To be able to hold her inheritance,  
 The daughter of Robert de Quency,  
 Of whom you have already heard, 2840  
 Or until she should be given  
 And married to some man  
 Who could direct the banner  
 And the standard of Leinster.

The noble earl replied 2845  
 That he was not advised  
 To grant the petition  
 Which the baron had made of him.

This couplet contains no rhyme. To read *li quens gentils; conseilles*  
 leaves the rhyme imperfect.

MS. p. XXXIX.	Atant sen <i>parti</i> reymun	
	Lui <i>e</i> tut si <i>compainun</i> ;	2850
	Congie <i>prist par</i> mal talent	
	Del cunte trestut erraument,	
	En gales <i>pus</i> en fin passout	
	<i>Pur</i> le ire <i>que</i> il out	
	Del cunte <i>que</i> lui escondist	2855
	De la requeste <i>que</i> lui requist.	
	Issi en tele manere	
	De <i>parti</i> reymund de la terre.	
	Vers gales passa la mer,	
	A karreual a soiorner.	2860
	Del <i>gros</i> reymund issi lerrai,	
	Del rei engleis <i>vus</i> conterai	
	Cum il <i>par</i> messenger tramist.	
	* * * * *	
	Des <i>que</i> al cunte fist nuncier	
	En yrlande <i>par</i> messenger	2865
	<i>Que</i> lui uenist en aie	
	Hastiuement en normandie,	
	Kar mult esteit en <i>grant</i> penser	
	De sa tere gouverner	
	<i>E</i> de garder sun pais	2870
	En contre le iouene rei sun fiz.	
	<i>E</i> li <i>quens</i> de <i>grant</i> valor	
	<i>Pur</i> aider a sun seignur	
	La mer passa uers normandie,	
	Asez mena cheualerie.	2875

2860. This line is wrongly divided in the MS. It should clearly run  
*A karreu ala sojorner.* For the phrase cf. l. 299. See Notes. 2863.  
 This line has no corresponding rhyme. Probably one line has dropped

Then Raymond departed  
 He and all his companions; 2850  
 He took leave of the earl  
 Very suddenly in evil humour;  
 To Wales, in short, he then crossed over  
 Through the anger that he felt  
 For the earl, in that he had refused 2855  
 The request he had made.  
 Thus in such manner  
 Raymond departed from the country.  
 He crossed over the sea to Wales,  
 To Carew Castle he went to dwell. 2860  
 Concerning Raymond le Gros I shall here leave off  
 About the English king I shall tell you,  
 How he sent by messenger—  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 He announced to the earl  
 In Ireland by messenger 2865  
 That he should come to his aid .  
 Speedily in Normandy,  
 For he was in great perplexity  
 To govern his territory  
 And to protect his country 2870  
 Against the young king his son.  
 And the earl of great worth,  
 In order to aid his lord  
 Crossed the sea to Normandy  
 And brought a number of knights. 2875

out. M. reads incorrectly, both here and in l. 2865, *messagier*.  
 2871. *le jouens rei*: so Fantosme, ll. 53, 100, calls him *le jofne rei*.

En ýrlande ad lesse  
 Cheualers, *serianz e* ioude a pe  
*Pur* la tere conquerer,  
 Kil nel pussent enoiter  
 La leger gent de cel pais, 2880  
 Que erent tuz ses enemis.

**Q**uant le cunte naturel  
 Al rei henri curt mantel  
 Esteit uenus *par* deuant,  
 Mult esteit li reis ioiant. 2885  
 Dunc li ad li reis liure  
 Gisorz en garde la cite;  
*E* le cunte *par grant* docur  
 Respondi' a sun seignur  
 Que uolunters, sen mentir, 2890  
 Tant li uendreit a pleiser,  
 La cite en fin gardereit  
 Tant *cum* al gentil rei plerreit.  
 Tant ad le cunte ben serui  
 A sun seignur le rei henri 2895  
 Que li reis, sen feintise,  
 Mult se loeit de sun seruise.

**L**i riche reis sei demande  
 De repeirer en ýrlande,  
 Conge donat al guerrier 2900  
 En ýrlande de repeirer.

2879. *enoiter*: sic MS. M. reads *euoiter*, to which he can give no meaning. *Ennoyer* or *enoynter* = *augmenter*, occurs in Nicole Bozon and in Evangile de Nicodeme S. A. T. F.; but this can hardly be the

In Ireland he left  
 Knights serjeants and foot soldiers  
 In order to conquer the land,  
 So that the light-footed people of that country,  
 Who were all his enemies, 2880  
 Should not be able to annoy him.

When the noble earl  
 Had come into the presence  
 Of King Henry Curt-Mantel  
 Very joyful was the king. 2885  
 Then the king delivered to him  
 The city of Gisors in custody ;  
 And the earl with great courtesy  
 Replied to his lord  
 That willingly, i' faith, 2890  
 As long as it should be his pleasure—  
 He would, in fact, guard the city  
 As long as the noble king should please.  
 Such good service did the earl perform  
 For his lord, King Henry, 2895  
 That the king, without pretence,  
 Was well pleased with his service.

The rich king, at his request  
 To return to Ireland,  
 Gave leave to the warrior 2900  
 To return to Ireland.

meaning here. Perhaps *enoier* is the true reading, the *t* being caught  
 by the copyist from the rhyming word. 2891. *pleiser* : sic MS.,  
 read *pleisir*. 2898. *sei demande* : perhaps read *à sa d.*



Weyseford clamat li reis  
 Al cunte *quit* a cele feiz ;  
 Si li baillat la marine,  
 Watreford e dyueline. 2905  
 Dunc fist li reis mander  
 Tut li barun cheualer,  
 Quant il out awatreford,  
 A dyueline e aweyseford,  
 Que deques alui hastiument 2910  
 Vengent *par* sun commandement.  
 Li gentil *quens*, sachez de fi,  
 En tele manere sen de *parti* ;  
 En mer entra ai tant,  
 Vers yrlande va siglant : 2915  
 Siglant va la haute mer  
 Li gentil cunte guerrier.  
 Tant ad curru *par* marine  
 Que uenus est adyline.  
 Dunc manda li *quens* ricard 2920  
 Le barun robert le fiz bernard  
 E tuz le baruns uassals  
 Que se clamerent reals,  
 De watreford la cite,  
 Cheualers, baruns e meyne, 2925  
 A chescun barun *par* sei  
 Par le commandement le rei,  
 MS. p. XL. Que tuz passassent la mer  
 En normandie li reis aider.  
 E le cunte de richef 2930  
 A watreford tramist *par* bref,

2919. *Dyline* : read *Dyueline*.

The king, quit-claimed Wexford  
 To the earl at this time ;  
 He gave him the custody of the coast  
 Both Waterford and Dublin. 2905  
 Then the king caused to be summoned  
 All the noble knights,  
 As many as he had at Waterford,  
 At Dublin and at Wexford,  
 To come to him 2910  
 Speedily at his command.  
 The noble earl, know in sooth,  
 In such manner departed ;  
 Then he put to sea  
 And towards Ireland sails : 2915  
 The noble earl, the warrior,  
 Sails over the high sea.  
 By sea he ran  
 Until he came to Dublin.  
 Then earl Richard sent word 2920  
 To the baron Robert the son of Bernard,  
 And to all the liege barons  
 Who acknowledged themselves the king's men  
 Of the city of Waterford,  
 To knights, barons, and followers, 2925  
 And to each baron separately,  
 That by the king's command  
 All should cross the sea  
 To aid the king in Normandy.  
 And the earl again 2930  
 Sent to Wexford by letter,

2931. Perhaps *weiseford* was originally written here.

As baruns manda altre tel  
 De *part* le rei curt mantel  
 Kil passassent san de more  
 En normandie li reis succurre. 2935  
 Le fiz estephene altresì  
 La mer passa al rei henri;  
*E* moriz ossriath,  
 Ki *pus* mist en okencelath;  
*E* huge de laci, *qui* tant iert fer, 2940  
*Pur* sa terre herberger,  
 Vers mithe sen est *turne*  
 Od meint vassal alose.  
 De cil huge ne voil *plus* dire,  
 Des baruns vassals *vus* uoil descrire. 2945

**Q**uant passes erent les baruns,  
 Tut dreit en ioing druuesuns  
 Vers lundris tut dreit *turnerent*  
 Od tant de gent *cum* il erent.  
 A lur esteit, sachez, *grant* guerre 2950  
*Par* trestut engleterre;  
 Kar deschose li riche reis  
 Guerrouit li reis engleis;  
*E* de leycestre lors li *quens*,  
 Solum li dist des anciens, 2955  
 Sur sun seignur esteit *turne*  
*E* flemengues aueit mene.

2936. Perhaps some lines have dropped out here. *Altresì* could hardly be added to the first of a list of names, and the names mentioned are not so many as the context would lead us to expect; cf. too Notes

Sent word to the barons similarly  
 On the part of the king Curt-Mantel,  
 That they should cross over without delay  
 To succour the king in Normandy. 2935  
 The son of Stephen also  
 Crossed the sea to King Henry,  
 And Maurice of Ossory,  
 Who afterwards lived in Hy Kinsellagh.  
 And Hugh de Lacy, who was so bold, 2940  
 • In order to plant his lands,  
 Set out to Meath  
 With many a renowned vassal.  
 Of this Hugh I will say no more,  
 Of the liege barons I will give you an account. 2945

When the barons had crossed over  
 Straight to Druidston Chins,  
 Towards London they turned direct  
 With all their men.  
 At this time there was, you must know, a great  
 war 2950  
 Throughout all England ;  
 • For the rich king of Scotland  
 • Was at war with the English king,  
 • And the earl of Leicester then,  
 • According to the statement of the old people, 2955  
 Had revolted against his lord  
 And had brought over Flemings.

to line 2940. 2947. *ising druuesuns*. These puzzling words represent, I think, Druidston Chins, or rather Druson Chins, as the place, a small haven in St. Bride's Bay, is still locally called.

Destrure trestut engleterre  
 Quidout cil *par* lur guerre  
 Tant *cum* le fiz lemp<sup>er</sup>iz 2960  
 En normandie guerrout sun fiz.  
*E* li vassal *e* li barun  
 De engleterre la regiun  
 Les flemengues en cuntre vnt  
 A la cite seint eadmund. 2965  
 Iloec erent de confiz,  
 De leýcestre le conte *pris*.  
 Deconfiz erent en tel manere  
*Par* le succurs de leýnestere;  
*E par* la force des ýrreis 2970  
 Remist le champ agent engleis.  
*E* si refu de dens cel meins  
 Li reis *pris e* conquais.  
*E* les baruns de ýrlande,  
 Ki vnt este en cel brande, 2975  
 En normandie sunt tuz passez  
*E* la nouele al rei contez  
*Cum* les flemengs erent occis  
*E* le rei deschoce *pris*.  
 'H a!' dist li reis, 'deu, tei avre, 2980  
 Ki pere estes *e* creature,  
 Quant fet me auez icel amur  
 Que *pris* sunt mi *traitur*.'  
 O ie<sup>z</sup>, seign<sup>urs</sup>, baruns vaillant,  
 Que deus de cel *vus* seit guarant! 2985  
 Del reis engleis voil lesser,

2979. The MS. has *de*, with mark of expunctuation, before *deschoce*,  
 i. e. *d'Eschoce*.

He thought by their war  
To ravage all England,  
While the son of the Empress 2960  
Warred against his son in Normandy.  
Now the vassals and barons  
Of the region of England  
Encountered the Flemings  
At the city of St. Edmunds. 2965  
There they were discomfited  
And the earl of Leicester taken.  
They were discomfited in this manner  
By the aid of Leinster,  
And by the might of the Irish 2970  
The field remained with the English.  
And in his turn within that month  
The king was taken and conquered.  
And the barons of Ireland,  
Who were in this brawl, 2975  
All passed over to Normandy  
And told the news to the king,  
How the Flemings were slain  
And the king of Scotland taken.

‘**H**a!’ said the king, ‘Praise thee, God, 2980  
Who art Father and Creator,  
For having done me this favour  
That my traitors are taken!’

**H**ear, my lords, valiant barons,  
May God of Heaven protect you! 2985  
Concerning the English king I shall leave off,

Ki tant *par* est nobles e-fer,  
 Del gentil conte voil *par*ler  
*E* de ses enuers treiter,  
 Cum le conte natural 2990  
*Par* yrlande, amunt, aual,  
 Errout, sachez, od gent fere  
*Par* trestut leynestere.

\* \* \* \*

Dunc fist le conte passer  
 Vn son de meyn latimer, 2995  
 Al *gros* reymund fist nuncier  
*Qui* tost alui uenist *par*ler,  
 Si li durreit a vxor  
 Le gentil conte sa sorur.  
 Dunc se *aparilla* reymun, 3000  
 Od lui meint vassal barun.  
 A weyseford sunt ariuez,  
 Solum lestorie, od treis nef.

MS. p. XLI. A tant *tramist* le *gros* reymun  
 Desque al cunte *par* un garsun, 3005  
 Ki tut li ad le ueir cunte,  
 Cum reymund iert ariue,  
*E* ke le cunte sun talent  
 Al barun mandast hastiement.  
 Li gentil *quens* a cel feez 3010

2989. *enuers treiter*: M. says we should evidently read *cueres t.* = *felon traitors*. The phrase *culvert traitur* occurs l. 2025, but in all the forms of *traitur* (see Glossary) the form *treiter* never occurs. I take *treiter* as the L. *tractare* = *traiter*, and *enuers* as a subst. Perhaps we

Who was so very noble and brave,  
 Of the noble earl I will speak  
 And of his reverses treat :  
 How the noble earl 2990  
 Throughout Ireland up and down  
 Marched, you must know, with his bold men,  
 Throughout all Leinster.  
 \* \* \* \* \*

Then the earl dispatched  
 A certain interpreter of his, 2995  
 To Raymond le Gros he sent word  
 That he should come at once to parley with him,  
 That the noble earl  
 Would give him his sister to wife.  
 Then Raymond equipped himself, 3000  
 With many a brave vassal.  
 At Wexford they landed,  
 According to the history, with three ships.

Then Raymond le Gros sent  
 To the earl by a lad, 3005  
 Who told him all the facts :  
 How Raymond had landed,  
 And that the earl should speedily  
 Declare his will to the baron.  
 The noble earl at this time 3010

must read *enverses*. (See Notes, where reasons are given for supposing that a passage is lost after l. 2993.) Besides, to make *treiter* = *traitur* (*traditorem*), would violate the rule that *e*, proceeding from Lat. *a*, only rhymes with a similar *e*.



A watreford iert la citez ;  
 Desque a reymund ad mande  
 Que tut li freit sa uolente  
 Si remanda altre si  
 Que desque al iddle de instepheni 3015  
 En contre lui aparlement  
 Venist reymund od sa gent.  
 Dunc se aparilla reymund  
 Lui e tut si compaignun,  
 Desque al iddle est turne, 3020  
 Si cum le conte out mande ;  
 E le conte ensement  
 I vint amult bele gent.

Li quens gentis de grant valor  
 Li menad lores sa sorur. 3025  
 Iloec vnt tut purparlee  
 Le cunte e li barun menbree  
 De sa sorur marier ;  
 Al gros reymund la fra doner.  
 Diloc sen turnerent errant 3030  
 Vers weyseford combatant.  
 Sa sor iad li quens mene,  
 Al gros reymund lad dunc done  
 E le seigne e la banere  
 De trestut leyniestere, 3035  
 Desque len fant seit del age  
 Que tenir peust son heritage  
 La fille robert de quenci,  
 Dunt auez auant oi.

3034. *le seigne* : read *l'enseigne* ; cf. ll. 2750, 2809.

Was at the city of Waterford ;  
 To Raymond he sent word  
 That he would do all his will ;  
 He sent back word also  
 That to the Isle of Inis-Teimhne 3015  
 To meet him in parley  
 Raymond should come with his men.  
 Accordingly Raymond got ready,  
 He and all his companions,  
 To the isle he went 3020  
 As the earl had directed ;  
 And the earl also  
 Came there with a very fine suite.

The noble earl of great worth  
 Brought there his sister then. 3025  
 There they held a parley,  
 The earl and the strong-limbed baron,  
 About marrying his sister ;  
 To Raymond le Gros he will give her.  
 Thence they set out straightway 3030  
 To Wexford fighting their way.  
 There the earl brought his sister,  
 To Raymond le Gros he then gave her,  
 Together with the standard and the banner  
 Of all Leinster, 3035  
 Until the infant should be of age  
 To be able to hold her inheritance,  
 The daughter of Robert de Quency  
 Of whom you have already heard.

3036. *len fant* : i. e. *l'enfant*.

**M**es pus la prist vn vassal, 3040  
 Phelip, vn barun natural :  
 De *prendre* gast esteit clame,  
 Vn barun vassal alose.  
 Co fu celui, sachez tuz,  
 Kal matin iert greins *e* nus, 3045  
*Après* manger fraus *e* duz,  
 Curteis, largis as trestuz ;  
 Tant cum la cape out fuble,  
 De ire esteit tut dis enfle ;  
 Quant al matin fust digne, 3050  
 Sus cel nut home plus heite.  
 Icil tint plus longement  
 Le conestablie, solum la gent ;  
 Mult esteit icil preise,  
 De tute gens esteit ame, 3055  
 Asez esteit de fer corage  
*E* de mult grant vassallage.  
 De lui ne voil ici conter,  
 A ma materie voil repeirer :  
 Ws dirrai, seignurs, gentil barun, 3060  
 Parler voil del gros reymun,  
 Cum le cunte guerrer  
 Sa sor donat amuiller,  
 Fothord li donat li cuntur  
 A mariage od sa sorur ; 3065  
 Pus li ad, sachez, done  
 Odrone tut en herite,

3045. *greins e nus* : M. suggests *irus* (*iratus*). With this compare Gaimar, 4454, *Mult devint granz e irascu.* 3046. *fraus* : read *frans*.  
 3052. *plus longement* : we should probably read *mult longement*, as in

But afterwards a vassal took her, 3040  
 Philip, a free-born baron,  
 De Prendergast he was called,  
 An illustrious liege baron.  
 This man was such, know ye all,  
 That in the morning he was peevish and irrit-  
 able, 3045  
 But after eating, generous and good tempered,  
 Courteous and liberal to all.  
 As soon as he had put on his cloak  
 He was every day swoln with anger;  
 But once he had dined in the morning 3050  
 Then was not a merrier soul under heaven.  
 This man for a long time  
 Held the constableness, according to the people;  
 Very renowned he was,  
 And loved by everybody, 3055  
 Very courageous too he was,  
 And of very great prowess.  
 Concerning him I will not here relate,  
 To my subject I will return.  
 I will tell you my lords of a noble baron, 3060  
 Of Raymond le Gros I wish to speak,  
 How the warrior earl  
 Gave him his sister to wife.  
 The Forth the earl gave him  
 In marriage with his sister; 3065  
 Afterwards he gave him, you must know,  
 All Odrone in fee,

l. 108. 3058-9. In the couplet, 2751-2, where the same formula occurs, the second *voiz*, which spoils the metre, is omitted.

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	<i>E</i> glaskarrig ensement	
	Sur la mer uers le orient.	
	Sur la mer donat obarthi	3070
	A herui de momorci.	
	Li quens ricard le vaillant	
	A moriz de <i>prendergast</i> de uant	
	Fernegenal aueit done	
	<i>E</i> par son conseil <i>conferme</i>	3075
	Deuant li quens <i>preise</i>	
	En yrlande fust ariue :	
	C. feiz li dona <i>par</i> tele diuise	
	<i>Pur</i> dis cheualers seruise.	
MS. p. XLII.	Si enfernegenal mist sun plein,	3080
	Si lust moriz del <i>plus</i> <i>prosein</i> .	
	Ne sai coment, sachez, robert	
	La tint <i>pus</i> , fiz godebert.	
	Karebri donat al bon meiler,	
	Ki tant esteit nobles ber.	3085
	Li quens ricard <i>pus</i> donout	
	A moriz le fiz geroud ;	
	Le nas donat le bon cuntur	
	Al fiz geroud od tut le onur :	
	Co est la terre de ofelan	3090
	Ki fud al <i>traitur</i> mackelan ;	
	Si li donat winkinlo	
	Entre bree <i>e</i> arklo :	
	Co fud la tere de kylmantan,	
	Entre ad cleth <i>e</i> lochgarman.	3095
	Li gentil quens altresi	
	Vint feiz en omorethi	

3078. *C. feiz*: Maurice de Prendergast cannot have got a hundred

And Glascarrig also  
 On the sea towards the east.  
 He gave Obarthy on the sea 3070  
 To Hervey de Mont Maurice.  
 To Maurice de Prendergast  
 The valiant earl Richard  
 Had already given Fernegenal  
 And in his council confirmed it 3075  
 Before the renowned earl  
 Had landed in Ireland :  
 Ten fiefs he gave him on this condition  
 For the service of ten knights.  
 In Fernegenal he dwelt altogether 3080  
 So that Maurice had him for next neighbour.  
 I know not how but Robert Fitz Godibert  
 Held it afterwards, you must know.  
 Carbury he gave to the good Meiler  
 Who was such a noble lord. 3085  
 The earl Richard next gave  
 To Maurice the son of Gerald—  
 The Naas the good earl gave  
 To the son of Gerald with all the honour :  
 This is the land of Offelan 3090  
 Which belonged to the traitor MacKelan.  
 He gave him too Wicklow,  
 Between Bray and Arklow :  
 This was the land of Killmantain  
 Between Ath-cliath and Loch Garman 3095  
 Twenty fiefs in Omurethy  
 The noble earl in the same way

knight's fees. Perhaps *c* = *cinc*, though we would expect *x*.

Donat en fin a water  
 De riddelisford, li guerrer :  
 Iohan de clahaule la marchausie 3100  
 De leynestere la garnie  
 Od tut la tere, sachez de fin,  
 Entre eboÿ e lethelÿn ;  
 A robert de burmegam  
 Offali al west de offelan ; 3105  
 Adam de erford ensement  
 Donat riche feffement.  
*E* a milis le fiz dauï,  
 Ki tant esteit priue de li,  
 Orobert en osserie 3110  
 Li ad done a sa partie.  
 A thomas le flemmeng ad done  
 Ardri, veant son barne ;  
 Ofelmeth donad sur la mer  
 Li quens a vn cheualer : 3115  
 A gilebert de borard  
 Donad li quens a sa part ;  
 Li gentil quens, que tant fu fer,  
 Xv. feiz donat sur la mer  
 A vn barun cheualer ; 3120  
 Reinand loi nomer.  
 Li quens ricard fiz gilbert  
 Le norrath donad a vn robert,  
 Ki pus esteit pur ueir occis  
 En connoth par ses enemis. 3125  
 En tel manere li quens preise

3110. *Orobert*: sic MS., a mistake of the copyist for *Owerk*; see  
 Notes. 3114. *Ofelmeth*: sic MS. M. reads incorrectly *Ofelineth*.

Gave to the warrior  
 Walter de Riddlesford ;  
 To John de Clahull the marshalship 3100  
 Of Leinster, the rich,  
 With all the land, know in sooth,  
 Between Oboy and Leighlin ;  
 To Robert de Birmingham  
 Offaly to the west of Offelan. 3105  
 To Adam de Hereford likewise  
 He gave a rich fief.  
 And 'to Miles the son of David,  
 Who was so intimate with him,  
 Owerk in Ossory 3110  
 He gave him as his share.  
 To Thomas the Fleming he gave  
 Ardrie, in the presence of his baronage.  
 Offelimy on the sea  
 The earl gave to a knight : 3115  
 To Gilbert de Boisrohard  
 The earl gave it as his share.  
 The noble earl, who was so bold  
 Gave fifteen fiefs on the sea  
 To a brave knight, 3120  
 Reinaud I heard him called.  
 The Earl Richard the son of Gilbert  
 Gave Narragh to one Robert,  
 Who was afterwards indeed killed  
 In Connaught by his enemies. 3125  
 In such manner the renowned earl

3121. *Reinand*. This name should probably be *Reinaud*, *Rinaldus*.  
 The line is defective.



Sa tere ad *partie e* done.  
 Del gentil conte issi larrai,  
 De huge de laci *vus* conterai,  
 Cum il feffa ses baruns, 3130  
 Cheualers, serianz *e* garsunz.

**C**hastelknoc tut *premer* donat  
 A huge tÿrel, kil tant amat ;  
*E* chastel brec, solum *lescrit*,  
 A barun *willame* le petit, 3135  
 Macherueran altre si  
*E* la tere de rathkeuni ;  
 Le cantref *pus* de hadhnorkur  
 A meiler, *qui* ert de *grant* valur,  
 Donad huge de laci 3140  
 Al bon meiler le fiz *herui* ;  
 A gilibert de nangle en fin  
 Donat tut makerigalin ;  
 A iocelin donat le nouan  
*E* la tere de ardbrechan : 3145  
 Li vn ert fiz, li altre pere,  
 Solum le dit de la mere ;  
 A richard tuit ensement  
 Donad riche feffement ;  
 Ratwor donat altre si 3150  
 Al barun robert de lacÿ ;  
 A richard de la chapele  
 Tere donad bone e bele ;  
 A geffrei de constentÿn kelberi

3136. *Macherueran* : sic, M. has *Marcherueran*.  
*herui* : sic MS., but it must be a slip for *henri*.

3141. *le fiz*  
 3148. M. prints

Divided and gave his land.  
 Concerning the noble earl I shall here leave off,  
 Of Hugh de Lacy I shall tell you,  
 How he enfeoffed his barons, 3130  
 Knights, serjeants, and retainers.

Castle Knock, in the first place, he gave  
 To Hugh Tyrrell, whom he loved so much ;  
 And Castle Brack, according to the writing,  
 To baron William le Petit, 3135  
 Magheradernon likewise  
 And the land of Rathkenny ;  
 The cantred of Ardnorcher then  
 To Meiler, who was of great worth,  
 Gave Hugh de Lacy— 3140  
 To the good Meiler Fitz Henry ;  
 To Gilbert de Nangle, moreover,  
 He gave the whole of Morgallion ;  
 To Jocelin he gave the Navan,  
 And the land of Ardraccon, 3145  
 (The one was son, the other father,  
 According to the statement of the mother) ;  
 To Richard Tuite likewise  
 He gave a rich fief ;  
 Rathwire he gave moreover 3150  
 To the baron Robert de Lacy ;  
 To Richard de la Chapelle  
 He gave good and fine land ;  
 To Geoffrey de Constantine Kilbixi (?)

*tuit*, though habitually prefixing a capital letter to a proper name.  
 3150. *Ratwor*: sic, M. has *Rathwor*.

	A memes de ratheimarthei ;	3155
MS. p. XLIII.	<i>E</i> scriu ad <i>pus</i> en chartre,	
	Adam de feipo lad <i>pus</i> done ;	
	A gilibert de nungent,	
	A willame de muset ensement	
	Donat teres <i>e</i> honurs,	3160
	Veant baruns <i>e</i> vassaurs ;	
	<i>E</i> al barun huge de hose	
	Terre bele ad <i>pus</i> done ;	
	Adam dullard altres	
	La terre de rathenuarthei.	3165
	A vn thomas ad done	
	De crauile en herite	
	Eymelath began tute en peis	
	Al norest de kenlis,	
	Lachrachalun ensement ;	3170
	<i>E</i> sendouenath, solum la gent,	
	Donat huge de lacý	
	A cil thomas, sachez de fi.	
	Crandone <i>pus</i> a vn barun,	
	Ricard le flemmeng out anun,	3175
	xx feiz li donat vraiment,	
	Si la geste ne <i>vus</i> ment.	
	Vn mot fist cil ieter	
	<i>Pur</i> ses enemis greuer,	
	Cheualers retint <i>e</i> bele gent,	3180
	Archers, <i>serianz</i> ensement	
	<i>Pur</i> destrure ses enemis ;	
	Souent les mist de mal en pirs.	
	Mes <i>pus</i> lur suruint okaruel	

Near to Rathconarty ; 3155  
 And Skreen he then gave by charter :  
 To Adam de Phepoe he gave it ;  
 To Gilbert de Nugent,  
 And likewise to William de Musset,  
 He gave lands and honours, 3160  
 In the presence of barons and vavassours ;  
 And to the baron Hugh de Hussey  
 He then gave fair lands ;  
 To Adam Dullard likewise  
 The land of ' Rathenuarthi.' 3165  
 To one Thomas de Craville  
 He gave in heritage  
 Emlagh Becon in quiet enjoyment,  
 At the north east of Kells,  
 Laraghcalyn likewise, 3170  
 And Shanonagh, according to the people,  
 Gave Hugh de Lacy,  
 Know in sooth, to this Thomas.  
 Crandone (?) then to a baron,  
 Richard the Fleming was his name— 3175  
 Twenty fiefs he gave him of a truth,  
 If the geste does not deceive you.  
 A fortress this man erected  
 In order to harass his enemies,  
 Knights and a goodly force he kept there 3180  
 Archers, serjeants, likewise.  
 In order to destroy his enemies ;  
 Often he brought them from bad to worse.  
 But afterwards there came against him O'Carroll,

Ki reis esteit de yriel, 3185  
*E* macdonleue le felun  
 De uluestere la regiun ;  
 Oorig i fud en fin,  
*E* le rei malathlin.  
 Bien vint mil a cele feiz 3190  
 Lur suruindrent gent yrreis ;  
 Mult egrement lur asaillerent,  
*E* les baruns se defendirent  
 Tant cum wnt defension  
 Auer poreint en lur meison ; 3195  
*E* les yrreis de tutes pars  
 Gaelocs lancerent *e* dars,  
 La meyson vnt *pur* ueir mal mise  
*E* la meyne de dens occise ;  
 Mes mult iout einz occis 3200  
 Des yrreis del north pais.  
 Sachez les tuz, en tel manere  
 Esteit herberge la tere  
*E* de chastels *e* de cites,  
 De dunguns *e* de fermetes. 3205  
 Ki ben est aracinez  
 Les gentils vassals aloses.  
*E* le cunte out ia conquise  
 De leynestere ses enemis :  
 Kar uers sei aueit murtherdath, 3210  
*E* pus douenald keuanath,  
 Macdonthod *e* macdalwi,

3194-5. cf. ll. 2277-8. I cannot, however, construe *wnt* = *vont*.  
 3202. M. prints this line *Sachez, Les tuz en tel manere*, however he understands it. But the phrase, *Sachez les tuz* or *le tuz*, occurs in ll.

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Who was king of Uriel,	3185
And the rebel MacDunlevy	
Of the region of Ulster ;	
O'Rourke was there, also,	
And the king Melaghlin.	
Full twenty thousand at this time	3190
Of the Irish came upon them.	
Very fiercely they attacked them,	
And the barons defended themselves	
So long as they could have	
Defence in the fortress ;	3195
But the Irish from all sides	
Hurled their javelins and their darts.	
The fortress indeed they destroyed	
And slew the garrison within ;	
But many were previously slain	3200
Of the Irish of the northern districts.	
In such manner, know ye all,	
Was the country planted	
With castles and with cities,	
With keeps and with strongholds.	3205
Thus well rooted were	
The noble renowned vassals.	
And the earl had already conquered	
His enemies of Leinster :	
For he had with him Murtough,	3210
And next Donnell Kavanagh,	
Mac Donnchadh and Mac Dalwy,	

2457 and 2519, and was a common form. 3206. This line should perhaps be *Si ben erent aracines*. M. puts a full stop after l. 3206 and none after ll. 3205 and 3207.

Omorthe e odymesi,  
 Oduuegin le ueil flori,  
 Obrien del dufthre altresí, 3215  
 Gylmeholmoc e mackelan,  
 E de obarthý olorcan ;  
 E tuz les ostages de pris,  
 De leynestere les plus gentils,  
 Out li quens, sachez, uers sei 3220  
 Solum le anciane lei ;  
 E cil de laci pur hugun  
 A trym ferma vne meisun,  
 E fosse ieta en uirun,  
 E pur lenclost de hireson. 3225  
 De dens la meýsun ad pur mis  
 Cheualers baruns de grant pris ;  
 Pur commandast le castel  
 En la gard huge týrel ;  
 Al port ala pur passer 3230  
 Vers engleterre la haute mer.

MS. p. XLIV. Mes de connoth len tendeit  
 Li reis, qui a cel contemple esteit,  
 Que huge vn chastel aueit ferme :  
 De la nouele esteit ire, 3235  
 Sun host feseit aseí uenir,  
 Le chastel irra asaillir.

O chonchor tut a estrus,  
 De connoth li reis orgulus,  
 Od sei menad oflauerti, 3240

3221. *Solum le anciane lei* : M. appears to understand this according to the old lay, meaning the geste so often referred to ; see Pref. to his

O'More and O'Dempsey,  
O'Duvegan the hoary old man,  
Likewise O'Brien of the Duffry,, 3215  
Gilmoholmock and MacKelan,  
And O'Lorcan of Obarthy ;  
And all the hostages of renown,  
The noblest of Leinster,  
The earl, you must know, had with him, 3220  
According to the ancient custom.  
Then Hugh de Lacy  
Fortified a house at Trim,  
And threw a trench around it,  
And then enclosed it with a stockade. 3225  
Within the house he then placed  
Brave knights of great worth ;  
Then he entrusted the castle  
To the wardenship of Hugh Tyrrel ;  
To the harbour he went in order to cross 3230  
The high seas to England.  
But when the king of Connaught heard it—  
He who was king at this epoch—  
That Hugh had fortified a castle,  
He was enraged at the tidings ; 3235  
His host he summoned to him,  
He will go to attack the castle.

All at once O'Connor,  
The proud king of Connaught,  
Led with him O'Flaherty, 3240

edition, p. vii. n. I think it refers to the ancient custom according to which the chiefs above-mentioned gave hostages to the King of Leinster.



Macdermot *e* macherathi,  
 Reis okelli de omani,  
 Oharthire *e* ohinnathi,  
 Ocarbrey *e* oflannegan,  
*E* pus don omanethan, 3245  
 Odude *e* omanethan,  
 Osathnessy de poltilethban ;  
 Si alad le reis molethlin  
*E* reis ororig sun ueýsin,  
 De kinel oneil omalori 3250  
*E* macdonleue altre si ;  
 Si alad reis okaruel  
*E* mactawene, qui tant ert fel,  
 Mac scilling *e* macartan  
*E* fel macgarragan ; 3255  
 Makelan tut ensement  
 I alad od la sue gent ;  
 De kinelogin onel li reis  
 Od sei menad trei mil ýrreis.  
 Assemblez erent les norreis, 3260  
*E* de lethchoin trestut les reis,  
 Vers trym pristrent acheminer  
*Pur* le chastel agrauanter ;  
*E* li barun huge týrel  
 Desque al cunte vn damisel 3265  
 Il en uea trestut brochant  
 Sur un cheual asez curant,  
 Que al cunte descriñt trestute  
 La nouele tut de buche :

3244. *Ocarbrey*: M. by mistake reads *O'Cabrey*.  
*than*: the repetition of this name is suspicious.

3246. *Omanethan*:  
 3247. *Poltilethban*:

Mac Dermot and Mac Geraghty,  
 O'Kelly, king of Hy Many,  
 O'Hart (?) and O'Finaghty, (?)  
 O'Carbery and O'Flannagan,  
 And then next O'Monaghan, 3245  
 O'Dowd and O'Monaghan,  
 O'Shaughnessy of 'Poltilethban';  
 King Melaghlin went also,  
 And his neighbour king O'Rourke,  
 O'Malory (?) of the Kinel O'Neill, 3250  
 And likewise Mac Dunlevy;  
 King O'Carroll went also,  
 And Mac Tierney(?), who was so base,  
 Mac Scelling and Mac Artan,  
 And the rebel Mac Garaghan; 3255  
 Mackelan likewise  
 Went with all his men;  
 O'Neill, the king of the Kinel Owen,  
 Brought with him three thousand Irish.  
 The Northerners were assembled, 3260  
 And all the kings of Leath-Cuinn,  
 Towards Trim they set out marching  
 To demolish the castle.  
 And the baron Hugh Tyrrell  
 Sent to the earl 3265  
 A page at full speed  
 On a very swift horse,  
 And he told the earl  
 All the tidings by word of mouth :

sic MS. 3251. *Macdonleue* : M. misprints this *MacDonleue*.  
 3268-9. The rhyme, *trestute* : *de buche*, suggests something wrong.

Que assembles erent les norreys 3270  
*E* de lescoin trestut les reis  
*Pur* abatre le dongun,  
 Le chastel e le hirefun.  
 ' *Par* mei *vus* mande li barun  
 Li ueil týrel de trým hugun 3275  
 Que tu le seez de tut aidant  
 O tun force e succurrant.'  
*E* li cunte lui *pramis* ad  
 Que il de buche lui eiderat.

T<sup>vz</sup> fist somundre sa gent 3280  
*Par* leýnestere hastiuement.  
 Quant assemblez esteint tuz,  
 Vels, iouenes, bloýs e ruz,  
 Vers trým penserent de errer  
*Pur* les norreys en cuntrer. 3285  
 Mes einz ki li gentil *quens*  
 Venus esteit od les sens,  
 Aueit huge *veraiment*  
 Del tut guerpi le mandement,  
*Pur* co *qu'il* naueit a fors 3290  
 De dens la meisun ne deors  
 De melle rendre ne estur  
 San laide del cuntur.  
 Quant les engleis erent *partis*  
*E* lur meýsun vrent guerpiz, 3295  
 A trým vindrent les ýrreis.  
 La somme dirrai de meis  
 Cum ben erent ne *quant* miller ;

3273. *hirefun* : sic, read *hiresun*.

How the Northerners were assembled 3270  
 And all the kings of Leath-Cuinn  
 To throw down the keep  
 The castle and the stockade.  
 'Through me the baron sends you word—  
 Old Hugh Tyrrell of Trim— 3275  
 That you aid him in every way,  
 And succour him with your force.'  
 And the earl promised him  
 By word of mouth that he would aid him.

He caused all his men to be summoned 3280  
 Throughout Leinster speedily.  
 When they were all assembled,  
 Old and young, ruddy and fair,  
 Towards Trim they resolved to march  
 To encounter the Northerners. 3285  
 But before the noble earl  
 Arrived with his men,  
 Hugh had of a truth  
 Utterly abandoned his charge,  
 Because he was not in sufficient force 3290  
 Within the castle nor without  
 To offer fight or combat  
 Without the help of the earl.  
 When the English were gone  
 And had abandoned their house, 3295  
 The Irish arrived at Trim.  
 Their numbers I shall by no means tell,  
 How many they were nor what thousands,

Kar tenu sarrai mensonier.  
 La mot firent tut de geter, 3300  
 Desque a la tere tut uerfer,  
 E la meysun tut premer  
 De fu ardant estenceler.

Quant acompli vrent lur feiz,  
 Si sen sunt trestut retreiz; 3305  
 De retourner vnt fet semblant  
 Vers lur pais li fel tyrant.  
 MS. p. XLV. E li cunte, que tant iert fere,  
 Vers trym pensout desperimere  
 Pur la meysun guarantir, 3310  
 Si il la hore pust uenir.  
 Vers trym sen veit li quens brochant  
 E od lui meint vassal vaillant.  
 Mes quant li quens esteit venus,  
 Sur lewe esteit lores descenduz; 3315  
 Kar il ni troua en stant  
 Meysun, bordel, petit ne grant,  
 V il se peust de dens eiser  
 Ne cel nuit herberger.

Lores fist li quens hucher, 3320  
 Par tut lost commander  
 Que tuz montasent errant.  
 Atant se mist al ferrant,  
 Si sen ala chemin dreiture  
 Pursuant a grant alure. 3325

3309. *esperimere*. Perhaps read is *esperuner* = *éperonner*; cf. *bro-*

For I should be thought to be lying.  
The rampart they threw completely down 3300  
And levelled it even with the ground,  
But first of all they put  
The house to flames.

When they had accomplished their work  
They retreated altogether: 3305  
They made a show of returning  
To their country, the wicked tyrants.  
And the earl, who was so bold,  
To Trim resolved to hasten  
To protect the house, 3310  
If he could arrive in time.  
To Trim the earl went with all speed  
And with him many a valiant vassal.  
But when the earl had arrived,  
By the river he then alighted; 3315  
For he found there standing  
Neither house nor cabin, big or little,  
Within which he could take his ease  
And lodge for that night.

Then the earl made proclamation 3320  
And commanded throughout the host,  
That all should straightway mount.  
Then he threw himself on his horse  
And set off on the straight road  
Pursuing at a great pace. 3325

*chant*, l. 3312. The rhyme would be *fer: esperuner*. 3316. *stant*:  
read *estant*.

Tant sen est li *quens* penez  
 Qu'il atenist la gent detrefs,  
 Si lur curut hastiueement  
 Sanz nul arestement ;  
 E les yrris ki erent nuz 3330  
 Se sunt lores responduz,  
 La set, la wit, la treis, la quatre,  
 Si *que* nul ne tint a altre.  
 E li *quens* ad dunc occis  
 De cele gent set vint e dis. 3335  
 Pus fet, sachez, retur  
 Vers dýueline od *grant* bandur.  
 E huge týrel vers trim ala,  
 Sa forcelette referma ;  
 Pus lad garde par *grant* honur 3340  
 Desque la venue sun seignur.  
 E li *quens* par leýnestere  
 Errant va, auant, arere,  
 Tan qu'il se prist a conseiller  
 Qu'il wdra en fin errer 3345  
 Sur douenald obrien li reis  
 Par le conseil de ses engleis.  
 Son ost se mist tut a estrus,  
 De leýnestere les plus vigrus,  
 Que tuz fussent atendantz, 3350  
 Veiles, iouenes, petiz e *granz*,  
 A la banere e al penun  
 Le conestablie le *gros* reýmun.

3331. *respondus* : read *respanduz*.3337 *Bandur* : sic MS.,

So much did the earl exert himself  
 That he came up with the rear;  
 He charged them speedily  
 Without any pause;  
 And the Irish who had no armour 3330  
 Then scattered themselves  
 By sevens and eights, by threes and fours,  
 So that they did not hold together.  
 And the earl then slew  
 Of these men seven score and ten. 3335  
 Then, you must know, he made a retreat  
 To Dublin with great confidence,  
 And Hugh Tyrrell went to Trim  
 And re-fortified his fortress;  
 After that he guarded it with great honour 3340  
 Until the arrival of his lord.  
 And the earl throughout Leinster  
 Went marching back and forwards,  
 Until he resolved  
 That he would at length march 3345  
 Against King Donnell O'Brien  
 With the advice of his English.  
 His host he summons, all at once,  
 The strongest of Leinster,  
 That all should be in attendance, 3350  
 Old and young, small and great.  
 At the banner and the pennon  
 Of the constable Raymond le Gros.

read *baudur*. 3339. *Forcelette*: sic MS., read *forteresce*. 3348.  
*se mist*: I think we must read *semont* or *somunt*.



**S**eignurs, *que* deu *vus* seit amis, ✓  
 Cheualers, *serianz e* mechins 3355  
 Dirrai *vus* de vn cheualer,  
 Reymund le *gros* loi nomer  
 Barun esteit icil vaillant,  
 Vassal, hardi *e conquerant*,  
 Aseez erent riches *e* manant 3360  
*E* de ses peres le *plus* puissant.  
 Conestable est reymun  
 De leynestere la regiun.  
 Cheualers retint *e* bone gent  
 Par le cunte commandement, 3365  
 Cheualers tint *e* souders,  
 Archers, *serianz e* poigners  
 Pur mettre ha hunte *e* abellei  
 De yrlande les enemis le rei.

**E**ntendez, seignurs, bone gent, 3370  
 Si orrez ia *apertement*:  
 De vn cheualer *vus* uoil cunter  
*E* barun, noble guerrier,  
 De le conestable le *gros* reymun,  
 Cum il son ost *par* tut somun 3375  
 Amunt, aual, en la tere,  
 Par mithe *e* par leynistere,  
 Trestut la bachelerie  
 Bien garnie e ben arme,  
 Cheualers, *serianz e* souders 3380  
 Des armis garniz *e* aprester,

3360. *Aseez erent*: sic, read *asez ert*. 3368. *ha* i.e. *à*. 3379. The

**M**y lords, may God befriend you !  
 Knights, serjeants, and attendants, 3355  
 I will tell you of a knight,  
 Raymond le Gros I heard him called,  
 A valiant baron he was,  
 A vassal daring and victorious,  
 Very rich and powerful he was, 3360  
 And the most puissant of his peers.  
 Constable is Raymond  
 Of the province of Leinster.  
 Knights he retained and a goodly force  
 By the earl's command, 3365  
 Knight's he had and common soldiers,  
 Archers, serjeants, and fighting-men,  
 To put to shame and outlawry  
 The Irish enemies of the king.

**H**earken, my lords and worthy folk, 3370  
 If ye would hear now plainly :  
 Of a knight I will tell you,  
 A baron, a noble warrior,  
 Of the constable Raymond le Gros,  
 How he summons his host from all quarters 3375  
 Up and down throughout the land,  
 Through Meath and through Leinster,  
 All the esquirehood  
 Well armed and well equipped,  
 Knights, serjeants, and common soldiers, 3380  
 With arms equipped and ready ;

Contre reymund en osserie  
 Vienge icel baronie,  
 MS. p. XLVI. *E* il la fra auant giner  
 Sur reis obrien, *que* tant est fere. 3385  
 Li reis yrreis de osserie  
 Irrad en lur *compaignie*,  
 Kil ost, co dist, *pur* ueir menera  
 Sur reis obrien *e* guiera,  
 Des*que* alimeric la cite 3390  
 Les guiera en sauete.  
*Que vus* irra *plus* contant,  
*Plus* ne meins, petit ne *grant*?  
*Quant* lost esteit assemble,  
 Vers monestere est dunc *turne*; 3395  
*E* li reis de osserie  
 Deuant *prime* les guie :  
 Vers monestere les guia,  
 Sur reis obrien cel ost mena.

Mes reymund, *solum* la gent, 3400  
 Nel cruit pas *parfitement*  
 De uant *quil* eust asure,  
 Sa fei pleine *e* iure  
*Qui* ia ne li feist boidie,  
 Treisun nul ne *tricherie* 3405  
 A lui auant ne a sa gent.  
*E* li reis hastiurement  
 Li dist lores en oiance :

3384. *giner*: sic MS., read *guier*. The dash for the *i* is over the first upright stroke instead of over the third. 3392. *irra*: read

To meet Raymond in Ossory  
 The baronage should come,  
 And he will have them guided forward  
 Against King O'Brien, who was so bold. 3385  
 The Irish king of Ossory  
 Will go in their company,  
 And he will truly lead the host, so he said,  
 And guide it against King O'Brien,  
 As far as the city of Limerick 3390  
 He will guide it in safety.  
 Why should I go on telling you more,  
 Either more or less, little or much?  
 When the host had assembled,  
 Towards Munster they then turned; 3395  
 And the king of Ossory  
 Guides them forward in the van:  
 Towards Munster he guided them,  
 Against King O'Brien he brought this host.

But Raymond, according to the people, 3400  
 Did not trust him entirely  
 Before that he had assured him,  
 Pledged his faith and sworn,  
 That he would never commit any deceit  
 Nor treason nor treachery of any kind 3405  
 Against him or his men henceforward.  
 And the king at once  
 Said to him then in the presence of all:

*irrai*; cf. l. 214.  
 cf. l. 2314 and note.

3403. *pleine*: sic MS., we should expect *plevie*;

'Ia mars auerez de co dutance ;  
 Eincez tut dreit *vus* guierai, 3410  
*E* sur ma fei *vus* pleuerai.'

**Q**uant li reis aueit co dist,  
 Eirent auant sen contredist,  
 Eirent la nuit e lendeman  
 Tel hore en boÿs, tel hore en plein, 3415  
 Que a vn cite vindrent ioe  
 Que lÿmeric esteit nome.  
 Enclose esteit la cite  
 De ewe, de mur, de fosse,  
 Que tuz iceuz de cest monde 3420  
 Ne passereient san nef v ponde  
 Ne en ÿuer ne en este  
 Ne mes *par* vn mauueise gue.  
 Passerent ultre le ior *premer*  
 Le fiz henri, li ber meiler. 3425  
*Pur* co deist il *par* reisun :  
 'Del gue meiler la pelerum.'  
 Kar quant lost de leÿnestere  
 A lÿmeric vint en tele manere,  
 Desque al ewe esteit venus 3430  
 Que turner volt sen fere plus ;  
 Quant vn cheualer de seindauì,  
 Ki de sa tere esteit nurri,  
 Meiler out nun le fiz henri,  
 A haute uoiz leue vn cri ; 3435  
 Le fiz henri, le ber meiller,  
 En haut se prist a hucher,

3416. *joe* : I think the true reading must be *loe* ; cf. l. 2209.

'You will be wrong to doubt it ;  
Nay, I will guide you quite right, 3410  
And I shall pledge you my word.'

When the king had said this,  
They march forward, without gainsaying,  
They march all night and the next day,  
Now in woods, now in the open, 3415  
Until they came to a renowned city  
Which was named Limerick.  
This city was surrounded  
By a river, a wall, and a dyke,  
So that no man could pass over 3420  
Without a ship or a bridge,  
Neither in winter nor in summer,  
Except by a difficult ford.  
There passed over first that day  
The baron Meiler the son of Henry. 3425  
Wherefore it was well said :  
'We shall call it Meiler's ford' ;  
For when the host of Leinster  
Came to Limerick in this way,  
To the river they came 3430  
So that they were going to return without more ;  
When a knight of St. David's  
Who was brought up in this land,  
Meiler the son of Henry was his name,  
With a loud voice raises a cry : 3435  
The son of Henry, the baron Meiler,  
Began to call aloud :

Deuant ala e *criant* :  
 ' Passez, cheualers : *que* alez targant ?'  
 En lewe co mist icil errant 3440  
 Vltre la port le cheual blanc.  
 Quant passe esteit le cheualer,  
 ' Seindaui !' *escriad* haut e cler ;  
 Kar il esteit seignur  
 Suz dampnedeu le *creatur*, 3445  
*E* li cheualer *par grant* ducor  
 Seindaui reclama nuit e iur  
 Que lui fust en aie  
 De *conquere* cheualerie,  
 Vertu li donat *e* los *e* pris 3450  
 En cuntre tuz ses enemis.  
 Souent reclama seindaui  
 Que il nel mest en obli,  
 Que force lui donat *e* uigur  
 Entre ses enemis le ior. 3455

A pres lui passerent asez  
 Baruns, cheualers ben armez.  
 Einz *qu'il* fussent tuz passez,  
 Meint iout le ior neez.

\* \* \* \* \*

3441. *la port*, i.e. *l'aport*.

To the front he went shouting,  
'Pass over, knights: why do ye tarry?'  
Into the river he straightway threw himself, 3440  
And his white horse bears him across.  
When the knight had crossed over  
'St. David!' he shouted loud and clear.  
For he was his lord  
Under the Lord God the Creator. 3445  
And the knight with great affection  
Invoked St. David night and day,  
That he might aid him  
In doing deeds of valour;  
That he should give him strength, and praise, and  
renown 3450  
Against all his enemies.  
Often he invoked St. David,  
That he should not leave him in forgetfulness,  
But give him might and vigour  
In the midst of his enemies that day. 3455

After him there crossed over  
Many barons and knights well armed.  
Before they had all crossed over  
Many were drowned that day.

\* \* \* \* \*





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## NOTES.

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1-11. As to this passage see Introduction.

Nothing is known of Morice Regan, except what is told here; cf. ll. 422, 1657. O'Regan was the family name of one of the four tribes of Tara; Topog. Poems, pp. 2, 7, and note (8). It is, however, more probable that Morice Regan came from the district of Ui Riagain, now the barony of Tinnahinch in Queen's County, of which O'Duinn was at this time the chief; Topog. Poems, p. 82, note (411).

16. *Onell e Mithe*. With regard to Meath, the allusion may be to the division of East Meath by Turlough O'Connor between Tiernan O'Rourke and Dermot MacMurrough, A.D. 1144; Ann. IV. M. sub anno. In the same Annals, under the year 1149, it is recorded that Duleck (in East Meath) was plundered by Dermot and the Danes of Dublin, and that they killed Dermot, son of Magnus O'Loughlin, Tanist of Aileach [of the northern Hy Neill], who was taking revenge for the plunder. This last exploit, however, could not properly be described as conquering O'Neill, and perhaps by *Onell* the writer meant the southern Hy Neill, represented by the O'Melaghlin of Meath.

20-1. *Okarnel, le filz le rei de Yriel*: Ua Cearbhaill, the son of the king of Oirghialla or Uriel, a territory comprising the present counties of Louth, Armagh, and Monaghan; Topog. Poems, xix. note (103). In A.D. 1152 Donnchadh Ua Cearbhaill (Donough O'Carroll) was lord of Uriel. He is first mentioned in the Ann. IV. M. a°. 1133, and his death is recorded a°. 1168. I can find no record of any raid by Dermot against O'Carroll of Uriel, though he may have taken part in the plundering expedition of O'Loughlin in 1152. Dean Butler, however, quotes the passage in our text as explaining the connection between Dermot and Edan, bishop of Louth or Uriel, to whom Dermot granted some lands at Baldoyle, and whom he called his spiritual father and

confessor, and made head of his new foundation the Priory of All Hallows. See Reg. All Hallows, Ir. Arch. Soc. p. ii and 50. The light thrown on the matter is not, however, very great. It is more to our present purpose to observe that among the witnesses to Dermot's charter are Ethmarchac (i. e. Eachmarcach) et Aralt filii Coriaill, who were possibly the hostages spoken of in the text.

22. *Leschoin*, *Lethcoirn*, ll. 46, 77, 85; *Lethchoin*, l. 3261; *Lescoirn*, l. 3271. This represents the Irish *Leath-Chuinn*, i. e. the half or share of Conn, the northern half of Ireland, as opposed to *Leath-Mhogha*, i. e. the half or share of Mogh, the southern half of Ireland. A line of low gravel hills, called *Eiscir Riada*, extending from Dublin to near Galway, formed the dividing line. See Tracts relating to Ireland, vol. i., Ir. Arch. Soc. p. 44, note. This legendary division of Ireland is said to have been made in the reign of Conn of the Hundred Battles (see Annals of Tighearnach sub anno A.D. 166 in O'Connor's *Rer. Hib. Script.*) between this monarch and Eoghan More, king of Munster, who was called Mogh Nuadhat (Nuadhat's slave) from his foster father Nuadhat, king of Leinster. In this poem *Leath-Mhogha* is represented by *Lethunthe* ll. 47-81. Professor Atkinson of Dublin suggested to me that the true reading might be *Lethnuth* (n and u being easily confused) representing *Leathnuadhat*; and though I know of no instance of the name in this form being applied to the south of Ireland, still a phonetic parallel is certainly to be found in Maynooth, i. e. Magh Nuadhat, the plain of Nuadhat, king of Leinster, from whom Mogh Nuadhat derived his cognomen. See *Cambrensis Eversus*, Celt. Soc. i. 473 n. (q). With great diffidence, however, I would suggest that the true reading may be *Lethvuthe*, and that this would represent *Lethmhogha*: the aspirated *m* becoming *v*, as in Kavanagh (in this poem Kevanath, &c.) = *Caemhanach*, and the aspirated *g*, though not now sounded, being graphically, at any rate, represented by *th* as in *Okenselath* = *Ui Ceinnsealaigh*.

23. *Ororio*: *Tighearnan Ua Ruairc*, Lord of Breifne; (*Ang.*) *Tiernan O'Rourke*; (*Gir.*) *Ororicus Medensis*, also *Monoculus*. He is mentioned in Ann. IV. M. as early as 1124, and repeatedly figures up to his death in 1172. In 1144 Turlough O'Connor divided East Meath between O'Rourke and Dermot, and again in 1169 Roderic O'Connor gave the eastern half of Meath to O'Rourke and kept the western half for himself. These arbitrary partitions of Meath appear to be the only facts warranting the epithet *Medensis* which Giraldus applies to O'Rourke, but they had no lasting effect. The O'Melaghlinns were recognised

many times after the former partition, and the latter was disputed up to the time of the Anglo-Norman occupation.

24. **Tírbrun**: Tir Briuin or Ui Briuin Breifne, the principality of O'Rourke, a district comprising the counties of Leitrim and Cavan; Topog. Poems, note (260). Normally, East Breifne (i. e. Co. Cavan less the baronies of Tullyhaw and Tullyhunco) was held independently by O'Reilly, but possibly at this time it was subject to O'Rourke; cf. note to l. 1740.

27. **Femme aueit bele**. This was Dearbhforgaill (Dervorgilla), daughter of Murchadh Ua Maeleachlainn (Murrough O'Melaghlin), king of Meath. Her elopement with Dermot occurred in 1152, and according to the Irish Annals, is said to have taken place on the occasion of a great expedition into Meath in which Turlough O'Connor, Murrough O'Loughlin, and Dermot, took part. They divided Meath between Murrough O'Melaghlin and his son Melaghlin, and deprived O'Rourke not only of his possession of Meath but also of Conmaicne (Longford and the southern half of Leitrim). See Ann. IV. M. and Ann. Clon. sub anno. This elopement could hardly have been the immediate cause of Dermot's expulsion fourteen years afterwards, as represented both by Giraldus and Regan; but popular imagination, which always seizes on the most picturesque event, would naturally connect the two; and seeing that by this act Dermot made a life-long enemy of O'Rourke, and that it was O'Rourke who, taking advantage of the death of Dermot's powerful ally O'Loughlin and of the disaffection of Dermot's own subjects, with Roderic O'Connor's assistance actually expelled Dermot, the popular view cannot be said to be altogether incorrect. See, too, note to ll. 404-19.

Next year, 1153, Dervorgilla was taken away from Dermot, with her cattle, by Turlough O'Connor and restored to her husband. She is mentioned again in 1167 as having built the Church of the Nuns at Clonmacnoise, the beautiful ruins of which at the present day speak well for her architectural taste, and she died at the Monastery of Mellifont near Drogheda in 1193 in the eighty-fifth year of her age (Ann. IV. M. sub annis). She was accordingly forty-four years of age at the date of her elopement. Her munificent gifts to Mellifont Abbey are recorded sub anno 1157.

28. **Malathlin** (written **Molathlin**, l. 38): Murchadh Ua Maeleachlainn (Murrough O'Melaghlin), king of Teamhair (Tara) and Meath, whose death is recorded Ann. IV. M. 1153, where he is grandiloquently described as the 'flood of the glory, magnificence and nobility of Erin.'

(Gir.) Omachlachelinus. The O'Melaghlin's of Meath were said to be descended from Conall Crimthan, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, and they got the name of Clann Colmain from Colman Mor, grandson of Conall Crimthan. It is to this tribe-name, Clan-Colman, that *Fitz Coleman* (l. 36) must be referred. The family name O'Melaghlin was taken from Maelseachlainn (=the servant of St. Seachnall) or Malachy II, Monarch of Ireland, who was dethroned by Brian Borumha, and who died in 1022. Ann. IV. M. 1173, note (k).

29. *Mithe*: Midhe. The ancient kingdom of Meath corresponded roughly to the modern diocese of Meath and Clonmacnoise. See Connellan's Ann. of Ireland, p. 5, note; and Map.

45. *Ia grant hunte*. The following passage from the Ann. Loch Ce, a<sup>o</sup>. 1128, may perhaps record the defeat which Dermot desired to avenge:—'A predatory hosting by Turlough O'Connor into Laighin until he reached Loch-Carman; from thence round Laighin to Ath-cliaith. and he committed a great destruction of cows along that route. . . . The infamy of this hosting moreover rested on Tiernan O'Rourke with his people.' Cf. Ann. Ulster, Clar. Cod. xlix.

47. *Lethunthe*, i.e. Leath-mhogha, the southern half of Ireland. See note, l. 22. However legendary the origin of this partition may be, no division of Ireland was more permanent. Amid the ever-shifting alliances of Irish chieftains, a persistent tendency may be noted throughout the whole historic period for the chieftains of the north to group themselves against those of the south. In a memorandum in the Book of Leinster, Dermot is called 'Ard-righ of Leth Mogha, i.e. Nuadhat.' O'Curry, MSS. Mat. App. No. 84.

75. *Osseri*, elsewhere *Osserie*: Osraighe. This territory corresponded to the present diocese of Ossory. The present passage shows that it was at this time dependent on Leinster, cf. ll. 204, 205. See Topog. Poems, p. 95, and n. 482; Bk. of Rights, p. 17 n; Ann. IV. M. 1175, n. (j); and Map.

107. *Kencelath*, elsewhere *Okencelath*: Uí Ceinnsealaigh; (Gir.) Kencelcia. The name of a powerful tribe and territory in Leinster comprising rather more than the present diocese of Ferns. See Bk. of Rights, p. 208, n. (g); Ann. IV. M. 1193, n. (g); Grace's Ann. Hib. Ir. Arch. Soc., p. 120, n.; and Map.

110. *Fernes* *Ferna* Mor Maedog; Ferns in the present County of Wexford. The present ruined castle, an Anglo-Norman edifice, probably occupies the site of Dermot's dun.

114. **Al rei de Connoth.** The king of Connaught and overlord of Ireland in 1152 was Toirdhealbhach Ua Conchobhair (Turlough O'Connor). According to the Annals IV. M. in 1153 he led an army against Dermot and took away Dervorgil with her cattle from him, and on this occasion O'Rourke came into his (O'Connor's) house and left him hostages. He died in 1156 and was succeeded in the kingdom of Connaught by his son Ruaidhri (Roderic).

127. **Al rei de Osseri.** Mac Gillaphadraig was the family name of the kings or lords of Ossory. It is not clear at what precise period the defection of Dermot's tributaries and allies is alleged to have taken place. No direct notice is taken of the lapse of time between 1152, the date of Dervorgil's elopement, and 1166, when Dermot was expelled, but ll. 214, 215 indicate that the writer was conscious of crowding up the events. It is quite possible however that this defection began soon after 1152. According to the Ann. IV. M. next year Turlough O'Connor forced Dermot to restore Dervorgil with her dowry, and in 1154 a battle was gained by the men of Ossory over the men of Hy Kinsellagh, and O'Rourke led an army into Leinster and plundered Ui Muireadhaigh (O'Toole's country). However from the death of Turlough O'Connor and the accession of Murrough O'Loughlin to the overlordship in 1156, up to the death of the latter in 1166, when Roderic O'Connor, Turlough's son, was inaugurated king of Ireland, Dermot seems to have been as powerful as ever.

136. **Malathlin.** If the year 1152 is referred to, this person would be Murrough O'Melaghlin, father of Dervorgil. He died in 1153.

138. **Maoturkyl de Diveline:** Hasculf Mac Torkil, the Danish king of Dublin; (Gir.) Hasculphus princeps Dubliniensium. The Four Masters (1170) call him Asgall, son of Raghnaill, son of Turcall, chief king of the foreigners of Ath-Cliath. His father Raghnaill was slain by the people of East Meath in 1146. For his defence of Dublin against Dermot and Strongbow and his flight from the city, see ll. 1638-97, and for his attempt to retake the city and his death, see ll. 2255-2492.

**Diveline.** This name, spelt with every possible variety of vowel, represents the Irish Duibh-linn, i.e. the black-pool, originally the name of that part of the Liffey on which Dublin is built; Joyce, Names, i. 363. The Danish form was Dyflin, and the Latin Duvelina. The present name has been formed by the restoration of the aspired *b*. Joyce, ubi sup. The Irish name for Dublin was Ath-cliaith, see l. 2210 and note.



141. *Murchid Obrien*. This is clearly the same person as *Morthoth Obrien* (l. 2163), who was beheaded and thrown to the dogs (ll. 2173, 2174). The name probably represents the Irish O'Brain, usually anglicised O'Byrne, but in this case, more correctly, O'Brin or O'Breen. The O'Brain here mentioned probably belonged to the *Siol Brain* who gave their name to the barony of Shelburne in the county Wexford, and who, or a branch of whom, at this time appear to have occupied the Duffry, a district between the Slaney, north of Enniscorthy, and the mountains: see l. 3215 and note. 'Murchad Uabrain' and 'Dalbach' his son are among the witnesses to a confirmation by Dermot of a grant of lands to the monastery of Duisk, see *Fac. Nat. MSS. Ireland*, Pt. II, Pl. lxii. The former is very probably the person here referred to.

163. *En vn abele*. Dermot founded and endowed the Abbey of St. Mary at Ferns for Canons Regular following the rule of St. Augustine before the year 1162. The ruins of this abbey still exist in the former episcopal demesne close to the modern Cathedral. The present passage would alone show that the date, 1168, given by Archdall (*Mon. Hib.* p. 743) is wrong. It was probably founded in 1158; see *Lanigan, Eccl. Hist.* iv. 187.

174. *Knoth*. If this be a place I have failed to identify it. It ought to be in the Duffry. Possibly, however, we should read 'Morthoth,' which would improve the verse. O'Brien is so called in l. 2163, and l. 176 would lead us to expect his name here.

220. *Quant fut li reis exule*. A memorandum, written 'in a strange but ancient hand' on the top margin of fol. 200a of the Book of Leinster, gives us the day of the month of Dermot's expulsion, viz. the 1st August. 'Oh Mary! it is a great deed that has been done in Erin on this day, the Kalends of August. Diarmaid MacDonnchadha MicMurchadha, king of Leinster and of the Danes, to have been banished by the men of Erin over the sea eastwards, Uch, Uch! O Lord! what shall I do?' O'Curry, *MSS. Mat. App.* No. lxxxv. The Book of Leinster was probably in Dermot's possession. It was compiled by Finn MacGorman, bishop of Kildare (who died in 1160), at the instance of Aodh MacCrimhthainn, Dermot's former tutor. O'Curry, *ubi sup.* p. 186. The *Annals of the IV. M.* supply the year of Dermot's expulsion, viz. 1166. After recording the battle of Leiter-Luin, in which the Kinel-Owen were defeated and Murtough O'Loughlin killed, and the inauguration of Roderic O'Conor as king of Ireland at Dublin

'as honourably as any king of the Gaeidhil was ever inaugurated,' these annals describe the expulsion of Dermot as follows: 'Ferna was burned by MacMurchadha from fear that the Connaughtmen would burn his castle and his house. Ruaidhri then proceeded accompanied by the same forces (i.e. the Connaughtmen, the men of Meath and of Teathbha) back to Leinster and took their hostages; and he afterwards advanced to Fidh-dorcha (i.e. Fidnaraghy near Graigue-na-managh in the Co. Kilkenny), and cleared the pass of that wood; and next proceeded into Ui Ceinnsealaigh and took the hostages of Diarmaid MacMurchadha and of the Ui-Ceinnsealaigh in general. . . . An army composed of the men of Breifne and Meath and of the foreigners of Ath-cliaith and the Leinstermen was led by Tighearnan Ua Ruairc into Ui-Ceinnsealaigh; and Diarmaid MacMurchadha was banished over sea, and his castle at Ferna was demolished. They set up as king Murchadh the grandson of Murchadh, he giving seventeen hostages to Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair.' This Murchadh was Dermot's brother and was surnamed Na-n Gaedhal (of the Irish). His son Muircheartach, the Murierdath (ll. 1743, 1760) or Murtherdath (l. 2183) of this poem, succeeded him as the Irish king of Hy Kinsellagh (l. 2181) and died in 1193 (Ann. IV. M. sub a°). The Annals of Ulster and those of Boyle also put the expulsion of Dermot under the year 1166.

221. *Korkeran*. This would appear to represent Corcran, a proper name, now anglicised Corcoran. There is a townland, Gort-Corcoran, near the mouth of the Dissour river in Imokilly; Ord. Surv. Sheets 77-78, Cork. It is mentioned in an extent of the vill of Youghall 16th Ed. I; Cal. Docts. Ir. A.D. 1288, p. 202. Dermot may have embarked near this when driven out of Hy Kinsellagh.

225. *Awelaf Okinad*. Perhaps Ua Cinaedha (O'Kenny), a name found in Imokilly (Ann. IV. M. 1135), whence we have supposed Dermot to have embarked; or Amhlaeibh Ua Ceinneidigh (Awliffe O'Kennedy), lord of Ormond, who was blinded by Turlough O'Brian in A.D. 1164.

227. *Et plus de seisante trois*. A remarkable confirmation of our author's statement in this and in the following lines may be found in a reference contained in Seyer's Bristol, c. ix. § 6, p. 495. 'One of our MS. Calendars says that "he (Dermot) came to Bristol in 1168 with sixty friends and attendants and was here entertained by the ancestors of the lords of Berkeley, that is by Robert FitzHarding or his family. By means of the trade to Ireland he kept up a correspondence with his adherents in Leinster, and by publicly reading the king's letters patent

he endeavoured to induce persons of wealth and power to embark in his cause." I have had no opportunity of verifying this reference.

232, 233. Robert Herdin (or Herding, l. 302). As indicated in the preceding note, this was Robert FitzHarding to whom the fief of Berkeley was granted by Henry II. He was born in 1085 and died in 1170; Seyer's *Bristol*, p. 479. In 1140 he began to build the Abbey of St. Augustine; *ib.* p. 462. He was probably son of 'Harding filius Alnod,' identified with Eadnoth the Staller under Eadward the Confessor and Harold; Freeman's *Norm. Conq.* iv. p. 165, App. S; Nicholls and Taylor's *Bristol*, pp. 56-8. For the earlier connection between Harold and Mac Mael-na-mbo, Dermot's great-grandfather, see Freeman, *id.* ii. 154; iv. 159, 225; and Stokes' *Ireland and the Ang.-Norm. Church*, pp. 52-60. Giraldus has no mention of Robert FitzHarding.

237. *La reine i fud ensement.* This of course does not refer to Dervorgilla, who is always called 'la dame.' In the memoranda on Adam de Hereford (published in *Reg. St. Thomas, Dub.*, R.S. p. 102), it is stated that Dermot crossed the sea 'unacum uxore et unica filia quam pulcherrima.' According to a pedigree in the Book of Leinster, Dermot was married to Mor, daughter of Murtough O'Toole, lord of Omurethy, and brother of Lorcan (Lawrence) the archbishop of Dublin; and it is supposed that she was the mother of Aoife (Eva).

245. According to Giraldus, Henry was at this time 'in remotis et transmarinis Aquitannicae Galliae partibus.' Henry kept Christmas 1166 at Poitiers in Aquitaine and then went further south into Guienne; Eyton's *Itin.* 103, 104. The Pipe Roll of the 12th Hen. II. records gifts to certain Irishmen, perhaps in connection with Dermot's visit. See *Pub. Pipe Roll. Soc.* vol. ix. p. 117.

327. *al quens Ricard.* He is introduced by Giraldus in the corresponding passage (R.S. v. 228) as 'comes Strigulensis Ricardus Gilleberti comitis filius,' to which is added in Camden's text 'dictus Strongbow, fortis arcus.' With regard to this addition, the editor of the *Expugnatio* in the *Rolls Series* remarks in a note, 'This is in no MS. that I have seen. It is not in Hooker's translation. Is this name given him by any at all contemporary writer? I much doubt it.' It seems however to have been given to his father in Wales. See *Ann. Camb.* 1149:—'Gilbertus comes qui Strangboga dictus est obiit.' This Gilbert de Clare was created Earl of Pembroke by Stephen in 1138, and was grandson of Richard de Clare, who fought at Hastings, and descended from Godfrey, a natural son of Richard I, Duke of Normandy.

378. *Reis* or *Ris* (380). (Gir.) '*Resus filius Griffini*:' Rhys ap Gruffudd, Prince of S. Wales A.D. 1136-1197.

383. *Robert le fiz Esteuene* or *Estephene* (2522). (Gir.) '*Robertus filius Stephani*' or *Stephanides*. He was the son of Nesta, aunt of Rhys ap Gruffudd, by Stephen the constable of Cardigan. According to Giraldus (R.S. v. 229), Robert was taken prisoner and delivered over to Rhys through the treachery of his men at Aberteivy in Cardigan, of which place he was constable (cf. *Brut y Tywysogion*, R.S. sub anno 1164). After three years' confinement Rhys liberated him on condition of his taking arms against Henry. This, however, Robert was reluctant to do; and at the intercession of his half-brothers, David bishop of St. David's, and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Rhys allowed him to make an agreement with Dermot, by which Robert and Maurice were to aid Dermot next spring and in return obtain a grant of the town of Wexford and the two adjoining Cantreds. This grant was subsequently effected; *ib.* p. 233, cf. *infra*, ll. 1392-9. Wexford appears to have been afterwards surrendered to Henry, who conferred it on Strongbow, see l. 2902. At the council of Oxford in 1177 the kingdom of Cork was granted by Henry to FitzStephen and Miles de Cogan, see note to l. 1653. Robert FitzStephen died before 1189, the date of the publication of the *Expugnatio*, and Raymond le Gros succeeded to his inheritance; Giraldus, R. S. v. 350.

402. *En Yrlande dunc passout*. According to Giraldus (R.S. v. 229), it was about the 1st of August that Dermot went to St. David's for the purpose of crossing over to Ireland. But what year? The Ann. IV. M. say A.D. 1167, with which the Annals of Inisfallen agree. Now Henry landed in Ireland on the 17th October, 1171. So much is certain, though Giraldus makes a blunder about the year (see *infra*, note to l. 2579). Using the days of the month supplied by Giraldus and reckoning backwards, we find that Strongbow landed on the 23rd August, 1170: this agrees with the Ann. IV. M., which however incorrectly make FitzStephen accompany Strongbow, and with the Annals of Boyle. We further find that Raymond landed on the 1st May, 1170, and FitzStephen on the 1st May (apparently) 1169. This again agrees with the Ann. IV. M., for we must take the entry sub anno 1169 as to the Fleet of the Flemings (see note, l. 441) as referring to FitzStephen's little army; while the Annals of Boyle expressly say, under 1169, 'the ships of Robert came to the aid of MacMurrough.' Now Giraldus says that FitzStephen promised Dermot to follow him '*cum zephyris et*

hirundine prima' (a quotation from Horace, Epist. i. 7. 13), that Dermot spent the winter at Ferns in privacy, and that FitzStephen, 'nec promissionis immemor nec fidei contemptor,' landed about the 1st May. From this we should conclude that Dermot did not return to Ireland until August 1168. It is impossible to reconcile all the annalists, but I am inclined to think that the dates given by the Irish Annals are correct, and that when Giraldus states that FitzStephen was mindful of his promise we must not interpret him too strictly. It must be noted, too, that if FitzStephen came when he said he would, it could hardly have been necessary for Dermot to dispatch Morice Regan to Wales to whip up recruits, as mentioned *infra*, ll. 420 et seq., and cf. note to l. 520.

404-419. From the account of Giraldus (p. 230) we would infer that Dermot returned to Ireland without any forces and spent the winter in retirement in the monastery at Ferns. The account in the Ann. IV. M. 1167, however, corroborates and supplements the text. 'Diarmaid MacMurchadha returned from England with a force of Galls, and he took the kingdom of Ui-Ceinnsealaigh (cf. Ann. Inisfallen). Another army was led by Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair and Tighearnan Ua Ruairc into Ui-Ceinnsealaigh until they arrived at Cill-Osnadh' [now Kellistown, in the barony of Forth, Co. Carlow], where a battle was fought in which were slain twenty-five of the Ui-Ceinnsealaigh, 'together with the son of the king of Britain, who was the battle-prop of the island of Britain, who had come across the sea in the army of MacMurchadha.' By 'the king of Britain' is possibly meant Rhys ap Gruffudd, but there is no other mention of his son's coming to Dermot's assistance. After this battle Dermot gave seven hostages to O'Connor for ten cantreds of his native territory [Hy Kinsellagh] and 100 ounces of gold to O'Rourke for his *eineach*—a distinct proof, by the way, that the cause of the feud between them had not been forgotten (see n. l. 27).

A Robert filz Godebert is mentioned in l. 3083. Ricardus filius Godberti is one of the witnesses to a Charter from Miles de Cogan, Reg. St. Thomas, Dub., R.S. p. 204; and again Ricardus f. Godeberd, *ib.* p. 215.

441-462. Cf. Gir., v. 230, R.S.: 'Interea vero Robertus Stephani filius, nec promissionis immemor nec fidei contemptor, cum triginta militibus de proximis et alumnis suis se praeparans, necnon et aliis sexaginta loricatis [clad in mail], sagittariis quoque pedestribus quasi trecentis, de electa Gualliae juventute, circa Kalendas Maii in tribus navibus apud Banuam applicuit.'

The only notice taken by the Four Masters of the landing of the Geraldines and of their doings in the year 1169 is as follows:—

‘The fleet of the Flemings came from England in the army of MacMurchadha, i.e. Diarmaid, to contest the kingdom of Leinster for him: they were seventy heroes dressed in coats of mail. . . . The king of Ireland, Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair, afterwards proceeded into Leinster; and Tighearnan Ua Ruairc lord of Breifne, and Diarmaid Ua Maeleachlain king of Teamhair, and the foreigners of Ath-cliath, went to meet the men of Munster, Leinster, and Osraigh; and they set nothing by the Flemings [i.e. thought them not worth notice, O’D.]; and Diarmaid MacMurchadha gave his son as a hostage to Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair.’

The Four Masters were not far wrong in calling the fleet a Flemish one. Apart from the leaders, who, with the exception of Maurice de Prendergast, were half Norman, half Welsh, the little army was no doubt largely composed of mercenaries drawn from the Flemish settlements in the neighbourhood of Haverfordwest; as to which see Gir. Itin. Camb. bk. i. c. xi, and Hollinshed, sub anno 1107.

447. *Meiler, le fis Henris*: (Gir.) Meilerius. He was grandson of Nesta by Henry I of England. He was Lord Justice of Ireland from 1199 to 1208: I think, continuously; see Cal. Docts. Ireland. He founded the Abbey of Great Connell in the county Kildare, where he was buried in 1220; Arch. Mon. Hib., and see Annals of Ireland, 1162–1370, printed in Chart. St. Mary, ii. p. 314. He married a niece of Hugh de Lacy (Gir., p. 356), but, when Giraldus wrote, had no legitimate children; id. 409. See, however, Cal. Docts. Ir. I. N<sup>o</sup>. 310.

450–1. *Milis le fis l’evesque de Sein-Davi*, also called *le fis Davi*. He was evidently the person called Milo Menevensis by Giraldus, R. S. v. 325. He was son of David FitzGerald bishop of St. David’s.

For the lands granted to him see ll. 3108–11, and notes.

455. *Morice de Prendergast*, also called, after his defection to the king of Ossory, *Morice Osseriath*. Giraldus, v. p. 231, says, ‘In crastino vero vir probus et strenuus, Mauricius de Prendergast, Stephanidem sequens in Dermittii auxilium, de Rosensi Walliae Demeticæ provincia, et portu Milverdico, cum decem militibus et sagittariis plurimis, ibidem in duabus navibus applicuit.’ He has no other mention of Maurice de Prendergast who figures so frequently in our text. He was, perhaps, of Flemish descent: one of the colony of Flemings planted in the province of Ros in Pembrokeshire by Henry I; Gir., Itin. Camb. i. xi. A suburb of the town of Haverfordwest is still called Prendergast.

457-8. **Hervi de Mumoreci or de Momorci.** He is thus introduced by Giraldus:—‘In eodem comitatu (i. e. with Robert FitzStephen) Herveyus de Monte Mauricii, vir quoque fugitivus a facie fortunae, inermis et inops, ex parte Ricardi comitis, cujus patruus erat, explorator potius quam expugnator advenit.’ The form de Munmoreci appears in Reg. St. Thomas, R.S. 370, and de Mundmorici in Chart. St. Mary’s, Dub., R.S. i. 79. In the foundation Charter of St. Mary’s Abbey, Dunbrody, he styles himself ‘Hereveius de Monte Moricii, Marescallus Domini Regis de Hibernia, et Senescallus de tota terra Ricardi Comitis’; Chart. St. Mary’s, Dub., R.S. ii. 151. He married Nesta, daughter of Maurice FitzGerald (Gir., R.S. v. 314), but had no legitimate children (ib. pp. 345, 409). In the year 1179 he became a monk in the Abbey of the Holy Trinity at Canterbury to which he had previously given all the churches on his lands (ib. p. 352, and Chart. St. Mary’s, Dub., R.S. ii. p. 304). M. de Montmorency Morres, writing to support his own claim to the name, connects Hervey with the de Montmorencies of France and makes Geoffrey de Marisco, the Viceroy, his nephew and heir; see his Genealogical Memoir, Paris, 1817, and Les Montmorency de France et les M. d’Irlande, Paris 1828. But his genealogical table is an impossible one. For instance, relying on an evident mistake of Stanishurst’s (pp. 70, 153), he makes Hervey brother to FitzStephen’s father.

461. **A la Banne arriverent:** read Banue. So Giraldus says ‘apud Banuam applicuit,’ and again ‘in insula Banuensi omni parum ex parte securi subductis navibus se suscepissent.’ The place called *la Banue* and *Banua* was the creek or bay of Bannow, known in Irish as Cuan an bhainbh (i. e. the harbour of the sucking pig, Joyce, Names, i. 108), on the south coast of the Co. Wexford, and the island of Bannow is marked on the early maps, but owing to shifting sands it is now joined to the mainland on the east. Bannow Bay is bounded on the west by Baginbun Head, and a persistent tradition represents this promontory as the actual spot where the Norman invader landed. Hanmer, a prebendary of St. Canice, writing in 1571, says that Robert FitzStephen landed at the Bann not far from Wexford, whereupon ‘the rime runneth:

At the Creeke of Bagganbun

Ireland was lost and wonne.’

The promontory of Baginbun is cut off from the mainland by a ditch and rampart, and traces of other earthworks can still be seen upon it, but to the present writer these appeared to be Celtic rather than Norman. In fact there seems no good reason for doubting the accuracy of

Giraldus, confirmed as it is by our author. See Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc. 1849-51, p. 189.

483-511. This account of the taking of Wexford tallies very well with that of Giraldus, Expug. Hib. i. 3, who however does not mention the stay at Ferns, ll. 512-519.

520-823. This account of the raid into Ossory is much fuller than that of Giraldus, Expug. Hib. i. 4. The latter too does not clearly distinguish the second raid, here described in ll. 920-1055, from this one, though he says that Dermot penetrated several times into the utmost parts of Ossory and mentions the 'phantasma' described below, ll. 970-1003. Giraldus mentions that a special cause of Dermot's hatred for Duvenaldus prince of Ossory was that he had blinded Dermot's eldest son. The Four Masters record this event under A.D. 1168, but ascribe it to 'the grandson of Gillaphadraig, i.e. Donnchadh lord of Osraighe.' As in the meantime Donnchadh had apparently been succeeded by Domhnall MacDonnchadh, this bears out the supposition that 1169 was the date of FitzStephen's arrival.

560. Macdonthid. This name is spelt in thirteen different ways in this poem; see Index. It is not quite clear when Donnchadh MacGillaphadraig died, but evidently it is his son Domhnall (Donnell) MacDonnchadh that is referred to in the text. The Four Masters record, sub anno 1170, that 'the son of Mac Fhaelain and the son of Donnchadh MacGillaphadraig were banished by MacMurchadha.' Domhnall son of Dounchadh is mentioned in 1171, and his death is recorded in 1176. Giraldus calls him 'Duvenaldus princeps Ossiriae,' and this represents Domhnall and not Donnchadh. The name Gillaphadraig was anglicised Fitzpatrick, and the family is represented to-day by Lord Castletown of Upper Ossory. See the elaborate Ossorian Genealogies, Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc. 1876-8, p. 408.

564. *dedens un pas*. The indications given are not sufficient to enable us to determine with certainty the line of march taken in this raid, but it seems probable that Dermot entered Ossory by the regular route along the Bealach Gabhrain, the road or pass of Gowran, and that MacDonnchadh attempted to stop him somewhere along this route (560-70). Having forced the trenches, Dermot advanced up the Nore, collecting the spoil on the way, and then endeavoured to return to the Barrow by the shorter but more difficult route through the *fasach* or wilderness of the Dinin, for many years the fastness of the O'Brennans, and across the Slievemargy hills. Here, where a mountain route is now



carried along the eastern arm of the Dinin to the woods of Clogrenan, was, I think, the pass (l. 631) where Dermot had been three times defeated, and where his Irish followers now fled panic-stricken to the surrounding woods (l. 637, cf. l. 771). Along this valley of the Dinin (ll. 646, 667) MacDonnchadh followed the retreating invaders until they reached some hard ground and open country near the top of the pass (l. 740, cf. l. 668-9), where the English turned on their pursuers and cut them to pieces. It is to be observed that 'la plaine' in l. 669 is not opposed to mountain, but to wood. It merely means open country. Where the valleys and lower mountain slopes were covered with woods, the upper mountain tracts, being free from trees, would be called *la plaine* (cf. ll. 1592-3). After the battle they reached the Barrow near Clogrenan and marched along by it to Leighlin; cf. Stokes, Ireland and the Ang. Norm. Church, p. 88, n.

619. *Dovenald Chevath*. (For variants see Index Nominum): Domhnall Caemhanach; (Gir.) Duvenaldus, naturalis Dermitti filius; *Anglice* Donnell Kavanagh. He was ancestor of the Kavanaghs and derived his name from Kilcavan (near Gorey, Co. Wexford), where he was fostered. His death at the hands of O'Foirtchern and O'Nolan is recorded, Ann. IV. M. 1175, where see O'D.'s note. See Pedigree in Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc. 1856-7, p. 120, where the descent of the late Art MacMurrugh Kavanagh of Borris from Donnell Kavanagh is traced.

633. *Par treis eirs debarete*. What these three defeats were it is perhaps vain to inquire. The Ann. IV. M., sub a<sup>o</sup> 1134, record an invasion of Ossory by the son of MacMurchadha and his defeat by the men of Ossory, when Ugaire O'Toole, royal heir of Leinster, and many others were slain; cf. Chron. Scot. 1130 (recte 1134). This may have been one of them. Carew, utterly misunderstanding the passage, renders it as follows: 'After the fight had continued three hours Prince Donald's men began to faint, gave ground, and roone away; nevertheless in an instant they rallied again, and made a newe head.'

672. *les traïteres sunt tut nues*. Cf. l. 3330. Also the following quatrain in the poem of Gilla Bhrighde MacConmidhe, Misc. Celt. Soc. p. 152:—

'Unequal they engaged in the battle,  
The foreigners and the Gaeidhil of Teamhair,  
Fine linen shirts on the race of Conn,  
And the foreigners in one mass of iron.'

So Gir. Top. Hib. iii. 10, says: 'Nudi et inermes ad bella procedunt. Habent enim arma pro onere; inermes vero dimicare pro audacia reputant et honore.' He goes on to say that they carry three sorts of offensive weapons, namely, short spears, a couple of darts, and large well-tempered battle-axes, which last they wield in one hand. In our poem, ll. 2428 and 3197, the Irish are mentioned as using *gúvioris* and *dars*, and Johan le Devé wields his terrible *hache de fer blanc* (2447).

765. *Un des bons esteit Meiler.* So Gir., R. S. v. p. 234, 'Meilerius emicuit.'

777. *Unse vint testes.* So Gir., R.S. v. p. 234 mentions that 'hostium capita circiter ducenta ad pedes Dermitti sunt delata,' and tells of Dermot's horrible brutality in tearing with his own teeth the nose and lips of a hated foe.

802. *Lethelin.* This was Old Leighlin (Leith-ghlionn), situated on a hill in Idrone about two miles from the Barrow. The present Cathedral occupies the site of the Abbey of St. Lasarian.

814. *Vers Fernes se sunt turnes.* Dermot's route from Old Leighlin to Ferns would be across the Barrow at Leighlinbridge, where there was a ford, through Idrone and the Forth, and then north of the Mt. Leinster range by Bunclody (Newtownbarry) and the valley of the Slaney to his destination.

840-1. *Maekelan.* This was Faelan MacFhaelain, lord of Ui-Faelain, who is mentioned Ann. IV. M. 1161, and whose banishment by Dermot is recorded sub a° 1170. Giraldus, R.S. v. 278, calls him Machelanus Ophelan. He was one of the witnesses to Dermot's Charter to the Priory of All Hallows. See Reg. All Hallows Dub. I. A. S. p. 51. His territory was granted by Strongbow to Maurice Fitzgerald (see *infra*, ll. 3088-91), and he ultimately became a monk in the Abbey of Great Connell, founded by Meiler FitzHenry, and died there in 1203; Ann. IV. M.

*Ui-Faelain, Anglice* Offelan or Ophelan, was the name of the tribe and territory of the Ui-Brain (O'Byrnes) who at this time occupied the north-eastern part of the present Co. Kildare, including Naas; cf. ll. 3088-91, and see O'D.'s n. Ann. IV. M. 1203. It was bounded on the west by Offaly (l. 3105), and on the south by Omurethi, the original territory of O'Toole, and included 'the present baronies of Clane and Salt, and the greater portion, if not the entire, of those of Ikeathy and Oughteranny.' North Naas and part of Connell should, I think, be added.

842. *Maetorkil*: cf. n. l. 138, *supra*.

887. *Glindelath*: *Gleann-da-locha*, i.e. the Glen of the two lakes; (Gir.) *Glindelachan*; *Glendalough*, Co. Wicklow. *Glendalough* was in *Ui-Mail* (see *Calendar of Oengus Trans. R. I. A., Ir. MS. Ser. vol. i. p. clv*), and it would appear from the statement in the text that *O'Toole's* chieftainship must even at this time have extended to *Ui-Mail*; though according to *O'Donovan's* note to *Ann. IV. M. 1180*, it was not until some years later that the *O'Tooles* were driven by *Walter de Riddlesford* to the fastnesses of *Wicklow*, where in time they dispossessed the *O'Teiges* of *Imaile*. From the grant by *Strongbow* to *Walter de Riddlesford* in 1173 of the fee of five knights in *Brieu (Bray)* and the lands of the sons of *O'Tuethil* (*Lynch's Legal Institutions*, p. 147), we should infer that *O'Toole's* chieftainship extended to *Bray*.

888. *Othothil*: *Ua Tuathail*, (Gir.) *Otuethelis*, *Anglice* *O'Toole*; the family name of the lords of *Ui-Muireadhaigh*, the *Omurethi* of this poem, l. 3097, and *Omurethi* of *Giraldus*, a district comprising (according to *O'Donovan*, *Ann. IV. M. 1180*, *Bk. of Rights*, p. 207 n. (a), 210 n. i) about the southern half of the present Co. *Kildare*, to wit, the baronies of *Kilkea* and *Moone*, *Narragh* and *Rheban*, and a part of the barony of *Connell*. The deanery of *Omurthie* preserves the name of the territory to the present day. *Gillachomghaill Ua Tuathail*, brother of *Lorcan* the archbishop, and brother-in-law of *Dermot* himself, was lord of *Ui-Muireadhaigh* at this time. See *Pedigree of Ui-Muireadhaigh*, *Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc.* 1874-5, facing p. 487.

944-1055. In this second raid into *Ossory* there are some doubtful topographical points, but the indications given are sufficient to fix the line of march, in part at least, the site of the battle, and the direction of the flight of *MacDonnchadh*. In the first place we are told that *Dermot* came to *Fotherd* (l. 954), i.e. the *Fotharta Fea* or *Fotharta Osnadhaigh*, now the barony of *Forth* in Co. *Carlow*; *Bk. of Rights*, p. 211 n., *Topog. Poems*, p. 92 n. (476). This lies on the direct route from *Ferns* via *Bunclody (Newtownbarry)* towards *Ossory*. Then he descended to a river (l. 955) and lodged for the night, 'sur *Macburtin amunt aval*.' The river is probably the *Barrow*, but no chieftain named *Macburtin* has been discovered. The *Rev. J. F. Shearman*, in his *Loca Patriciana* (*Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc.* 1877, p. 389), suggests *Hy Bairrchi*, but then he seems to read without authority, 'Mac *Barthin*.' He further suggests that the place where the phantom army was seen, according to *Giraldus* 'in castellario quodam antiquo,' was

the great rath known as the Dinn Righ, about a quarter of a mile south of Leighlin. However this may have been, we are told (ll. 1010-19) that MacDonnchadh trenched and fortified the pass of Hachedur to resist Dermot's advance; that Dermot marched night and day until he came near to this place (for Athethur, l. 1020, is evidently the same place as Hachedur); that he lodged for the night by a river of great vehemence; and that next day he crossed the river without opposition, and advanced to assault the trenches. Now there can be no doubt that Hachedur or Athethur represents Achadh-ur, the Irish name for Freshford, in the barony of Crannagh, Co. Kilkenny, and that the river of great vehemence is the Nore. But more than this, the Rev. W. Healy, P. P. of Galmoy and Johnstown, has with great probability identified the exact spot where the battle was fought. This is where a brisk stream, marked Arigna river on the Ord. Surv. Map (Kilkenny, Sh. 13), descending from Ballinamarra and Clashacrow, crosses the road from Kilkenny to Freshford and joins the Nuenna river on its way to the Nore. The hills to the south come close to the road here, leaving a comparatively narrow way between them and the Nuenna, and thus forming just the sort of place we should expect MacDonnchadh to select for the defence of the approach to Achadh-ur.

As to the line of flight, we are told (ll. 1042-45) that the king of Ossory fled to 'Tiberath,' through the midst of the country of 'Wenenath,' and from thence to 'Bertun.' Now, so far as I know, every writer who has attempted to identify these places has interpreted Tiberath, Tipperary, and Wenenath, Nenagh or Hy Nenagh. But it is highly improbable that Dermot pursued MacDonnchadh as far as Tipperary. Nenagh, too, was not a tribe name (*n Aenach* = the fair, or place of meeting), and does not lie between Achadh-ur and Tipperary. 'Tiberath' represents simply the dative of *tipra*, an alternative form of *tobar*, a well; Joyce, Names, i. 452. This *tiprait*, or *tiobraid*, is usually anglicised Tubbrid, and it may very probably here refer to the district known as Tubbrid-britain, about four miles to the S.W. of Freshford. This place is mentioned in the Circuit of Muircheartach MacNeill (Ir. Arch. Soc. Tracts, I. p. 41), when it is called *Tiobraide Britain buain*, 'the wells of the long-lived Britan.' In this district the Nuenna river, which flows through Freshford, takes its source. Now the Irish name for this river is *Uaithne*, the green (river), pronounced 'oohina' or 'wina' (the *n* in Nuenna or Nuena merely represents the article; Joyce, Names, i. 24), and Wenenath would very fairly represent *Uaithne-n-ath*, 'the green of the ford.'

meaning the fertile land along the Nuena and about Freshford. Indeed, I feel inclined to go a step further and to suggest that Freshford, instead of being, as has been generally supposed, a mistranslation of Achadh-ur, is a fairly correct rendering of Uaithne-n-ath, which was probably the name given to the district about the town of Achadh-ur. However this may be, I think we have here the identification of Wenenath and Tiberath, and that they indicate the natural line of flight for MacDonnchadh when his trenches at the pass of Achadh-ur were forced. As to his ultimate destination, Bertun, I am more doubtful. It may simply represent, by a common metathesis, the Breton or Britan of Tubbrid-Britain.

1104. *Thatmelin* (or *Thamelin*, l. 1113) : Teach-Moling or Tigh-moling, i.e. St. Moling's house, now St. Mullins on the Barrow, Co. Carlow, between Mt. Brandon and the White Mountain. This would be the direct entrance into Ossory from the side of Wexford. Donnell Kavanagh, no doubt, disputed the narrow pass by the Polmounty river. At St. Mullins there is a fine Danish mote and the remains of a number of early ecclesiastical edifices. Here the English took the oath of fealty, 'Sur l'auter e sur l'escrin' (l. 1131). Giraldus has nothing directly about the defection of Maurice de Prendergast, but he says that at this time some of Dermot's 'fair-weather friends' (*hirundinei amici*) privately left him, while others, breaking their oaths of fealty, openly joined his enemies; Expug. Hib. p. 237, and cf. next note.

1154. *Moris le filz Gerout*. Maurice FitzGerald was son of Nesta, by Gerald of Windsor. He was therefore half-brother of Robert FitzStephen, and uncle of Raymond le Gros. Giraldus mentions his landing as follows : 'Ecce Mauricius Giraldis filius, uterinus scilicet Stephanidæ frater, cum decem militibus, et arcariis triginta, sagittariis quoque pedestribus circiter centum, apud Weisefordiam in duobus navibus applicuit.' R. S. v. 244. He died in 1176 (ib. p. 336).

Prior to this Giraldus describes at some length (Expug. Hib. i. 5-13) a hosting of Roderic O'Conor into Hy Kinsellagh, and says that Dermot, deserted by almost all, except FitzStephen and his followers, retreated to a fastness in the woods near Ferns, where a peace was arranged with Roderic on the terms that Dermot was to retain Leinster, acknowledging Roderic as overlord. Dermot also gave his son as a hostage, and entered into a secret treaty to call no more foreigners into the island, and to send away those he had already called in as soon as he had subdued Leinster. Our text has nothing of all this. Perhaps Maurice Regan's loyalty to his master prevented him from recording his master's reverses. The state-

ment of Giraldus is, however, corroborated by that of the Four Masters (1169) quoted ante, note to ll. 441-462.

After recording the arrival of Maurice FitzGerald, Giraldus mentions a raid of Dermot and FitzGerald over the district adjacent to Dublin, and an expedition of FitzStephen to Limerick, in aid of Donnell O'Brien against Roderic O'Connor. There is no reference to either of these in our text, but the Four Masters (sub anno 1170, the early part of which may be the true date) mention Donnell O'Brien's defection from Roderic. Perhaps a passage has dropt out after l. 1399. Line 1391 would lead us to suppose that the thread of the story relating to Dermot was about to be taken up, but little is said about him; and then l. 1400 introduces, rather abruptly, Earl Richard sending over Raymond.

1177. *Leis* : *Laeighis* (Leix), a territory in Queen's County, originally comprising the present baronies of East and West Maryborough, Stradbally and Cullenagh, to which were afterwards added the territories of *Crioch O m-Buidhe* and *Crioch O m-Bairrche*, or the baronies of Ballyadams and Slievemargy. See Bk. of Rights, p. 215 note; Ann. IV. M. 1196, note (f); and cf. ancient map of 'Leis and Offalie,' MS. Brit. Mus., a facsimile of which was published in the Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc., 1862-3, p. 345.

1180. *Omurthith*, also *Omurthe* and *Omorthé*: *Ua Mordha*, (O'More). Leix was originally divided into seven districts, under one arch-chief called *Righ Riada*, who generally resided at *Dun Mask*, now *Dunamase*, four miles east of Maryborough; Ann. IV. M. 1196 note. The family name of this arch-chief was O'More. *Dysart Gallen*, on the *Owenbeg*, N.E. of *Ballinakill*, was afterwards the fastness of the O'Mores of Leix; Kilk. Arch. Soc. 1856-57, p. 239.

1217. *une lande florie*: perhaps the *Magh Riada*, now *Morett*, which originally comprised the great heath of Maryborough. Here stood the *Leac Riada*, a stone marking the spot where the seven divisions of Leix met; Ann. IV. M. 1196, note f. This note is, however, hard to reconcile with the note by the same editor at Ann. IV. M. 3529 A. M., where *Magh Reicheat* is distinguished from *Magh Riada*, and the former is identified with *Morett* adjoining the great heath of Maryborough.

1310. *Fertekerath*: *Fearta-na-gcaerach*, or *Fearta-caerach*, i. e. the grave of the sheep; Joyce, Names, i. 345; Ann. IV. M. i. p. 498; now called *Fertagh* simply. It is near *Johnstown* in the barony of *Galmoy*, Co. *Kilkenny*. Here there are the remains of a round tower, which was burnt in 1156, and the ruins of a monastic church dedicated to *St. Ciaran*,

containing a remarkable altar-tomb erected for one of MacDonnchadh's descendants. See Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc. 1876-8, p. 392, note. Also a large dun or fort, to which, in all probability, MacDonnchadh went at this time.

1311. **Kilkenni**: Cill Chainnigh. The mention here of this place, which must I think be taken to refer to the town now so well known as Kilkenny, seems to me strongly to support the view that at this time, at any rate, the king of Ossory had a 'dun' at Kilkenny, and that the town had some civil importance. For diverse views on this question see History of the Cathedral of St. Canice, by Graves and Prim (1857), p. 22, and Mr. Hogan's article on Kilkenny, in Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc. 1867, p. 109.

1392-9. According to Giraldus, Dermot gave the town of Wexford with all its territory to FitzStephen and Maurice FitzGerald immediately after its capture (p. 233).

1397. **Karret** (read **Karreo**): Carrick, now a parish on the Slaney, near the town of Wexford. Giraldus calls the place Karrech (p. 245), where he ascribes its fortification to FitzStephen, and the fort *Karrec-tense castrum* (p. 266). FitzStephen's fortress was undoubtedly situated at Ferry Carrick, where the Slaney narrows between precipitous sides just before widening into an estuary. On the left bank, perched in a striking position on a rock immediately commanding the river, still stands almost intact a small square stone keep, which is popularly ascribed to FitzStephen. Indeed, this view appears to have been accepted by O'Donovan; see Ord. Surv. Letters, Wexford, MS. R. I. A. The position agrees with the description of Giraldus '*in rupe quadam praerupta stadiis a Weisefordia fere duobus*;' but according to him FitzStephen's fortress was a '*municipium immunitissimum virgis tenuiter et cespite clausum*' (l. c. p. 266), and he elsewhere speaks of its '*fossata*' (p. 270). The existing building then is not that in which FitzStephen was besieged, but is it on the same site? The Carrick, or rock, which gives its name to the parish and townland, must, one should suppose, be the rock still more precipitous on the right bank of the river, *in* the parish and townland in fact. On this rock was a castle called Shan-a-Court, but the remains consist only of trenches. Lewis' Topog. Dict. art. 'Carrigg.' Again, from the Charter of Richard Mareschal, Earl of Pembroke, for the deforestation of the forests of Ros and Tauchmune (Taghmon), it appears that his '*Castrum de Karrich*,' or '*Karrek*,' on the Slaney, was on the right bank of the river; Chart. St. Mary's, Dub.,

R.S. ii. pp. 156-7. Finally, there is the express statement in the note to Hooker's Translation of the *Expugnatio* with regard to the castle of stone built on the site of FitzStephen's fort, that 'being a place not altogether sufficient for a prince, and yet, it was thought, too good and strong for a subject, it was pulled downe defaced and rased, and so dooth still remaine'; Holinshed (1587), p. 11. For these reasons we must conclude that the picturesque structure on the left bank of the Slaney is not even on the site of that occupied by FitzStephen, but that the true site is on the top of the rock, round which the road to Wexford now winds, on the opposite side of the river.

1404. **Reymond le Gros**: son of William FitzGerald and nephew of Maurice. He is generally called 'Reimundus filius Willelmi' in the charters, but sometimes 'Reimundus Constabularius,' e. g. Reg. St. Thomas, Dub., R.S. p. 370, and he is occasionally referred to as 'Reimundus Grossus'; id. p. 115, and Chart. St. Mary's, R.S. i. 106. He is described by Giraldus as 'Carnosa superfluitate ventre turgescens,' a description which sufficiently accounts for the nickname 'Le Gros.' Giraldus says that Strongbow in answer to a letter from Dermot sent in advance Raymond, a young man of his household, about the 1st May (1170), with ten men at arms (*milites*) and seventy archers (p. 248). His marriage with the earl's sister (*Basilis*) is mentioned *infra*, ll. 3032-3, when he was appointed Constable of Leinster. He was Chief Governor (*Procurator*) for a short time after Strongbow's death in June, 1176, until superseded by William FitzAudeline (*Gir.* p. 334).

Giraldus says positively that Raymond had no legitimate children (pp. 345, 409). Nevertheless he has been claimed as ancestor of the Graces, Barons of Courtstown, of the FitzMaurices, Barons of Lixnaw, and of the Redmonds of the Hall, Co. Wexford. See pedigree in Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc. 1885-6, p. 440, corrected p. 669, and Memoirs of the family of Grace, by Sheffield Grace, London, 1823, pp. 1-10, where, however, authorities are not always given for statements made. Raymond's nephew, William de Karru, appears to have succeeded to his uncle's possessions in Odrone; see Chart. St. Mary's, R.S. i. pp. 112-3, where 'Baliscloddhi' is said to be in Odrone, 'Dunlech' or 'Dunlekeni' is Dunleckny, the parish in which Bagenalstown is situated, and 'Techmulin super magnam aquam' is St. Mullins on the Barrow, perhaps at this time included in Odrone.

1406. **Domdonuill, Dondonuill** (1417), **Dundounil** (1494). Giraldus says, 'Applicantes itaque in rupe quadam marina, quae Dundunnolf



*dicatur, a Waterfordia miliaribus quasi quatuor, a latere Weisefordiae meridionali, tenne satis, ex virgis et cespite castrum erexerunt'* (p. 248). Mr. James Graves is said to have identified this place with 'a precipitous rock now called Drumdowny, about five or six miles north [about four miles a little north of east?] from Waterford, on the direct route to Wexford, by a ford [ferry?] there over the Barrow, and beetling over the junction of the three rivers, the united Nore and Barrow and the Suir'; Mr. Dimock's Glossary to Giraldus, R.S. v. p. 421. In the Ord. Surv. Letters Kilkenny, ii. 293, MS. R. I. A., O'Donovan says:— 'The hill of Drom Domhnaigh, forming the Eastern extremity of the parish of Rathpatrick in the barony of Ida, and lying opposite the Comar or confluence of the three waters, is the place called Mileadhach in the Leabhar Gabhala. There is a remarkable rock here overhanging the river, called Gearran Ban or White Horse.' See Ord. Surv. Map Kilkenny, Sh. 44. This is, no doubt, the rock pointed out by Mr. Graves, and it is still locally known as the White Horse Rock. I think his identification is probably correct, though the name in our text would appear to represent Dun Domhnaill rather than Drom Domhnaigh, while the Dundunnolf of Giraldus is still wider of the mark. As the tide flows far above this point the rock might be called a '*rupes marina*'; the distance from Waterford coincides with that given by Giraldus, and the position agrees with his statement that the men of Waterford crossed the Suir to attack the trenches. It is not, however, on the southern side of Wexford; but Giraldus is not accurate as regards points of the compass. He says in this very passage, for instance, that the Suir flows under the walls of Waterford on the east side. On the round summit of Drumdowny, which commands a view of Waterford (cf. l. 1436), the present writer recently detected traces of earthworks.

Others have suggested that the earthworks at Baginbun Head (mentioned in note, l. 461) are the remains of Raymond's fort; see Wright's Introduction to Michel's edition of our author, p. 33; and Stokes' Ireland and the Ang.-Norm. Church, pp. 98-9. This is certainly a '*rupes marina*,' but it does not otherwise agree so well as the White Horse Rock with the description of Giraldus.

1420. *Del Deys Dovenald Offelan* : Domhnall Ua Faelain, lord of Deisi Mumhan. He was perhaps the Donnell O'Faelain, lord of the Desies of Munster, whose death is recorded Ann. IV. M. 1205. Giraldus, however, has Machsachelinus (Melaghlin) Ophelan (p. 248), and afterwards says that he was taken prisoner at the taking of Waterford

(p. 255). The Four Masters say that O'Faelain and his son were taken prisoner at Waterford. There were therefore two individuals, and this may account for the discrepancy in the names. The name of the Desies of Munster is preserved in the baronies of Decies in Co. Waterford, but their territory was at one time much more extensive and included the whole of Co. Waterford east of the Blackwater and the baronies of Iffa and Offa East and Middlethird in Co. Tipperary. See Ogygia, iii. c. 69; Ann. IV. M. 1205 note; and cp. Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc. 1868-9, pp. 228-30.

1421. *El de Odrone Orian*: O'Riain ri Ua n Drona; Topog. Poems, p. 74. This territory included the present baronies of East and West Idrone, Co. Carlow, and at one time that part of the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin which lies on the west side of the Barrow near Graigue-na-managh; Bk. of Rights, p. 212, n. (k). There is an old map of 'Udrone' by Gerald Mercator, circa 1570. See reduced copy in Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc. 1871-72, p. 186. The Foundation Charter of the Monastery of Duisk (Graigue-na-managh), circa A. D. 1160, contains a confirmation by Dermot Mac Murrough of a donation of lands by Dermot O'Ryan, chief of Idrone, and one of the witnesses is 'Diarmait Uarrian'; see Facsimiles Nat. MSS. of Ireland, Pt. ii. Pl. lxii. O'Ryan's death at the hands of the monk Nicholas is mentioned in ll. 2005-10.

1484. *Alis de Berveni*. This name has been strangely mistaken for that of a man, and the whole passage misunderstood. She was no doubt a camp-follower who had lost her lover in the fray. The employment of a woman to execute the prisoners was intended, I suppose, to increase the ignominy of their fate: it certainly added to the barbarity of the act.

Giraldus' account of this battle (*Expug. Hib.* i. 13-15) differs in some of its details from that here given. He says nothing about the cows, and ascribes the victory to the prowess of Raymond and one William Ferrand, a leper, who turned what threatened to be a disaster into a slaughter of the enemy. He mentions the throwing of the 70 prisoners with their limbs broken into the sea, but says that this was done on the advice of Hervey de Mont Maurice (who had joined Raymond on his arrival, with three men-at-arms, p. 250, cf. *infra*, l. 1496), and against the more humane counsel of the Geraldine. If the identification of Dundonnill with Drumdowny be correct (see note to l. 1406), these prisoners were thrown over the Gearran Ban, or White Horse Rock, into the estuary of the Barrow.

1497. **Walter Bluet.** Cf. l. 1813. He was one of the witnesses to several charters granted by Strongbow to St. Mary's Abbeys at Dublin and Dunbrothy. See Chart. St. Mary's, Dub., R.S. Index, sub nom. Bloet. He is not mentioned by Giraldus.

1498-9. **Mult se contindrent bien privement.** Mr. Dimock in his note to Giraldus, R. S. v. 248, questions the date given, the kalends of May, for the arrival of Raymond, on the ground that he could not have remained all the summer in idleness until the arrival of Earl Richard on the 23rd August. But Raymond could barely hold his own behind the entrenchments of Dundonuil, and Dermot, weakened by the defection of Maurice de Prendergast, and perhaps by the absence of FitzStephen on his expedition in aid of Donnell O'Brien of Limerick (which probably took place in the early summer of 1170; see note to l. 1154, *supra*), naturally preferred waiting for the arrival of Strongbow before undertaking any further military operations.

1501. **Richard li quens.** See l. 327 (n.). Giraldus says :—' Comes Ricardus . . . cum ducentis militibus, et aliis circiter mille, circa kalendas Septembris, vigilia videlicet Sancti Bartholomei, apud Waterfordiam applicuit ' (p. 254). He goes on to say that next day Raymond joined the earl with forty men-at-arms, and that on Tuesday, the 25th August, they took the town by assault; that in Ragnald's Tower the two Sitaracs (perh. Sihtric) were taken and put to the sword, but that Ragnald and Melaghlin O'Phelan were spared through the intervention of Dermot, who just then arrived with FitzGerald and FitzStephen.

The Four Masters (1170) give the following account: 'Robert FitzStephen and Richard son of Gilbert, i. e. Earl Strongbow, came from England into Ireland with a numerous force and many knights and archers, in the army of Mac Murchadha, to contest Leinster for him and to disturb the Irish of Ireland in general, and Mac Murchadha gave his daughter to the Earl Strongbow for coming into his army. They took Loch Garman (i. e. Wexford), and entered Port Lairge (i. e. Waterford) by force; and they took Gillemaire, the officer of the fortress, and Ua Faelain, lord of the Deisi, and his son, and they killed 700 people there.' This account evidently lumps together the events of two different years.

1506. **Regenald e Smorch.** The former was obviously the Ragnaldus of Giraldus, but it is not so obvious that the Gillemaire of the Four Masters was the same person, and yet from a curious entry on the Plea Roll of the 4th year of Edward II this can be shown with tolerable

certainty. On the trial at Waterford in this year (1310) of Robert le Waleys on a charge of felony for having killed John the son of Yvor Mac Gillemory, Robert pleaded that it was no felony because the deceased was a mere Irishman and not of free blood, but that he (Robert) would be ready on the demand of the lord whose Irishman John was at the time of his death to pay for him as justice required (i. e. his 'eric' according to Irish law). To this the Crown replied that the deceased was entitled to the benefit of English law, and alleged in support a charter of Henry II and another of Edward I which recited and confirmed the former. On this issue the jury found that on Henry's landing in Ireland one Reginald Mac Gillemory, 'qui fuit diues homo et valde potens in Comitatu isto et fuit manens apud Renandescastel (Renaudes, Reginaldi?) prope portum Waterfordiae,' tried to stop his progress by throwing a chain across the harbour. That for this act Reginald was hung and the Ostmen expelled beyond the walls, except one faithful man, Gerald Mac Gillemory, who was afterwards given the privilege for himself and his descendants of being judged by English law. See *Fac. Nat. MSS. of Ireland*, vol. iii, *Introd.* vi, *Pl.* vii, and *App.* iii.

This Reginaldus Mac Gillemory who dwelt in Reginald's Tower was surely at once the Ragnaldus of Giraldus and the Gillemaire of the Four Masters. Smorch is probably a corruption representing Sidroc or Sihtric, the Sitarac of Giraldus.

The walls of Waterford at this time formed a triangle with the base to the river and a tower at each angle; Smith's Waterford, p. 169. Reginald's Tower still forms a striking object on the quay at Waterford, and is one of the very few Danish structures in stone now existing.

1528. *Sa fille*: Aoife, latinised Eva. She appears as the 'Comitissa Eva' in two charters printed in *Chartae Privilegia et Immunitates*, pp. 1, 9, from the *Lib. Nig. Alani*.

1571. *Clondolean*: Cluain-Dolcain, now Clondalkin, about five miles south-west from Dublin. This place would command the regular route from Wexford west of the mountains. There were other less used routes by Bray and by the Scalp. Where these ordinary routes debouch into the plain around Dublin, the Irish had trenched the roads and plashed the paths through the extensive woods which then clothed the lower slopes of the Dublin mountains. See ll. 1594-5, and Giraldus, p. 256. Accordingly Dermot led the English by way of Glendalough and right over the mountains (l. 1620, and Giraldus,

ubi supra, 'per devexa montium de Glindelachan latera'), perhaps along the route now followed by the military road from Sally Gap, by Glencree and Killakee, to the woods in the neighbourhood of Rathfarnham.

1602. *Miles de Cogan.* (Gir.) Milo Coganensis. I do not know whether there is any good reason for supposing that Miles de Cogan was descended from Nesta as has been stated; see Pedigree, p. 183 in Wright's translation of Giraldus, Bohn Series; also Strongbow's Conquest by F. P. Barnard, p. 193. Certainly the reason given by Wright (id. p. 219) and by the editor of *Cambrensis Eversus*, Celt. Soc. i. 382 n., that he was the same person as the Milo Menevensis of Giraldus (p. 325), is a mistake. See ll. 450-1, note. For lands granted to Miles de Cogan see l. 1653, note.

1613. *iii mil Engleis.* It has been suggested that there is some mistake in the numbers here. Giraldus gives the numbers that each of the leaders, FitzStephen, Prendergast, FitzGerald, Raymond, and Earl Richard himself, brought with him on landing, and they do not amount to 2000 in all. All the common soldiers, however, may not have been mentioned, or they may have been reinforced.

1624-1713. Giraldus' account of the taking of Dublin agrees very well with that given here, but he mentions the mediation of archbishop Laurence in the negotiations for peace, and joins Raymond with Miles de Cogan in the credit (or discredit) of the capture. The Ann. IV. M. 1170, give a somewhat different account: 'An army was led by Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair, king of Ireland, Tighearnan Ua Ruairc, lord of Breifne, Murchadh Ua Cearbhaill, lord of Oirghialla, against Leinster and the Galls aforesaid; and there was a challenge of battle between them for the space of three days, until lightning burned Ath-cliath; for the foreigners [Danes] of the fortress deserted from the Connaught men and the people of Leath-Chuinn in general. A miracle was wrought against the foreigners [Danes] of Ath-cliath on this occasion, for Mac Murchadha and the Saxons acted treacherously towards them, and made a slaughter of them in the middle of their own fortress, and carried off their cattle and their goods in consequence of their violation of their word to the men of Ireland. Asgall son of Raghnaill, son of Turcall, chief king of the foreigners of Ath-cliath, made his escape from them.'

1626. *le jor l'apostle seint Mathe*: i. e. the 21st Sept. [1170].

1627. *Arst Diviline.* In the passage quoted from the Four Masters,

in the note to l. 1624, it is stated that lightning burned Ath-cliaith, and in the Annals of Boyle it is stated that when Roderic and his host were near Dublin they saw the citadel in flames. Can it be to this that the somewhat abrupt statement in l. 1627 has reference?

1653. *Ke pus sire de Knoo Brandon*. Henry's Charter to Robert FitzStephen and Miles de Cogan, dated at Oxford, 1177, is printed in Lyttleton's Henry II (app. iii. to vol. v.) from Ware, and translated in Harris's Ware Antiq. p. 194. It contains a grant of 'the kingdom of Cork except the said city and the before-mentioned Cantred which I retain in my own hands. To hold to them and their heirs of me and my son John and our heirs, by an exact division towards the cape of St. Brendan on the sea coast towards Limerick and other parts, and as far as the water near Lismore which runs between Lismore and Cork and falls into the sea, by the service of sixty knights.'

Knoc Brandon is the mountain in Kerry which forms Brandon Head. It contains on its summit the ruined oratory of St. Brendan. Lines 1652-5 may possibly be an interpolation.

1718. *a la feste Seint Remi*: 1st October (1170). About this time, or at any rate prior to Henry's arrival, must be placed two charters from Strongbow to St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin; see Chart. St. Mary's, R.S. i. pp. 78, 83, and Pref. xviii.

After relating the capture of Dublin, Giraldus mentions a raid of the English, at the instigation of Dermot, into the territories of O'Rourke of Meath. And the Four Masters, sub anno 1170, after recording 'a victory gained by the son of Cormac, grandson of Carthach, and the people of Desmond over the knights who were left to protect Port Lairge'—an encounter noticed also in the Annals of Inisfallen (O'Connor, *Rer. Hib. Script.*)—proceed: 'An army was led by Mac Murchadha and his knights into Meath and Breifne; and they plundered Cluain-Iraid (Clonard), and burned Ceanannus (Kells), Cill-Tailltean (Teltown), Dubhadh (Dowth), Slaine, Tuilen (Dulane near Kells), Cill-Scire (Kilskeer), and Disert-Chiarain (Castlekieran); and they afterwards made a predatory incursion into Tirbriuin, and carried off many prisoners and cows to their camp.' Both the Four Masters and Giraldus then mention that Roderic put to death Dermot's hostages, including his son. The name of this son is given in Giraldus (p. 244) as Cnuchurum, representing Conchobhar.

1727. About this time Giraldus (p. 258) mentions the council of the Irish clergy at Armagh, when they passed a decree emancipating

English slaves in Ireland; and then (next chapter) says that Henry issued an edict ordering a sort of blockade against Ireland, and commanding his subjects there to return before the ensuing Easter; and that thereupon the earl, being in great distress, sent Reimund to the king in Aquitaine placing his Irish conquests at the king's disposal.

1729. *En oel yver*. Giraldus (p. 263) gives the date about the 1st of May (1171). The Four Masters (1171) recount the event with patriotic feeling: 'Diarmaid Mac Murchadha, king of Leinster, by whom a trembling sod was made of all Ireland,—after having brought over the Saxons, after plundering and burning many churches, as Ceanannus, Cluain Iraird, &c.,—died before the end of a year [after this plundering] of an insufferable and unknown disease; for he became putrid while living, through the miracle of God, Colum-Cille, and Finnen, and the other saints of Ireland whose churches he had profaned and burned some time before; and he died at Farna-mor without [making] a will, without penance, without the body of Christ, without unction, as his evil deeds deserved'; cf Ann. Loch Ce. The Book of Leinster, p. 20, has, however, the following entry: 'Diarmait son of Dunchadh son of Murchadh [reigned] forty-six [years]. And he was king of all South Erin and also of Meath. He died at Ferna after the victory of unction and penance in the sixty-first year of his age.' There is considerable discrepancy in the statements as to Dermot's age. Dr. O'Connor says Dermot was expelled in his seventieth year, i.e. in 1166 (Rer. Hib. Script., Prolegomena clxvi). According to this he was in his seventy-fifth year at his death in 1171. O'Donovan, on the other hand, says he was in his sixty-second year at the date of the elopement (1152); see Ann. IV. M. 1193, note c. This would make him in his eighty-first year when he died. But as O'Donovan mistakenly allows only eight years between the elopement and the expulsion, and as he refers to Dr. O'Connor's statement, perhaps he arrived at this result by deducting eight years from O'Connor's seventy. I know of no early authority on the point except the extract, above quoted, from the Book of Leinster.

1731. *A Fernes gist enseveliz*. In the churchyard at Ferns there is still standing the broken shaft of a cross, ornamented with a Celtic design of the rectilinear type. This is reputed to mark Dermot's grave.

1740. *De Tirbrun Macheli*. As already remarked in the foot-note to the text, I suspect 'Macheli' to be a copyist's error for Orageli, or perhaps Oracheli, i.e. Ua Raghallaigh (O'Reilly). This family supplied

the chief to the Muintir Maoilmordha, whose territory comprised the whole of the present Co. Cavan except the baronies of Tullyhaw and Tullyhunco, which belonged to O'Rourke; Topog. Poems, p. 56, n. 270; cp. ll. 1788 and 1909 *infra*, where Orageli appears in connection with Donnell Kavanagh and 'Awelaph Ocarui.' There was a long-standing feud between the O'Reillys and the O'Rourkes (Ann. IV. M. 1154, 1155, and 1161), and it is not improbable that this O'Reilly was driven out by O'Rourke and took service under O'Rourke's arch-enemy.

1741. *Awalap* or *Awelaph Ocarui*. This name might represent O'Gairbhídh (O'Garvy), chieftain of *Ui Feilmeadhá Tuaidh*, a tribe seated in the present barony of Rathvilly, Co. Carlow. See Topog. Poems, p. 91, n. 461-2; Bk. of Rights, p. 208, n. (f). This tribe was descended from Feilimídh son of Enna Ceinnsealach, and its chief may very possibly have adhered to Dermot and his representatives.

1743. *Murierdath* or *Murtherdath* (ll. 2183, 3210). This is apparently the 'Murcardus Kenceleiensis' or 'princeps Kenceleiae' of Giraldus (pp. 329, 337). According to the Four Masters (1166), when Dermot was banished by the army led by Tiernan O'Rourke, they set up as king Murchadh, the grandson of Murchadh (see n. to l. 220). This Murchadh was brother to Dermot (see Dermot's Pedigree), and was surnamed *na nGaedhal* (of the Gaels), as opposed to Dermot *na nGall* (of the Foreigners). The name Murtherdath would appear however to represent the Irish *Muircheartach* (Murtough) rather than Murchadh (Murrough); and the Four Masters (1193) record the death of Murtough the son of (the above-mentioned) Murrough Mac Murrough, Lord of Hy Kinsellagh. It does not appear when Murtough succeeded Murrough as lord of Hy Kinsellagh. Among the witnesses to the Foundation Charter of the Monastery of Duisk (*Graighe-na-managh*), circa 1160, are 'Murchad filio Murchada, Murcherdach filio ejus.' These were probably the two individuals in question.

1746 *et seq.* The account of this siege of Dublin in the Ann. IV. M., 1171, is as follows:—'An army was led by Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair, Tighearnan Ua Ruairc, and Murchadh Ua Cearbhaill, to *Ath-cliath*, to lay siege to the earl (i.e. Strongbow) and Milo Cogan. There were conflicts and skirmishes between them for the space of a fortnight. O'Conchobhair afterwards went against the Leinster men with the cavalry of the men of Breifne and Airghialla to cut down and burn the corn of the Saxons. The earl and Milo afterwards entered the camp of Leath-Chuinn, and slew many of their commonalty and carried



off their provisions, armour, and horses.' Both the Four Masters and Giraldus place the attempt of Hasculf and John the Wode to regain Dublin before this siege by Roderic (see note to l. 2260). Giraldus attributes the gathering of the Irish at the siege of Dublin to the patriotic efforts of Archbishop Laurence; and says that Gottred, King of the Isle of Man, came with a fleet of thirty ships to the port of the river Liffey.

1754. **Chastel-knoc**: Castleknock is now the name of a parish and barony on the north side of the Liffey in the County Dublin. According to tradition the Danes had a royal residence here (Lewis' Topog. Dict.). Hugh de Lacy gave the district as a fief to Hugh Tyrell: cf. ll. 3132-3, and note.

1756. **Maodunleve de Huluestere**, i.e. Cu-uladh MacDuinnisleibhe (Cooley MacDonlevy), King of Uladh, a district corresponding to the Counties of Down and Antrim. Giraldus calls him Dunlevus.

1757. **Clontarf**: Cluain-Tarbh = the meadow of the bulls, a district on the coast immediately north of Dublin. Two great sandbanks at either side of the estuary of the Liffey are called the North and South Bull respectively.

1758. **Obrien de Monestere**, called also *li reis de Lymerich* (l. 2035), and **Dovenald Obrien** (l. 3346): Domhnall Ua Briain (Donnel O'Brien), King of North Munster or Thomond. Giraldus calls him Duvenaldus Rex Limiricensis. He married a daughter of Dermot; see ll. 2041-2. He was son of Turlough O'Brien. He succeeded his brother Murtough in the kingdom of Munster in 1168, and died 1194; see Ann. IV. M. sub annis. He was frequently at war with O'Conor, and up to the year 1174 generally friendly to the English.

1759. **Kylmainan**: Cill-Maighnenn, now corruptly called Kilmainham, south of the Liffey immediately to the west of Dublin. It took its name from St. Maighnenn, who was bishop and abbot here about the beginning of the 7th century (Joyce, Names, i. 52).

1761. **Dalkei**: Dalkey Island, off the coast eight miles S. E. of Dublin. The termination of the name shows it to be Danish, though the Irish form, Delginis, had the same meaning, viz. thorn island (Joyce, i. 112). 'Muriardath' was, no doubt, encamped on the mainland (*Vers Dalkei*), guarding the coast road.

1768 et seq. Giraldus says that FitzStephen was induced to surrender by the perjured statement of two bishops that Dublin had fallen, and that the earl and all the English were slain (p. 270). This version,

in itself hardly credible, lacks corroboration of any sort; and is indeed hardly consistent with the news, according to Giraldus (p. 266), brought previously by Donnell Kavanagh, that FitzStephen unless relieved could not hold out beyond three days.

1778. *Dedens un ohasstel sur Slani*: i. e. the fortress at Carrick on the river Slaney; see n. to l. 1397.

1781. *Beoherin*: Begerin or Begery (Beg eire = Parva Hibernia), a small island in Wexford harbour, now united to the mainland by recent reclamation. St. Ibar is said to have founded a monastery here in the fifth century; Ann. IV. M. 819, note.

1802. *Robert de Quenoi*. Robert de Quency is not mentioned by Giraldus, though an important personage. From this poem we learn that Strongbow gave him his daughter in marriage (2743), the district of 'le Duffir,' i. e. the Duffry in Co. Wexford (2748), and the constabship of Leinster (2749). He was afterwards killed by O'Dempsey and the Irish of Offaly (2808). He left one daughter, Maud, afterwards married to Philip de Prendergast (2819, see note). His name appears as a witness to the Foundation Charter from Earl Richard to St. Mary's Abbey, Dunbrody. See Chart. St. Mary's, Dub., R.S. ii. 154. This would seem to fix the date of this charter, and consequently of Hervey's Charter, to which it refers, in 1172, and not in 1175, as suggested by Mr. Gilbert in the preface; id. p. lxxiii.

1803. *Water de Ridelliaford*: (Gir.) Gualterus de Ridenesfordia. He is repeatedly mentioned in early Anglo-Irish documents up to 1237. An inquisition as to his lands was ordered in 1244 after his death; Cal. Docts. Ireland, vol. i. No. 2730. He married Amabilis filia Henrici, I suppose sister to Meiler FitzHenry. See Reg. St. Thomas, Dub., R.S. 170, and Chart. St. Mary's, Dub., R.S. i. 30. His lands (see note, ll. 3096-9) descended to daughters, one of whom, Emmeline, married Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster; Cal. Docts. Ireland, vol. i. No. 2663.

1811. *Richard de Marreis*: not mentioned by Giraldus. He may have been related to, but hardly the same person as, the Richard de Marreis or de Marisco who was Chancellor to King John in 1215 and brother to Geoffroi de Marreis (Galfridus de Marisco), Justiciary of Ireland.

1813. *Water Bluet*; see note, l. 1497.

1845. *Un arcevesque*. This was the famous Lorcan Ua Tuathail (Laurence O Toole), Archbishop of Leinster. According to Giraldus, Archbishop Laurence, at whose instigation the siege was undertaken, was in command of the southern besieging army, consisting of all the Leinster

men except those of Hy Kinsellagh and Wexford (pp. 265, 269). He may nevertheless have acted as a mediator. He died the 14th Nov., 1180, and was canonized by Honorius II on the 11th Dec., 1225. As to the bearing of this fact on the date of this poem, see Introduction. He was the son of Muirheartach O'Tuathail, Chief of Ui Muireadhaigh (the Omurethi of our author). When ten years old he was taken as a hostage by Dermot Mac Murrough and confined for two years. In about 1157 he was made Abbot of Glendalough, and in 1162 Archbishop of Dublin. See his life, published by Surius, *De Probatis Sanctorum Vitis*, and in Messingham's *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum*; cf. also O'Donovan's note (e) to Ann. IV. M. 1180, and *Life of St. Laurence O'Toole*, by Rev. John Hanlon, Dublin, 1877.

1853-8. *Ne mes sulement Watreford Dyvelyne e Weyseford &c.* One would think this passage was clear enough, and yet it has been persistently misunderstood. Carew's Abstract gives the proud king's answer thus:—'that unless the Erle would surrender up into his Hands the Citys of Dublin and Waterford, and the towne of Weixford, together with all his Fortes and Castles, and immediately at a Daye assigned Abandone the Lond, and retorn into Englande with all his English Forces,' he (Roderic) would assault the city. This extraordinary misinterpretation is followed by Cox, Leland, Gordon, Haverty, and a host of other writers. To Roderic it was evidently a matter of comparative indifference whether the foreigners who held these cities were 'dark,' 'fair' or 'green' (Gaill-glassa).

1918. *Finglas*: a village about three miles north of Dublin. There was a ford over the Liffey opposite St. Mary's Abbey, which was used as late as 1534 by Silken Thomas; but that in all probability the Danes had a bridge across the river is well shown by Haliday, *Scandinavian Dublin*, App. i; cp. note to l. 2210 *infra*.

1950. *En bain u il erent assis*: Michel prints *bain* with a capital B, as if it were the name of a place. Carew's Abstract has 'Bainvil' for *bain u il*, which Harris in his printed copy (*Hibernica*, p. 29) improves into 'Boinhull.' Giraldus, however, expressly says: 'Rotherico vero, qui tunc forte in balneis sedebat, vix elapso' (p. 269). I take it that a number of the Irish were bathing in the Liffey near Castleknock, or perhaps in the Tolka near Finglas.

1955. Giraldus l.c. proceeds to mention the following native leaders as having been with their troops dispersed. The southern army of the archbishop (i.e. Laurence O'Toole), with all the men of Leinster—

except those of Hy Kinsellagh and Wexford—namely, *Macelanus*, i. e. Faelan Mac Faelain, *anglice* Mac Kelan (see n. l. 840); *Machtalewi* (see n. l. 3212); *Gillemeholmoch* (see n. l. 2283); *Otuethelis*, i. e. Ua Tuathail, *anglice* O'Toole, (see n. l. 888); and the northern army under O'Rourke, *Ocaruelis Urielensis*, i. e. Murchadh Ua Cearbhaill, lord of Oirghialla, *anglice* Murrough O'Carrol of Uriel or Louth (see n. l. 3184); *Machsachelinus*, i. e. Ua Maeleachlainn, *anglice* O'Melaghlin King of Meath, and *Ocadesi*, i. e. Ua Cathasaigh, *anglice* O'Casey, lord of Saithne, now the barony of Balrothery West, Co. Dublin; Top. Poems, p. 8, n. (20).

1969. *Vers Veisseford volt error.* So Giraldus (p. 270) says that the earl on the morrow set out for Wexford 'Superiore per Odranam via,' i. e. by the upper route to the west of the mountains through Kildare and Carlow, as opposed to the lower route along the east coast.

1974. *Becherin.* See note, l. 1781.

1984. *Al pas erent assemble.* So Giraldus says that the Leinstermen met the earl 'in passu Odronæ, quanquam in sui natura arcto nimis et invio, concidibus tamen plurimum arte munito.' As the earl is said to have come into Odrone (l. 1982), and the battle is said to have been fought 'in passu Odronæ,' it is probable that the earl forced his way by the northern spurs of the Mt. Leinster range to Bunclody (Newtownbarry), through which lay the regular route into Wexford. In Dymmok's Treatise of Ireland, Tracts, vol. ii. Ir. Arch. Soc. p. 29, 'the Drones in the county of Caterloghe' are mentioned among 'the Strengths and Fastness of Woode and Bogge' in Ireland, and in Gerald Mercator's Map of the 'Baronia Udrone,' published circa 1570, an extensive wood is marked extending across the Burren river from the neighbourhood of the castles of Ballymoon, Ballyloughan, and Rathnageeragh. This wood is called 'Caros Wod,' a name rendered by Mr. H. Hore 'Carew's Wood' (Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc. 1856-7, p. 234), but which I think may more probably be connected with the Corries river which rises in this district and gives its name to a townland; Ord. Surv. Carlow, Sh. 19. However this may be, it is probable that this was the wood in which the battle was fought, and the path through which was plashed and defended as stated by Giraldus. I have met, however, with no trace of the name, the Earl's Pass, said to have been given to the place from this encounter (l. 2018). It is to this battle that the traditionary tale of the cowardice of Strongbow's son and of the stern parent's severity in killing him with his own hands is referred. For a romantic account of this incident see Dub. Penny Journ., iv. p. 381.

2006. *Nichol un moine a chape*. One of the witnesses to some of Strongbow's charters was 'Nicholaus Clericus'; Chart. St. Mary's, Dub., R.S. i. 79, and Chartae, Privilegia, &c. p. 1.

2035. *Al rei de Lymerich*: Donnell O'Brien, King of Thomond, see note, l. 1758. Giraldus has nothing about this expedition into Ossory, but says that the earl proceeded to Waterford, where he found Hervey de MontMaurice with letters from the king urging him to return to England; that accordingly the earl crossed the sea and met the king at Newnham, in Gloucestershire, where he was making preparations for his Irish expedition; and that while there the earl appeased Henry's anger by agreeing to surrender Dublin, the coast-towns, and all the fortresses to the king, and holding of him the rest of his conquests (p. 273). This account of Henry's anger hardly agrees with the statement of Robert de Torigneio to which I have not met with any allusion. He says (Chron., R.S. p. 252) that an embassy from the earl came to Henry at Argentan in July 1171, when the king sent a message to the earl that he would restore to him his English and Norman estates and the land in Ireland which he had received with his wife, and would appoint him constable or seneschal of Ireland.

As Raymond returned from Henry's Court in time to be besieged in Dublin (Gir. p. 266) this embassy cannot refer to him, but may refer to Hervey de MontMaurice, whom, as above stated, the earl found at Waterford with letters from the king.

2051. *Odoth*: *Ui Duach* of Ossory. This territory, the seat of the O'Braonains (now Brennan), included the present barony of Fassadinin and parts of the adjoining baronies to the west. O'Huidhrin describes it as 'the fair wide plain of the Feoir' (i.e. the river Nore). Top. Poems, 95, n. (496). This plain was known in ancient times as *Magh Airgead Rois*. *Ui Duach* is anglicised *Odoth*; Cal. Docts. Ireland, vol. i. p. 278, and elsewhere *Idough*, *Edough*, *Odogh*, and *Odagh*. The last form survives as a parish in the barony of Crannagh. For further particulars as to *Ui Duach* see Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc. 1849-51, pp. 230-46, and 1864-6, pp. 205-6.

2149. *Morice a sun guant plee*: this was the symbolic formula for offering reparation in the Court Baron; cf the similar passage, ll. 2629-2648; and see Glossary, sub voce *pleier*.

2163. *Morthoth Obrien*. See note, l. 141.

2183. *Murtherdath*, see note, l. 1743. I understand ll. 2185-8 to mean that the earl left Murtough MacMurrough in possession of the

lordship over the Irish districts of Hy Kinsellagh, now no doubt much contracted in extent, and gave to Donnell Kavanagh the cognizance of Irish pleas in Leinster.

2196. *le sis frere*. According to the traditionary story Ireland was divided into five parts by the Firbolgs under the five sons of Dela; and Meath was formed, as the mensal land of the *Ardrigh*, in the reign of Tuathal Teachtmair, by taking a portion from each of the four provinces. See Ann. IV. M., anno mundi 3266, note, and A. D. 106, note. Giraldus (Top. Hib. i. 7) says that Ireland was from of old divided into five nearly equal portions, viz. North and South Munster, Leinster, Ulster, and Connaught.

2210. *Hatholeyth*: Ath-cliaith or Baile-atha-cliaith, the town of the hurdle-ford (Joyce, Names, i. 363), the Irish name for Dublin; so called from the bridge of hurdles or wicker-work causeway by which the great road, Slighe-Cualann, from Tara crossed the Liffey at this point until it was superseded by the bridge of the Ostmen. See paper on Ancient Name of Dublin, by Charles Haliday, Trans. R. I. A. vol. xxii. p. 437, reprinted with notes as an Appendix to Haliday's Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin, 2nd ed. p. 202.

2212. *Port-Largi*, i.e. Port Lairge, the Irish name for Waterford, though perhaps derived from Laraic, a Danish chieftain whose plundering expedition by sea to Teach-Moling (St. Mullins) is recorded, Ann. IV. M. 951, and see id. 1174, note (2).

2214. *Gilibert de Borard*; see ll. 3114-7, note.

2230. *A Penbroo*. Giraldus says that the earl met Henry at Newnham in Gloucestershire (see n., l. 2035 sup.), whence, however, he proceeded to Pembroke and assembled his fleet at Milford Haven (p. 273). Henry landed at Portsmouth on the 3rd August, 1171, and was approaching S. Wales about the 8th September. He was at Pembroke Castle on the 25th; Eyton's Itin. Hen. II, p. 160.

2245. *Par mensunge de la gent*. According to Gervase of Canterbury (1171), the Irish sent ambassadors to Henry to ask him to take over the lordship of the country himself to relieve them from the insolence and tyranny of Earl Richard.

2260. *Hesoulf Mac Turkil*: cf. n., l. 138. Giraldus places the attack by Hasculf and John the Wode about Whitsuntide (the 16th May, 1171), and before Roderic's siege. He does not mention Strongbow, who was evidently absent. The Four Masters, too, mention the Norwegian attack before the siege, but they do not always purport to

place the events of the year in regular sequence. Their account is as follows:—‘The battle of Ath-cliath was fought between Milo Cogan and Asgall, who was for some time before king of the foreigners of Ath-cliath. Many were slaughtered on both sides of the Saxon knights and the foreigners of Ath-cliath. Asgall, the son of Raghmall, fell therein, as did Eoan, a Dane from the Insi-hOrc, and many others besides them.’ Then follows the account of Roderic’s siege (see note, l. 1746). It is impossible to be quite certain, but I am inclined to think that the order of events given in the text is the correct one. It is evident that Dermot’s death on the 1st May, 1171, was the occasion of the general revolt in Hy Kinsellagh against the earl’s succession; and Roderic’s siege, which lasted for two months (Gir. p. 266), probably followed soon afterwards. The order given in the text accounts for the absence at the Norwegian attack both of Strongbow and of FitzStephen, the former being in Wales and the latter in prison. No doubt, on the assumption of the order given by Giraldus, we might account for their absence by the consideration that they may not have been able to throw themselves into Dublin in anticipation of a sudden attack by sea. Another argument may perhaps be found in the attitude of Gillamocholmog. If we adopt the order of Giraldus we must suppose that this chieftain, who was at peace with Milo and had given hostages to him prior to the Norwegian attack (ll. 2284–90), and who (after some hesitation) aided in the pursuit of the Northmen, immediately afterwards led his men against the English at Roderic’s siege (Gir. p. 269). It seems more probable that having been beaten at the break up of Roderic’s siege he gave the hostages to Milo, and ever afterwards remained faithful to the English. He is mentioned again in line 3216 as being on Strongbow’s side, and we know that his lands were confirmed to him and to his son Dermot (cf. Chart. St. Mary’s, Dub., R.S. i. 33, and Chart. Roll 9th John, m. 5).

2263. *De Eir vindrent e de Man*; i. e. from the islands off the north and west coasts of Scotland and from the Isle of Man.

2265. *Johan le Deve*. Giraldus says he was surnamed the Wode, a word which he renders ‘insanus’ or ‘vehemens.’ In A.S., *wod* = mad furious. The word is used by Chaucer, and even by later writers, and survives in certain dialects in England to-day; see Glossary under *Deve*.

2269. *A Steine erent arive*. ‘The Stein’ or ‘Staine’ was ‘a flat piece of ground extending southwards from the strand of the Liffey to the lands

of Rath (or Bagot Rath), and eastward from near the city walls to the river Dodder'; Haliday's *Scandinavian Kingdom of Dublin*, p. 144. On this plain, where Trinity College now stands, was the Priory of All Hallows founded by Dermot Mac Murrough, and the exact landing-place was at an elevated ridge north of All Hallows, subsequently known as Lazy or Lowzy Hill (Lazar's Hill), where a mill stream, marked on Speed's Map (1610), entered the Liffey. Not far from this landing place, near where the Crampton monument now stands, at the junction of Hawkins St. and Townsend St., stood the Long Stone of the Stein, from which the district derived its name, and which is mentioned in the Corporation records as late as 1679. This stone was, no doubt, set up by the Northmen at their landing-place, as was done at Steinness in the Orkneys, and elsewhere. See Haliday, *id.* p. 157, and authorities there quoted.

2283. *Gylmeholmooch*. Domhnall Mac Gillamocholmog (Donnell Mac Gilmoholmock). He was a chieftain of the tribe of Ui Dunchadha 'originally seated in that part of the County Dublin through which the river Dothair or Dodder flows, but after they got the mastery of the Danes of Dublin, their sway extended over the Danish territory of Fingal'; *Top. Poems*, xiii. n. 58, 59. For an account of this family see Gilbert's *Dublin*, i. 230-5 and app. i. 'D. Macgilla Colmoc' was one of the witnesses to a grant by Dermot of Baldoyle with its serfs to the Priory of All Hallows; *Reg. All. Hall.*, *Ir. Arch. Soc.* p. 51. He was Dermot's son-in-law, having married Dervorgil, Inien Mac Murchadha (i. e. daughter of Mac Murrough), as she calls herself in a charter to St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin. See *Chart.*, *R.S.* i. 32; and cf. pp. 31-7, where other charters will be found from her husband, her son Dermot, her grandson John, and his wife Clarissa, daughter of Gilbert FitzGriffin.

2321. *Desur la Hogges desus Steine*. This correction is due to Mr. J. P. Prendergast. (See his notice of the life of Charles Haliday prefixed to the latter's *Scandinavian Dublin*, p. lxxv.) The 'Hogges' was a mound, about 40 feet high and 240 feet in circumference, which up to the year 1685 stood at the angle formed by Church Lane and Suffolk St. in the parish of St. Andrew de Thengmotha (as it is called in grants of the 13th century), nearly opposite the present church of St. Andrew; *id.* p. 162, where there is reproduced a drawing of the mound from a survey made in 1682. The mound was eventually taken down about the year 1687, and the materials of which it was composed were used in raising Nassau Street. The word 'Hogges' represents the Norwegian and



Icelandic *Haugr*=a How, a mound, a tumulus (Vigfusson's Icelandic Dict., Clar. Press, Oxon.; cf. Spelman's Glossarium, sub voce *Hoga*); and the Nunnery of St. Mary del Hogges was not so called from the Irish *Ogh*, a virgin, as used to be thought, but from its proximity to 'the Hogges' or tumulus on the Steine (Haliday, id. 191-6).

From the top of this mound Gillamocholmog would have had an uninterrupted view along the river bank, from the landing place near the long stone of the Steine to the eastern gate of the city; the only buildings on this plain, namely, the Priory of All Hallows and the Nunnery of St. Mary del Hogges, lying to the south of the long stone.

With the attitude of Gillamocholmog on this occasion, compare the speech put by Giraldus into the mouth of Donnell of Ossory prior to the fight with Donnell O'Brien on Easter Eve, 1176 (R.S. v. p. 330).

2332-4. *la porte del orient, or la porte Seint Marie*. This is the Damas Gate of Speed's Map (1610). At the west end of the present Dame Street, outside the walls, close to the gate, stood the church of St. Mary del Dam, so called from the dam or mill-pond near to which it stood. Hence this gate, the eastern gate of the city, was called 'La porte de Sainte Marie del Dam,' or 'Dam Gate,' and afterwards 'Dame's Gate.' Gilbert's Dub., ii. 256; Haliday's Scandinavian Dublin, 193-4; Chart. St. Mary's, Dub., R.S. i. 225. It is called 'porta orientalis' in a grant by Henry when at Dublin; see Chart. St. Mary's, i. 141. As to the circuit of the city walls, see Cal. S. P. Ir. Eliz., 1574-1585, pp. 590-2; Harris' Dublin, c. iii; Stokes, Ang.-Norm. Church, p. 109.

2341. *Pur la dute del occident*: Whether the word *dute* be correct or not, it is evident that the western gate is intended. The 'porta occidentalis' is mentioned in a grant from the citizens of Dublin made in 1185, when John de Curci was viceroy; Gilbert's Hist. and Mun. Docts. Ireland, p. 56. From the subsequent grant, printed on the same page, I gather that this gate was soon afterwards called 'Nova porta,' having perhaps been rebuilt in the meantime. This is the New Gate marked on Speed's Map, as to which Mr. J. T. Gilbert, however, states in his History of Dublin (i. 257) that the date of its erection is unknown, but that it was standing in 1188. As to the bearing of these facts on the date of the Poem see Introduction, p. xxiii.

Giraldus also describes this sally, but says that Richard issued forth 'per posticam australem.'

2446. *Que la quisse lui fist voler*. Giraldus mentions this feat but does not say by whom it was performed; while he ascribes the killing

of John the Wode to Walter de Riddlesford (*Ridenesfordia*) and some others (p. 264).

2465-72. Giraldus recounts the capture and beheading of Hasculf owing to his '*insolens verbum*.' Perhaps he was beheaded at the Scandinavian place of execution, the Hangi Hoeg or Gallows Hill, which stood about 200 perches east of the Thing mount, south of Lower Bagot-street, up to 1756 known as Gallows Road, and nearly opposite Lower Pembroke St.; see Haliday's *Scandinavian Dub.*, p. 170. This would be within view of the river as it then was: *versus la marine gent* (l. 2472).

2500. *Traiteres dusse de Wysesford*: The Pipe Roll of the 19th Hen. II. (1172-3) contains the following entry:—'The Sheriff of Winchester renders his account . . . for Murtough Mac Murrrough [Morchard] and the burgesses of Wexford, one night at Winchester, 6s. 8d.; corodies for the same for ten nights by David Laguerre, 40s.; six robes for Murtough Mac Morrough and the burgesses of Wexford, 10l. 14s. 11d., all by the King's writ'; *Cal. Doct. Ireland*, vol. i. No. 19.

Perhaps this refers to the journey mentioned in the text. If so 'the traitors' went to Winchester. The date is only that of rendering the account.

2506. *Henri Curt-Mantel*: so called from his habit of wearing the short Angevin cloak.

2577. *Illec attendrent lur vent*. Henry appears to have been weather-bound at Pembroke Castle for 18 days, viz., from the 29th Sept. to the 16th Oct.; *Eyton's Itin. Hen. II.* Giraldus says that during the earl's absence, about the beginning of September, O'Rourke made an attack upon Dublin, but was defeated by Miles de Cogan and his son slain (p. 274). The *Irish Annals*, A.D. 1171, have a substantially similar account. Our author has no mention of this. It looks as if his informant, Morice Regan, had accompanied Strongbow in his march through Odrone towards Wexford, and then into Ossory. Details are given of Strongbow's doings not to be found elsewhere. On the other hand, the account of the Norwegian attack on Dublin reads like the story of an eye-witness, and if we are to suppose Morice Regan present at it also he must have returned to Dublin, when Strongbow went to Wales, too late for O'Rourke's attack, but in time to witness that of the Norwegians.

2579 et seq. The *Four Masters* contain only the following short notice of Henry in Ireland, sub anno 1171:—'The King of England,

the Second Henry, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, Earl of Andegavia, and lord of many other countries, came to Ireland this year. Two hundred and forty was the number of his ships, and he put in at Port Lairge.' The Annals of Ulster mention in addition that Henry 'tooke pledges from Mounster,' and add, 'He came after to Dublin and tooke hostages from Leinster and Meath, from Ibriuin Argialls and Ulster'; cf. Annals of Loch Ce, sub anno.

Hoveden (R.S. ii. 29) says that Henry embarked at Milford Haven on Saturday the 16th Oct., 1171, and landed next day at a place called Croch, eight miles from Waterford (i. e. Crook in Waterford Harbour just below Passage; Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc. 1856-7, p. 383), with 400 ships. Next morning, i. e. the 18th Oct., being St. Luke's day, he proceeded to Waterford; cf. Benedict, R.S. i. 25.

Giraldus says Henry landed on St. Luke's day at Waterford, 'cum militibus quasi quingentis, arcariis quoque et sagittariis multis,' but by a curious mistake gives the date 1172, which does not agree with his own calculation, viz. the seventeenth year of Henry's reign and the fortieth of his age; cf. Topog. Hib. iii. 46, and Mr. Dimock's note in the R.S. v. p. 276. It was apparently this mistake that misled most of the Anglo-Irish annalists and many subsequent writers in their chronology of the events of this period.

For references to the 'Scutage of Ireland' from the Pipe Rolls, see Cal. Docts. Ireland, vol. i. pp. 1-6.

2590. *A la Crois en mer entra.* It has not been observed that this was the name of the regular place of embarkation near Pembroke, and its mention here is an indication of our author's independence and accuracy. John, like Henry, appears to have embarked 'apud Crucem super mare vel subtus Pembroke.' See Prestita Roll for the 12th John. The abstracts given in the Cal. Docts. Ireland, vol. i. Nos. 401, 403, record a number of payments at this place to knights, mariners, and others going to Ireland on the king's service. Was it Carew Cross?

2597. *A la Tusseins.* It is clear from the authorities quoted in the note to l. 2579, that Henry landed in Ireland on the 17th or 18th October a fortnight before All Saints' Day.

2599. *La feste sein Martyn*: the 11th November. Hoveden (R. S. ii. 32) says that Henry remained in Dublin from the feast of St. Martin to the beginning of Lent.

2603. *Willame le fiz Audeline.* According to Benedict, Henry had already sent before him William FitzAldelin, his dapifer, and Robert

FitzBernard with some other persons of his household, and found them at Waterford on his arrival there.

2605. *Umfrei de Boun* : Humphrey de Bohun. He was one of the loyal barons in the rebellion of the king's son, and was one of the commanders at the battle of Fornham (see note, l. 2950). He died in 1187. Dict. Nat. Biog.

2606. *Huge de Laci*. He is called the first Viceroy of Ireland, having been left as Justiciar by Henry in 1172. In the summer of 1173 he was summoned to Henry's aid, and appears to have remained in his service until after the council of Oxford in 1177, when he returned to Ireland as 'procurator general'; Gir., R.S. v. 347. His marriage with the daughter of Roderic O'Connor displeased Henry and he was recalled in 1181. He was again Chief Governor from the winter of 1181-2 to September 1184. He was assassinated at Durrow in 1186; Ann. IV. M.

2608. *Robert le fis Bernard*. Giraldus says that Henry when setting out for Dublin left Robert FitzBernard at Waterford (p. 278, cf. ll. 2624-5 *infra*), and again that on leaving Ireland Henry left Robert FitzBernard together with Humphrey de Bohun and Hugo de Gunville as joint governors of Waterford; p. 286, cf. ll. 2717-8, *infra*.

2610. *Bertram de Verdun*. He was the first Anglo-Norman Seneschal of Ireland, and obtained the barony of Dundalk; Lynch, *Legal Institutions*, pp. 67, 75. He died at Joppa in 1192; Chart. St. Mary's, Dub., R.S. i. 66 n. His great-grandson, John de Verdun, married Margaret de Lacy and through her obtained a moiety of Meath; Gilbert's Dublin, i. 239.

2621-2. *Leynistere en herite*. The effect of this grant (which has not been discovered) would be, that henceforth Strongbow would hold Leinster not by grant from Dermot (who by Irish law had no power to make the grant), nor in right of his wife (who by Irish law had none), but as tenant in capite of the Crown.

William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, who married Strongbow's only daughter by Eva, obtained a confirmatory grant (with reservations) in A.D. 1208, from King John. See Charter Roll, 9th John, m. 2; and Lynch, *Legal Institutions*, p. 143.

2651. *Vers Dyvelin*. Giraldus (pp. 276-9) says that Henry, after throwing FitzStephen into prison in Reginald's Tower, and receiving the submission of Dermot MacCarthy, King of Desmond, proceeded to Lismore, and then to Cashel; where he received the submission of Donnell

O'Brien, king of Thomond, Donnell Mac Gillpatrick, prince of Ossory, and Melaghlín O'Phelan of the Decies; that he then returned to Waterford 'per Tibracciam' (Tibberaghny), and having released FitzStephen proceeded to Dublin by way of Ossory; that on his route he received the submission of Machelanus Ophelan (Mac Faelan, lord of HyFaelain, in this poem called 'Makelan'), Machtalewi (the Macdalwi of l. 3212 *infra*), Otutheli, (O'Toole, here called Othothil), Gillemoholmoch, Ocathesi (O'Casey), Ocaruel of Uriel, and O'Rourke of Meath, while Roderic O'Connor gave in his submission to Henry's envoys at the river Shannon.

Hoveden (R.S. ii. 30) says Henry stayed fifteen days at Waterford, where he received the submission of the Kings of Cork, Limerick, Ossory, and Meath, and of 'Regenaldus of Waterford,' and of nearly all the principal men of Ireland, with the exception of the King of Connaught, who said he was the rightful lord of the whole of Ireland; that all the prelates of Ireland submitted and swore fealty to him, and that Henry, having arranged for a synod of the clergy at Cashel, proceeded to Dublin and remained there from the feast of St. Martin to the beginning of Lent; cf. Benedict, R.S. i. 25-28. Gervase of Canterbury and Ralph de Diceto, R.S. i. 348, also say that Roderic held aloof. At a council at Windsor on the 6th Oct. 1175, however, a 'finis et concordia' was made between Henry and Roderic, by which it was agreed that Roderic should hold his land as a sort of tributary king under Henry; Benedict, R.S. i. 102; Hoveden, R.S. ii. 84.

2661. *Cassele*: Cashel, then as now the seat of an archbishop. For the synod held here see Giraldus, R.S. v. 280-3; Benedict, R.S. i. 28; Hoveden, R.S. ii. 31.

2666. *Lysmor*: Lismore. Rog. de Wendover, R.S. i. 90, and Ralph de Diceto, R.S. i. 351, speak of a council held here in 1172, when the laws of England were adopted. This is not mentioned by Giraldus and has been doubted. See Ball's *Irish Legislative Systems*, App. A. The statement in the text merely shows that Henry went to Lismore.

2677. *Dis e wit simeins*; cf. l. 2688. Henry was really six months in Ireland, viz., from the 18th Oct. 1171, to Easter Monday the 17th April 1172.

2691-4. The winter was an exceptionally tempestuous one so that hardly a single ship was able to cross the channel from England; see Gir., R.S. v. 284; and cf. Ralph de Diceto.

2695. *A Dyvelin esteit li roi Henris*. According to Benedict and Hoveden, Henry was in Dublin from the 11th Nov. 1171, to the 1st

March 1172. He had a royal palace, skilfully constructed of peeled osiers, according to the custom of the country, erected for him outside the city, near the church of St. Andrew, and here with the kings and chieftains of Ireland he celebrated Christmas. His charter granting Dublin to his men of Bristowa (Bristol) to be inhabited, a facsimile of which is prefixed to Gilbert's Cal. Anc. Records Dub., vol. i, was executed 'apud Dvuelinam.' See, too, Fac. Nat. MSS. of Ireland, vol. ii.

2699-2708. Giraldus says that Henry was at Wexford anxiously waiting for news, when, after mid-lent, news came from Aquitaine of the arrival of the Papal commissioners to enquire into the death of St. Thomas, as well as news from England of the conspiracy of Henry's sons against him (pp. 284-5). So, too, Benedict, who says Henry left Dublin and came to Wexford at the beginning of Lent (1st March).

2709-2724. Cf. Giraldus, R.S. v. 286, where some additional names are given.

2728. *Mithe tut en erite*. This charter does not appear to be now in existence, but there is an inspeimus of it of the time of Hen. V; Rot. Pat. Hib. 2 Hen. V, No. 137, Calend., 207. It is mentioned by Benedict (R.S. i. 30) as having been granted at this time, but he is incorrect in his statement of the consideration 'per servitium centum militum.' Hoveden (R.S. ii. 34) adds that Hugh de Lacy was made Justiciary of Ireland. The grant was renewed at the council at Oxford in May 1177; Benedict, *ib.* p. 163; Hoveden, *ib.* p. 134. A confirmatory grant with reservations was made by John to Walter de Lacy in 1208. See Chart. Roll, 9th John, m. 1; and Lynch's Legal Institutions, p. 141. The lordship of Meath became divisible between the two granddaughters of Walter, namely, Matilda the wife of Geoffrey de Geneville, and Margaret the wife of John de Verdon, and both moieties ultimately merged in the Crown in the person of Edward IV.

2735. *Johan de Curti*, read *Curoi*. According to Gir. p. 334, John de Courcy was sent to Ireland by Henry II, upon the death of Earl Richard in 1176, as coadjutor to William FitzAudeline, the new Governor. In 1177, he proceeded to prosecute his claim to Ulster; *id.* pp. 338-345; Ann. IV. M. 1177-8. His frequent plundering expeditions are noticed by the Four Masters. Finally, in 1204, he was driven from Ulster by Hugh de Lacy the younger, to whom was granted the Earldom of Ulster. See Patent Roll, 6th John, m. 1; and Charter Roll, 7th John, m. 12; and Lynch's Legal Institutions, pp. 144-6. For the

subsequent legendary career of John de Courcy see Bk. of Howth in the Carew Cal.; and Ann IV. M. 1204, note (n). The seignory of Ulster also merged in the Crown together with the lordship of Meath.

2744. *Robert de Quenci*. See note, l. 1802.

2748. *Le Duffir*: the Duffry in the barony of Scarawalsh, Co. Wexford; see note to ll. 3208-21.

2755. Henry was kept at Wexford from the beginning of March to Easter Monday, the 17th April, when he sailed, having sent his retinue the day before from Crook near Waterford. Benedict, R.S. i. 30; Hoveden, R.S. ii. 34.

2758. *Portfinan*: Hoveden says Henry landed near St. David's. Giraldus says he landed in the harbour of Menevia. Eyton, Itin. Hen. II, says Portfinnan, but without quoting his authority. It is remarkable that Benedict intended to give the name of the exact landing-place, but there is a lacuna in the printed text. His words (R.S. i. 30) are: 'eadem die applicuit juxta Sanctum David in Wallia, in loco qui dicitur—'

I understand by Portfinan, Porth-stinian, a little creek in Ramsey Sound about half a league from St. David's, and the ordinary place of embarkation for Ramsey. The name is derived from St. Justinian, whose body was landed here from Ramsey, and to whom a chapel close to the shore is dedicated. See Jones and Freeman's Hist. and Antiq. of St. David's (1856), p. 13. Perhaps we should read 'Portstinan.'

2774. *Odimesi*: *Ua Diomasaigh* (O'Dempsey). This was one of the family names of the tribe of ui Failghe, and their particular district at this time was Clanmalier (Clan Maoilughra), comprising the baronies of Portnahinch in Queen's County and upper Philipstown in King's County. See Bk. of Rights, pp. 193, 216-17; Topog. Poems, p. 84 (n. 419); and compare Map of Leis and Offalie, Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc. 1862-3, p. 345. The chief of Clanmalier at this time, the summer of 1172, appears to have been 'Dermot son of Cubroghda O'Dempsey, chief of Clanmalier and for a long time Lord of Offaly,' whose death is recorded Ann. IV. M. 1193.

2801. *Tut dreit al issir del pas*. This mishap to Robert de Quenci, the Constable of Leinster, may have occurred in the wood of Ross-glass, mentioned by Sir Geo. Carew as one of the 'woodes and fastnesses of Leinster' in his time; Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc. 1856-7, pp. 234, 238; and cf. Tracts relating to Ireland, vol. ii. Ir. Arch. Soc. p. 26. The Cistercian Abbey of Ross-glass, afterwards known as Monasterevin,

was founded by this same Dermot O'Dempsey about 1178; Ann. IV. M. a<sup>o</sup> 1193, note. This wood lay in a direct line between Clanmalier and Kildare. See before-mentioned Map of 'Leis and Offalie.'

2819. *une fille*. This was Maud de Quenci who afterwards married Philip son of Maurice de Prendergast. See ll. 3038-57. They obtained the town of Inscordy (Enniscorthy) from the bishop of Ferns in exchange for certain ploughlands; Pat. Rolls of Chancery, 37th Eliz. m. 9. This deed is set out in Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc. 1864-6, p. 147. It is probable that Philip de Prendergast built the castle of Enniscorthy and lived in it (l. 2826), though its erection has been ascribed to Raymond le Gros. Two grants of lands in the neighbourhood by Philip's son, Gerald, are set out in the Register St. Thomas, Dub., R.S. p. 186.

2860. *A Karreu ala sojourner*. When the line is thus divided, it is evident that Carew, near Pembroke, is the place intended. Carew Castle is said to have belonged to the princes of S. Wales, and to have passed into the hands of Gerald de Windsor on his marriage with Nesta, daughter of Rhys ap Tewdr. From him it passed to his eldest son, William FitzGerald, father of Raymond. William FitzGerald is said to have taken the name 'de Carew.'

Mr. Dimock in his edition of the *Expugnatio* of Giraldus, R.S. v. 298 n., identifies this departure of Raymond 'pur le ire que il out' with the departure mentioned by Giraldus (p. 310) 'ob patris quem audierat obitum,' and accordingly he notices that Regan (as he always calls our author) places the summons to the earl into Normandy after Raymond's departure, while Giraldus reverses this order. But a little consideration will show that the writers were speaking of different events, and the supposed contradiction will entirely disappear on the hypothesis (for which, on other grounds, there is good reason) that a passage has dropped out of our text after l. 2993; in which, amongst other things, Raymond's departure on the death of his father was noticed. See note to l. 2989. The fact is, Giraldus has no mention of Robert de Quenci, or of the incursion into Offaly which led to his death, or of the earl's refusing Raymond his sister Basilia in marriage. Indeed, from the departure of Henry in April 1172, to the return of Strongbow in August 1173, the only event in Ireland which he mentions is the killing of O'Rourke in Meath.

2866. *Que lui venist en aie*. Ralph de Diceto helps us to fix the date of Henry's summons to Strongbow. He says, R.S. i. 375, that Henry, having with him Richard Earl of Striguil, who had lately come



from Ireland (*qui nuper ab Ybernia venerat*), advanced to the relief of Verneuil. This was in the beginning of August 1173.

2871. *le jouene rei sun fiz*. Henry, the king's eldest son, was crowned together with his wife Margaret, daughter of Louis VII, at Winchester on the 27th August, 1172 (*Benedict*, R.S. i. 31), and on the 8th March, 1173, he fled to the court of his father-in-law and conspired with him against Henry (*ib.* p. 42). See, too, *Giraldus*, p. 297, where the king's son is called '*Anglorum rex junior*'; also *Fantosme*, l. 53, '*la jofne rei sun fiz*.'

2887. *Gisors*. Henry went to Gisors and strengthened the fortress there in March, 1173; *Eyton's Itin.* p. 171.

2898 et seq. *Giraldus*, corroborating and supplementing the statement in the text, says that Henry summoned to his aid the garrisons he had left in Ireland, and committed the custody of that kingdom to Earl Richard with Raymond as coadjutor, and at the same time gave the earl the town of Wexford and the castle of Wicklow (p. 298). This was at Rouen, where Henry was on the 10th of August; *Eyton's Itin.* p. 176.

2940. *Huge de Laci*. He was defending Verneuil against Louis in July, 1173; *Benedict*, R.S. i. 49. He may have returned to Ireland with Strongbow in August, but I know of nothing to support this supposition. He appears to have been with Henry at Caen in December, 1173, *Eyton's Itin.* p. 178; and by means of royal charters witnessed by him we can trace him with the king at intervals up to the Council of Oxford in May, 1177 (see *Eyton's Itin.*, Index), soon after which he returned to Ireland as '*Procurator General*'; *Gir.* p. 347.

The passage in our text (ll. 2940-5) is indeed somewhat suspicious. The formula at the end is generally used only after a more lengthy account and when passing to a new subject. Our author has no mention of the colloquy between Hugh de Laci and Tiernan O'Rourke at *Tlachta* (the Hill of Ward) near Athboy, in 1172, which ended in blows and the death of the latter; see *Gir.* pp. 292-4, and the *Irish Annals*, sub a° 1172. It is possible that the story of Hugh de Laci from the time of Henry's departure, when he was left in charge of Dublin and given Meath in fee, was here taken up and brought down to date; cf. footnote to text, l. 2936.

2950. *A l'ur esteit, saches, grant guerre*. For these events see *Jordan Fantosme's French Chron.*; *Benedict*, R.S. i. pp. 60-2; *Hoveden*, R.S. ii. pp. 54-5. The Earl of Leicester and his army of Flemings

were utterly defeated at Fornham, near St. Edmund's, on the 16th or 17th Oct. 1173, and the earl and his wife were brought to Normandy and imprisoned at Falaise. William the Lion, King of Scotland, was not however taken prisoner until the 13th July, 1174, the very day on which Henry left Canterbury for London after his penance at the tomb of St. Thomas; Benedict, R.S. i. p. 72; Ralph de Diceto, R.S. i. 383-4.

2989. *e de ses enuers treiter*. It may be that the text of this line is corrupt, or that the translation offered is not correct, but in any case there is reason to believe that a whole passage has dropped out after l. 2993. It will be observed that the writer after saying that he will speak of the earl, and (as I read it) treat of his reverses, and (at any-rate) will tell how he marched with his men up and down throughout Leinster, does nothing of the kind, but commences the next paragraph with the message beseeching Raymond to return.

Now Giraldus tells us very fully about the doings of the earl, and his troubles after his return with Raymond in August, 1173. His account (R.S. v. pp. 308-11) may be summarised as follows:—The earl finds almost all the Irish chiefs in revolt, and his own troops, for the want of pay or plunder, in a mutinous state. A number of plundering expeditions are accordingly organised. First of all, Raymond heads a foray against the Offelani (who may be either the men of Offaly or those of Offelan, but in any case this foray was not, as Mr. Dimock supposes, that in which Robert de Quenci was killed). Next they plunder Lismore and the district round about, and when bringing home the spoil by sea (I suppose they conveyed it down the Blackwater to Youghal) Adam de Hereford defeats a fleet from Cork which had come to oppose them, while Raymond defeats Dermot MacCarthy at Lismore. (Cf. Ann. Inisfallen, 1173: 'Lismore devastated by the Green Foreigners.') Some time after this, probably early in 1174, Raymond, hearing of his father's death, returns to Wales. Hervey, as Constable, brings the earl and his household troops to Cashel on another plundering expedition. A force of Ostmen from Dublin is summoned to assist them, but these one morning in Ossory are surprised by Donnell O'Brien, and 400 of them, together with four Englishmen who led them, are killed. The earl retreats in confusion to Waterford, where he is like one besieged. All the men of Ireland rise in arms against the English, and Roderic invades Meath as far as the confines of Dublin. It was while in these straits that the earl sent the message seeking Raymond's assistance and

promising him his sister in marriage. The account given by the Four Masters of this defeat, which took place at Thurles, is still more emphatic; see sub a° 1174, where the editor collects in a note the entries in the earlier annals concerning the same event. It seems to me almost certain that some account of these doings and of this disaster, the first serious reverse that the invaders met, followed l. 2993, and has disappeared in the transcript which has come down to us.

2999. *sa sorur* : i. e. Basilia, filia comitis Gileberti. After the death of Raymond she married Geoffroi FitzRobert, Anglo-Norman seneschal of Leinster, and on his death entered the Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin, to which she had made extensive grants from her lands in Fothered. unolan, i. e. the present barony of Forth, Co. Carlow; Reg. St. Thomas, R.S. pp. 110-14.

3000-3. *Duno se aparilla Reymun*. Giraldus says that Raymond brought Meiler and others of his kinsmen with him, and that he landed at Wexford with a force of 430 men, in 15 ships, just in time to quell a threatened revolt there; that Raymond then marched to Waterford and brought the earl from thence to Wexford in safety; that meantime Fretellus, the Governor of Waterford, was slain while endeavouring to follow them; that his death was followed by a general massacre of the English at Waterford, but that the garrison in Reginald's Tower held out and in the end gained the upper hand (pp. 312-3). The Annals of Inisfallen, too, state that after the defeat at Thurles, 'the constable of Waterford with two hundred others were slain by the Galls of their own fortress'; see Ann. IV. M. 1174, note (y).

3015. *aliddle Instepheñi*. This would appear to be Inis-Teimhne, now known as the Little Island, in the Suir below Waterford (Mr. Dimock's note to Gir. Expug. Hib., R.S. p. 312). According to the Dublin copy of the Annals of Inisfallen, after the defeat at Thurles and the massacre at Waterford, 'the earl went on an island near the town [the Little Island] and remained there for a month, and then went back again to Dublin'; Ann. IV. M. 1174, note (y.) In the Calendar of Oengus, Trans. R. I. A., Ir. MSS. Ser. i. p. cix, it is called 'indsí temle' and 'indse teimle' and associated with St. Findbarr, and in the Ann. IV. M. 960 'Inis-Doimhle.'

3038. *La fille Robert de Quenoi*. See l. 2819 and note.

3040-59. As to this description of Philip de Prendergast and its bearing on the date of the poem, see Introduction p. xxi.

3064-3177. This passage is the only connected account of the sub-

infeudation of Leinster and Meath, by Earl Richard FitzGilbert and Hugh de Laci, respectively, that has come down to us. It is a sort of original Domesday Book of the first Anglo-Norman settlement, and must form the starting-point for any attempt to trace the devolution of landed property in the Pale. It has all the appearance, too, of being in substance a contemporary account. Changes which we know took place soon afterwards, from forfeiture or otherwise, are not noticed, and there is no reference to important grants made in 1177 and subsequently. I have attempted to identify the places mentioned, and have marked on the Map those in Leinster and Meath, and where it seemed advisable I have, so far as I could without unduly extending the notes, quoted grants or records connecting the persons mentioned with the lands assigned to them.

The following was the distribution of the lands of Earl Richard :—

(3064-9.) To *Raymond le Gros* (n. l. 1404) :

(1) *Fothord* : the *Fotharta Fea* or *Fotharta Osnadhaigh*, now the barony of Forth in the County Carlow; cf. *Fotherd*, l. 954 and note. The principal family in it was O'Nuallain (O'Nolan), hence the form of the name in Anglo-Irish documents. See Reg. St. Thomas, Dub., R.S. p. 113, where there is a grant by Raymond and Basilia of the church of Radsilan in Fodredunolan; and Giraldus, R.S. v. 355, where it is mentioned that a castle was built for Raymond in Fotheret Onolan.

(2) *Odrono* : *Ui Drona*, now represented by the East and West baronies of Idrone, Co. Carlow. O'Ryan was the lord of this territory; cf. ll. 1421, 1993-4, and notes. In Hoveden, R.S. ii. 134, for '*servitium Reimundi de Druna*' read '*s. R. de Druna*.'

(3) *Glaakarrig* : on the east coast of Wexford, near Cahore Point.

(3070-1.) To *Hervey de Mont Maurice* (l. 457-8) :—*Obarthi sur la mer* : *Ui Bairrche tire*, here called *sur la mer* to distinguish it from the *Ui Bairrche* on the Barrow, in Slievemargy, of which it was an offset. See Journ. Kilck. Arch. Soc. 1877, p. 344, note. The name now survives in the barony of Bargy, Co. Wexford, but the district possibly extended beyond the bounds of the barony. At any rate, Hervey's possessions extended over the greater part of the barony of Shelburne as well. Giraldus says that Dermot gave him two cantreds next the sea, between Wexford and Waterford; p. 233; cf. Hoveden, R.S. i. 134, '*totam terram Hervei inter Weseforde et aquam de Waterford*.' Hervey granted to the monks of Buildwas the lands on which the Abbey of Dunbrody, called de '*portu Sancte Marie*,' was afterwards

erected, extending apparently from the inlet of Canpile (Kempul in the charter) to Duncannon. See Chart. St. Mary's, Dub., R.S. ii. 151. Hervey also gave all his lands of 'Kilmor, Kenturc, and Banewe,' &c., to the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, which lands were afterwards transferred to the Abbey of Tintern, near Bannow. See Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc. 1854-5, p. 216; and Chart. St. Mary's, Dub., R.S. ii. p. lxxx. These last-mentioned lands, however, were, I think, all in Bargy.

(3072-83.) To *Maurice de Prendergast* (cf. note l. 455):—*Fernegenal*, i. e. Fearann-na-gCenel or Crioich-na-gCenel, a territory in the barony of Shelmalieri East, in the county of Wexford; Top. Poems, p. 92, n. 471. It is described by Giraldus, p. 120, under the form 'Ferneginan . . . quam a Weisefordia solum Slanensis aqua disterninat.' It would therefore be adjoining to Earl Richard's seat at Wexford (l. 3081, and cf. l. 2902). At the Council of Oxford in 1177, Henry declared that 'Ferneginwal' should be appurtenant to the service of Wexford; Hoveden, R.S. ii. 134.

Our author states that Robert FitzGodibert held this district afterwards. I have been unable to verify this. The surname occurs among the early settlers; see note ll. 404-419. The Prendergasts, as before stated (n. l. 2819), were afterwards connected with Enniscorthy. Maud de Quenci, Philip's wife, must have succeeded to the Duffry as heiress to her father, Robert de Quenci (ll. 2747-8). This district included the greater part of the barony of Scarawalsh, and the lands given to the bishop of Ferns in settlement of his dispute with the Prendergasts and in exchange for Enniscorthy were probably all in, or in the neighbourhood of, the Duffry.

(3084-5.) To *Meiler FitzHenry* (see note l. 447):—*Karebri*: Cairbre, now the barony of Carbury in the north-west of the County Kildare; Top. Poems, 76, n. (379); Ann. IV. M. 1174, note (v). This was the 'remotior cantaredus Ophelanise' of Giraldus, p. 314. In 1181, John the Constable of Chester and Richard de Pec, who succeeded Hugh de Lacy as Governors of Ireland, took from Meiler Kildare with the adjacent territory, which had been granted to him by Earl Richard, and gave him in exchange the province of Leix; and Hugh de Lacy, who was sent back again the next winter, built a castle for Meiler at Tahmecho (i. e. Timahoe) in Leix; Giraldus, p. 355. See Cal. Docts. Ireland, a° 1200, No. 137. It may indeed be observed that Kildare was not in Carbury, nor in Offelan at all, but in Offaly, originally granted to Robert de Bermingham (ll. 3104-5). An exchange may, however, have

been effected with Meiler. Certainly the barony of Carbury afterwards belonged to the Berminghams, who assumed the name Mac Fheoraia.

(3086-95.) To *Maurice FitzGerald* (see note, l. 1154):—

(1) *Lē nas*: Naas, in the Co. Kildare. This was included in Offelan, as to which see note to ll. 840-1. In 1185 John, Dominus Hiberniae, confirmed this grant to William FitzMaurice and his heirs; *Chartae Priv. et Immun.* p. 5; Lynch's *Legal Institutions*, p. 158. By another deed ascribed to circa 1180, though I think it must have been later, Prince John confirmed to Gerald son of Maurice 'terram de Omolrov et de Rathmore et de Magnoded (Maynooth) et de lathrebrin (Laraghbryan) et de Tactov (Tech Tuath, Taghadoe) et de Trachstraph (Tech Sraffain, Straffan), cum omnibus suis pertinenciis scilicet dimidium cantred quem habuit de dono Willelmi, filii Moricii, fratr̃is sui.' See transcript in the Red Book of the Earl of Kildare set forth in *Fac. Nat. MSS. of Ireland*, vol. iii. Pl. 1x; and cf. *Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc.* 1879-82, p. 425.

(2) *Winkinlo*: Wicklow. Giraldus calls it Wikingelo; see p. 314. where he says the earl gave to Maurice 'Medium Ophelaniae cantaredum cum Wikingelonensi castro'; and cf. p. 337, where he says that the sons of Maurice were defrauded of Wicklow Castle by FitzAudeline, and that Ferns was given to them instead. This was probably the Scandinavian name, the Irish name was Cill-mantain, the Kilmantan of l. 3094; Joyce, *Names*, i. 108; *Ann. IV. M.* 1454, n. (y). So Arklo, l. 3093, which Giraldus calls Archelo, is probably Scandinavian. The Irish name was Inbher Mor. In l. 3095 *Ad Cleth* represents Ath Cliath, Dublin (l. 2210 n.), and Lochgarman is Wexford Harbour; so called, according to O'Donovan, because the games of Carman were celebrate on the site of the town of Wexford; *Bk. of Rights*, p. 15, n. (q).

(3096-9.) To *Walter de Riddlesford* (see note l. 1803)—twenty fiefs in Omorethi, i. e. the territory of Uí Muireadaigh, of which at this period O'Toole was lord (cf. ll. 887-8 n.) Giraldus (*R.S.* v. p. 355) says that Hugh de Lacy built a castle for Walter de Riddlesford (Rideneafordia) at Tristerdermoth (Discart Diarmada, now Castledermot) in Omurethi. Walter de Riddlesford founded a nunnery at Graney two miles east of Castledermot (Harris' Ware, *Dub.* 1764 p. 269, where Harris, wrongly correcting Ware, places Graney in Carlow), and made a grant of lands to this nunnery (*Chart. Roll*, 9th John, m. 5). He also held from Strongbow the manor of Brieu (Bray), (see grant set out in Lynch's *Legal Institutions*, p. 147), and made grants of lands within this manor and at

Tristeldermot to the Abbeys of St. Thomas and St. Mary, Dublin; Reg. St. Thomas, R.S. pp. 153, 170; Chart. St. Mary, Dub., R.S. i. pp. 29, 30. In 1177 these grants of the seignories of Castledermot and Bray were confirmed by Prince John, and civil and criminal jurisdiction conferred on Walter de Riddlesford (Lynch, *ubi supra*).

(3100-3.) To *John de Clahaule*, the land between Eboy and Lethelyn. There is some doubt about the identification of Eboy. Ware takes it as Aghavoe or Aghabo, but then he had only Carew's Abstract, which reads Aghbow, before him. I think it represents the Crioich O m-Buidhe of O'Huidhrin (Topog. Poems, p. 86), a territory comprised in the barony of Ballyadams in Queen's County; Bk. of Rights, p. 213, n. (n). Ua m-Buidhe would be regularly anglicised Oboy, as Athbuidhe becomes Athboy. It is the Obowi of Giraldus, R.S. v. p. 356, where Hugh de Lacy built a castle for Robert de Bigarz. In the partition of Leinster among the daughters of William Earl Marshall it is called Obboy; Chart. St. Mary's, Dub., R.S. ii. 403; and in the assignment of her thirds to the widow of Walter Earl Marshall it is called the Manor of Aboy; Cal. Docts. Ireland. vol. i. No. 2989. Lethelyn is, of course, Old Leighlin (l. 802 n.). Giraldus says that Hugh de Lacy built a castle for John de Clahulla on the Barrow not far from Leighlin (R.S. v. 355; cf. 352). This was, perhaps, the famous Black Castle at Leighlin Bridge, though in Elizabeth's time it was found by inquisition that King John, when in Ireland, had built the castle and also the bridge; Ann. Kilck. Arch. Soc. 1868-9, p. 70, note; and Petrie's article Ir. Penny Journ. p. 65. If the above identification be correct, the lands given to John de Clahulle extended along the right bank of the Barrow from above Carlow to Leighlin Bridge.

'Johannes de Clahaulle marescallus' was one of the witnesses to a grant from Earl Richard; Reg. St. Thom. Dub., R.S. pp. 369-70. In 1207 he is referred to as one of the Barons of Leinster; Cal. Docts. Ir. vol. i. No. 329, cf. No. 448. He may have afterwards forfeited his lands in Leinster, as in 1216 we find him giving security for lands in Kerry given to him by Meiler FitzHenry; id. No. 698. He died before 1221; id. No. 1018.

(3104-5.) To *Robert de Burmegam* (Birmingham), *Offali*: *Ui Failghe* (Offaly), the territory of the O'Conors Faly, comprising besides the baronies of East and West Offaly in the County of Kildare considerable portions of King's County and Queen's County; Ann. IV. M. 1178, note g; Topog. Poems, n. 406; and see Map. The O'Conors Faly

were not immediately ousted from the part of Offaly comprised in King's County and Queen's County, so that there was an Irish as well as an English Offaly. The earls of Kildare afterwards supplanted the Berminghams in the English Offaly, while the barony of Carbury became the property of the Berminghams of the Pale; cf. note to ll. 3084-5.

'Robertus de Brimegham' was a witness to a grant from St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, in Strongbow's time; Chartulary, i. 260. He is not mentioned by Giraldus.

(3106-7.) To *Adam de Erford* (Hereford), *Riche fessement*. An original charter of Earl Richard to Adam de Hereford of half the vill of Achebo (i. e. Aghaboe in Queen's County) and the whole half cantred of land in which the vill is situated is preserved in the Castle of Kilkenny among the muniments of the Ormonde family. See National MSS. of Ireland, Pt. ii. Pl. lxiii. Adam de Hereford was also granted extensive possessions in Offelan, viz. Saltus Salmonis (i. e. the Salmon Leap at Leixlip, from which the barony of Salt in Kildare takes its name), Cloncurry, Kill, Oughterard, and Downings. Part of these lands he gave to his brothers John and Richard. See the memoranda on Adam de Hereford and his relatives, Reg. St. Thomas, Dub., R.S. pp. 102-4, and grants by the brothers Hereford, ib. pp. 75-87, 142-4 &c.; cf. also Cal. Docts. Ireland, vol. i. No. 166 (where Offaly is a mistake for Offelan), and Gir. p. 314.

(3108-11.) To *Miles FitzDavid* (see note, l. 450), *Orobert en Osserie*: a curious transcriber's error for Owerk, i. e. Ui Eirc, now the barony of Iverk in Kilkenny; Topog. Poems, notes 389, 510. The Fitz-Mileses were Barons of Iverk. The nunnery of Kilclehin in this district was endowed by David FitzMilo; Harris' Ware Antiq. p. 269; Cal. Docts. Ireland, vol. i. No. 2485. An extent of the rents and services of the free tenants of the Barony of Ouerke in the year 1313 is printed in the Car. Cal. Miscellaneous, p. 367.

(3112-13.) To *Thomas le Flemmeng* (Thomas Flandrensis; Gir.), *Ardri*: now Ardree, a parish on the east side of the Barrow immediately south of Athy, in the barony of Kilkea and Moone. Here Hugh de Lacy built a castle for him, not far from Obowi on the opposite side of the Barrow (Gir. p. 356, a passage confirming the identification of Obowi with Crioich O m-Buidhe). A grant by Thomas Flandrensis of the Church of Mune (Moone), the adjoining parish, will be found in Reg. St. Thomas, Dub., R.S. p. 167.

(3114-7.) To *Gilbert de Borard* (not mentioned by Giraldus), *Ofelmeth*



by the sea. The correction made in the text here helps to identify this district with Ui Feilmeadha Teas or Deas, the Southern Offelimy, the tribe name of the O'Murchadha applied to their territory, corresponding to the barony of Ballaghkeen on the east coast of Wexford. See Bk. of Rights, p. 208, n. (f); Topog. Poems, p. 90, n. (460); Ann. IV. M. 1381 (m). The O'Murchadha (anglicised O'Murroughoe, O'Murchoe, now Murphy) long retained their hold on this district, still called 'the Murroes,' and upon the submission of Art Mac Murrough and others to Richard II, it, together with all the land between the Slaney and Arklow, was granted to Sir John Beaumont.

Gilebertus de Borehard, or Boreart, was a witness to two of Strongbow's Charters; Reg. St. Thomas, Dub., R.S. p. 370, and Chart. St. Mary, Dub., R.S. ii. 154. I suppose he was the Gilbertus de Boisrohard whose land was declared appurtenant to the service of Wexford; Hoveden, R.S. ii. 134.

Gilbert de Borard is said to have founded a Receptory for Knights Templars at Killergy or Killarge, Co. Carlow; Harris' Ware Antiq. 271; Dowling's Annals, Ir. Arch. Soc. p. v. note.

(3118-21.) I am unable without further data to identify this Reinand; indeed, as the metre of line 3121 is defective, we may suspect corruption. We should perhaps read Reinaud, i.e. Rinaldus or Reginaldus. Reginaldus de Talbot, of Malahide and Portmarnock, appears not to have been the first grantee; Chart. St. Mary's, Dub., R.S. i. 130.

(3122-5.) To *Robert (FitzRichard)*, Le Norrath: Narragh in the County Kildare: a district now forming part of the barony of Narragh and Rheban East. Giraldus mentions that Hugh de Lacy built a castle for Robert FitzRichard 'apud Norrach' (p. 356). In Reg. St. Thomas, Dub., R.S. p. 228, there is a charter by Robert FitzRichard of ecclesiastical benefices and forest-rights in Norrath, and in Chart. St. Mary's, Dub., R.S. i. p. 67, there is another of Rosrehill 'de tenemento meo de Norrac Patric,' and certain forest-rights in his wood of Norrac Patric.

Robert FitzRichard is said to have been killed in Connaught; l. 3125. The Robert FitzRichard mentioned in the year 1200 (Cal. Docts. Ireland, vol. i. No. 142), appears to have been his grandson.

The following was the distribution of the lands of Hugh de Lacy:—

(3132-3.) To *Huge Tyrel*, Chastelknoc: Caislen-Cnucha (Ann. IV. M. 917, n. (q), now Castleknock, a barony on the north side of the Liffey adjoining Dublin. On the summit of Knockmaroon hill is the village of Castleknock with the ruins of the castle of the Tyrrels, barons

of Castleknock, still standing on a knoll, believed to have been the site of a royal Danish residence. See Dalton's Hist. of Co. Dublin, p. 556 *et seq.*, for notices concerning Castleknock. Giraldus (Topog. Hib., R.S. pp. 132-3) has a story of Hugh Tyrell's pilfering a cauldron from the monks at Armagh in A.D. 1185, and being obliged by divine punishment to restore it. He is mentioned *infra*, l. 3229, as being left in command of Trim Castle.

(3134-7.) To *Willame le Petit* (Guillelmus Modicus; Gir. p. 387)—

(1) *Chastelbrec*. This appears to have been taken for Castlebrack in the barony of Tinnahinch in Queen's County; but I know of nothing to connect the Petits with this district. It was in Iregan, the territory of the O'Duinns, or Dunns (Topog. Poems, 82, n. 411), and they do not appear to have been disturbed; Car. Cal. A.D. 1540, p. 164. Besides, it is not within the lordship of Meath. It may have been the same place as *Castell Bret* (*t* and *c* being often confused) where John stopped on the 16th August, 1210, after leaving Ratwer, i. e. Rathwire, in the barony of Farbill, West Meath (see Hardy's Itin. of K. John; and Cal. Docts. Ir. vol. i. p. 65), though where exactly this *Castell Bret* or *Brec* was is not clear.

(2) *Macherueran*: this name, though probably corrupt, represents Magheradernon, now united with Moyashel to make the barony in West Meath which includes Mullingar. It was known as 'Petit's Barony,' and in 1596 was largely inhabited by Petits; Perambulation of the Pale, Car. Cal.

(3) *Rathkeuni*, read Rathkenni. Rathkenny is now a parish in the barony of Upper Slane, Co. Meath, though in the 12th century the district appears to have been more extensive. The charter No. 167 in Chart. St. Mary's, Dub., R.S. vol. i, is headed 'Rathkenni que nunc vocatur Teltyn in Machyrgalyn.' No. 46 of the same volume is a charter from Willelmus le Petit of two carucates of land near Kilsenecan (or Monasterium Kilsenean, p. 198) in Machergalin. This was, I suppose, the name now known as Kilshine, in Morgallion, a parish adjoining Rathkenny. In 1228 there was a grant to Nicholas le Petit of a market at his manor of Rathkenny, a fair at his manor of Dunboyne (Dunboyne), and a free warren in the demesne of his manor of Admolinger (Mullingar); Cal. Docts. Ireland, vol. i. No. 1673; cf. Nos. 1998, 2037, 2163.

There is preserved in the Clarendon Collection, vol. xlv, Brit. Mus. (Ayscough 4792), an ancient copy on vellum of a charter headed 'Genuina et uera copia antiquae chartae willelmi parui ab Hugone

Laci datae.' As this charter has never been printed, and as it will serve as an example of a 12th century Anglo-Irish charter, I transcribe it here in full :—

' Hugo de Laci omnibus *sancte* matris ecclesie filijs & hominibus suis & amicis Francis & Anglicis & hiberniensibus salutem sciatis me dedisse & concessisse & presenti carta mea confirmasse Willermo paruo & heredibus suis Matherothirnan cum omnibus pertinentijs suis exceptis lacu et villa que dicitur Dissert & feodo unius militis circa villam predictam quod in manu mea retineo exceptis etiam duabus villis scilicet Rauakonil et Clonra quas prius Ade de Totipon donaueram & excepta dimidietate memoris quod est inter Rauakonill & killar cujus memoris medietatem que proxima est Rauakonill prius Ade prefato concesseram preterea de incremento duas terras que ad terram prefatam non pertinent scilicet Leuelkeil & Kleonkelli willermo prefato & heredibus suis cum terra predicta feodo & hereditate de me & heredibus meis habendas & tenendas libere & quiete & honorifice & plenarie in ecclesiis et capellis in bosco & plano in pratis & pascuis in vijs & semitis in aquis et piscarijs in stagnis & Mollendinis & venationibus cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus inde seruicium unius militis pro quibuslibet xxx carucatas [sic] terre predictae apud Killar faciendum testibus hijs Roberto de alto uillari Gilberto de Nogent Roberto de Bigarz Simone de bigars Meilero filio Henrici Thome filio alueredi Nicolao de Dinon Johanne de Eustreuilla(?) Willelmo de Fuone sacerdote Nichoalo [sic] clerico Radulfo clerico Philippo Clerico.'

In this charter Matherothirnan is the barony of Magheradernon in West Meath, the Macherueran of our text, called Maghirityernan in Stat. 34th Hen. VIII. c. i, constituting it a barony of West Meath; the *lacus* is Lough Ennell, and the vill of Dissert or Dysart is on its western shore. Ranakonill properly represents Rubha-Chonail, now corruptly called Rathconnell (see Joyce, Names, ii. 343). Killar is Cill-air (Killare), the Kilair of Giraldus, p. 356. The lands of Levelkeil and Kleonkelli were probably in the barony of Shrute, Co. Longford: the former perhaps represents Leath-bhaile cael, pronounced Levallykeel, the half townland of the keel (Joyce, Names, i. 242; ii. 418), the place now known as Keel on the Tang river in Shrute; and the latter probably represents Cluain caladh, the marsh or callow meadow (Joyce, id. i. 464), now Cloon-callow, called Cloncall in Sir W. Petty's Map, near the Inny a little to the north of Keel.

(3138-41.) To *Meiler FitzHenry* (cf. l. 3084)—The Cantred of *Hadhnorkur*: Ath-an-Urchair, i. e. 'the ford of the cast or throw,' believed to be the place where, according to the bardic story, Conall Cearnach slung the brain-ball at Conor Mac Nessa; Joyce, Names, i. 169; O'Curry, MSS. Mat. pp. 636-43. It was afterwards corruptly called Ardnurcher, and is now more commonly known as Horseleap, in the barony of Moycashel, West Meath. A castle was erected here in 1192 (Ann. IV. M.), and according to the Ann. Clonmacnoise, in 1207 Meiler was forced by the sons of Hugh de Lacy to abandon the castle and the cantred of Kineleaghe; cf. Ann. IV. M.

In the Ord. Surv. Letters, MSS. R.I.A. West Meath, vol. i. p. 99, O'Donovan says: 'Ath-an-Urchair, or Horseleap, was in the latter ages and indeed is still in great measure under the patronage of St. David, whose well, springing in the townland of Ballinlaban, is still held sacred. This shows,' he adds, 'that the parish was for some time under the control of a Welsh, or at least of an English family, who were for some reason devoted to St. David.' The passage in our text, compared with ll. 3443-3455, affords an interesting confirmation of O'Donovan's supposition.

(3142-3.) To *Gilbert de Nangle*, or 'de Angulo,' as the name is usually written in the Latin charters—All *Makerigalin*: Machaire Gaileang, or Gaileanga-Mor, now corrupted into Morgallion, a barony in Meath; Joyce, Names, i. 135-6.

There is a confirmatory charter by King John to the Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin, of the churches of St. John of Nober (Nobber) and St. Patrick of 'Mathergallen,' the gifts of Gilbert de Angulo and Hugh de Lacy; Reg. St. Thomas, Dub., R. S. p. 6; and a further ratification by Simon [de Rocheford] bishop of Meath, ib. p. 271.

According to the Dublin copy of the Annals of Innisfallen, Gilbert de Nangle was expelled from Meath in 1196 by Hamon de Valentiis [De Valoignes], who took possession of his castle and lands. In 1206-7 he made his peace with the king and received a grant of lands in Connaught; Cal. Docts. Ireland, Nos. 311, 354, 359.

(3144-7.) To *Jocelin de Nangle*: Gocelyn de Angulo (Chart. St. Mary's, Dub., R. S. i. 260)—

(1) *Læ Nouan*: Navan, Co. Meath. 'The Barnet of Navan his name Nangle, his hous at the Navan'; Hogan's Ireland in 1598, p. 95. Jocelin de Angulo founded or re-edified an Abbey dedicated to the Virgin Mary for regular canons of St. Augustin at Navan; Arch. Mon. Hib. p. 558.

(2) *La tere de Ardbreehan*, i. e. Ardbracon in the barony of Navan, Co. Meath; for many centuries the residence of the Bishops of Meath.

Carew, in his abstract of this passage, calls Jocelin the son of Gilbert, and he seems to have been followed by all subsequent writers; but the more natural interpretation of the passage is that Gilbert was the son of Jocelin, and this agrees better with all we know about them. The name Mac Gosdealbaigh, a corruption of Mac Gocelyn (afterwards Costello), was given to Gilbert de Nangle as early as 1193 (see Ann. IV. M. sub a°); so that Gilbert must have been the son of a Jocelin. Philip de Nangle, who appears to have been a brother of Gilbert, and was coupled with him in the pardon of 1207 (Cal. Docts. Irel. 359), succeeded to 'his father's land in Novan' (ib. 673). Neither Gilbert nor Jocelin is mentioned by Giraldus.

(3148-9.) To *Richard Tuit* (not mentioned by Giraldus), *riche feffement*. This included the district about Granard, in Co. Longford. Here John stopped on the 12th August, 1210, 'apud Grenard, castrum Ricardi de Thuit'; Hardy's Itin. of King John. In the same year Richard Tuit founded the Cistercian Monastery of Larha, now Abbeylara, near Granard; Chart. St. Mary's, R.S. ii. pp. 227, 232. In the following year he was killed by the fall of a tower during the building of the castle of Athlone; id. Annals, pp. 279, 312; and cf. Ann. IV. M. sub a° 1210. In 1596, 'the best Tutes' were at Tutestown in Magherademon; Car. Cal. sub a°, p. 192; but there were many other Tutes in West Meath; see Hogan's Ireland in 1598, p. 107, and they are represented there to-day.

(3150-1.) To *Robert de Lacy* (not mentioned by Giraldus), *Batwor*: Rath-Guaire, now Rathwire, in the barony of Farbill, Co. West Meath. The castle, of which hardly a vestige now remains, is said to have been built by Hugh de Lacy; Piers, West Meath, Collect. de Rebus Hib. p. 61. King John stopped here on the 14th Aug. 1210; Prestita Roll, Cal. Docts. Ireland, p. 65, where it is called 'Ratwer'; cf. Ann. IV. M. 1209. Robert de Lacy is mentioned among the barons of Meath in mandates of King John in the years 1200 and 1207; Cal. Docts. Ir. vol. i. Nos. 134, 329.

(3152-3.) To *Richard de la Chapele*, or Ricardus de Capella, as he is called in the Charters (not mentioned by Giraldus)—*Tere bone e bele*: situation unknown. He was frater germanus to Gilbert de Nugent (see Stanihurst de rebus in Hib. gestis, p. 209, Antwerp 1584; and Chart. St. Mary's, Dub., R.S. i. 105), and succeeded him as second Baron of

Delvin. His only child married Richard le Tuit, who became jure uxoris 3rd Baron of Delvin; see Burke's *Peerage*, 'Marquis of Westmeath'; and cf. *Cal. Docts. Ireland*, vol. i. Nos. 884, 970.

(3154-5.) To *Geffrei de Costentyn*—Kelberi, near to Ratheimarthy. There is considerable doubt as to the identification of these places. Ware (whose copy of Carew's abstract had apparently Kilbisky and Rarthmarthy) quotes a charter from Walter de Lacy, the son of Hugh, granting to Geoffry de Constantine 'five knights' fees in the theof of Kilbixi, with a castle and fifteen knights' fees in the land of Conemake (i.e. the Conmacne in Longford) next adjoining to the said castle, beyond the water of Ethne (the river Inny), by the service of four knights; 'Harris' Ware *Antiq.* p. 193. It is at any rate certain that Geoffry de Constantine did possess these lands, and founded and endowed the Priory of Tristernagh or Kilbixy thereon; see his foundation charter in Dugdale's *Mon. Angl.* (1830), vol. iv. p. 1147. Ware, however, makes no attempt at identifying Ratheimarthy. It is possible, indeed, that Kelberi may be a corruption of Kilbixi (Cill Bigsighe, the church of St. Bigseach), and that the grant from Walter de Lacy may have been confirmatory of an original one from Hugh de Laci. If this be so, Ratheimarthy is very probably a corruption of Rathcunarthi, which would represent the old form of the parish of Rathconrath, which adjoins Kilbixy. That this was the original form appears from the *Ecclesiastical Taxation of Meath* (*Cal. Docts. Ireland*, 1302-7), where it is called Rathconarty or Rathconarti in the deanery of Loxeudi. The Irish name is, I think, preserved in the *Annals of Loch Ce*, A. D. 1191, where it is stated that the castle of Rath-cuanartaigh was built in that year. This name means 'the fort of the pack of hounds'; Joyce, *Names*, ii. 43. Its equivalent, Rathcunarthi, might easily be changed in the transcript into Ratheimarthy. At any rate, this is the best suggestion I can make.

I should perhaps notice that Mr. Herbert Hore, in his notes on the facsimile of the ancient map of Leix (published in the *Journal of the Kilk. Arch. Soc.* 1862-3, pp. 345-351), observing that Hoveden speaks of 'Leix, the land of Geoffry de Costentin,' says that Kelberi is the Kilbery on the ancient map, and suggests that Rathei marthy is the rath of 'Omorthie, the sire de Leys.' But in the first place Kilbery is not in Leix, but on the opposite side of the Barrow in Omurethy; and secondly, the grant of lands in Leix to Geoffry must have been from Strongbow or perhaps from Henry (cf. *Cal. Docts. Ireland*, vol. i. No.

137), but not from Hugh de Laci, whose palatinate did not extend beyond the ancient kingdom of Meath.

There is indeed a Kilberry in the barony of Morgallion in Meath, but I know of nothing to connect Geoffrey de Constantine with it. It would have been included in the grant to Gilbert de Nangle (ll. 3142-3), and appears to have been afterwards given to Adam de Rudipat; Cal. Docts. Ireland, vol. i. Nos. 667, 822.

(3156-7.) To *Adam de Feipo*, *Scrín*: *Scrín-Choluim-Chille*, St. Columkille's shrine, now the barony of Skreen in Meath. Ware quotes Hugh de Lacy's charter from the Registry of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, by which he gave to Adam de Feipo 'Scrín, and one knight's fee besides about Dublin, that is, Clontoght and Santreffe' (Clontarf and Santry); Harris' Ware Antiq. p. 193. In the published Chartulary this deed does not appear, but only Ware's excerpt, which mentions 'feoda 21 militum scilicet Escrín'; Chart. St. Mary's, Dub., vol. ii. 21. We have, however, Adam de Feipo's grants to the Abbey of St. Mary of the churches of Scrín (ib. i. 96) and Santref (ib. i. 95). As to Clontarf, it early passed into the hands of the Templars; Ir. Penny Journ. p. 82.

Adam de Feipo, or Faipo, afterwards Phepoe, was perhaps the 'Adam de Futepoi' of Giraldus (p. 356), for whom Hugh de Lacy built a castle in Meath. A pedigree of the Feipo family, showing how the lands of Skreen passed in the 15th century to the Marewards, barons of Skreen, will be found in Chart. St. Mary's, ii. 23.

(3158.) *Gilbert de Nugent*. Hugh de Lacy's grant to Gilbert de Nugent of 'the whole of Delvin which the O'Finelans possessed in the time of the Irish' is translated from an old copy in the Clarendon Collection in Lynch's Legal Institutions, p. 150. Gilbert de Nugent was first baron of Delvin, and married his cousin Rosea, sister of Hugh de Lacy, who built a castle for him in Meath (Giraldus, p. 356), the ruins of which may still be seen at Castletown-Delvin. He was succeeded by his brother, Richard de Capella, who was ancestor of the earls of West Meath; note, ll. 3152-3. Grants from Gilbert de Nugent to the Abbeys of St. Thomas and of St. Mary, Dublin, will be found in the Register and Chartulary respectively of those houses.

(3159.) *William de Muset*, or Meset (not mentioned by Giraldus). He was given the barony of Lune in the County Meath; Harris' Ware Antiq. p. 193. In the Annals of Ireland from 1162-1370, printed in Chart. St. Mary's, Dub., R.S. ii. 312, it is stated under the year 1213 that Peter Messet, who was baron of Luyn near Trim, died without

male heirs, and that the inheritance fell to his three daughters, of whom Lord de Vernail married the eldest, Talbot the second, and Loundres the third (cf. Bk. of Howth, sub anno).

(3162-3.) *Huge de Hose*, afterwards Hussey (not mentioned by Giraldus). His lands comprised the present barony of Deece in Meath; Harris' Ware Antiq. p. 193, and cf. the charter from John of Hereford, Reg. St. Thomas, Dub., R.S. p. 123. In Hogan's State of Ireland, anno 1598, p. 95, we find, 'The Barnet of Galtrim (in the barony of Deece) his name Hussy, his Hous Galtrim.' The castle of Galtrim was one of those abandoned on the occasion of the attack on Slane in 1176; see note to l. 3178 infra.

(3164-5.) To *Adam Dullard* (not mentioned by Giraldus), *La terre de Rathenuarthi*. I have failed to trace this name. Is it, however, too fanciful to suppose that it might represent Rathin O'hAirtaigh, the little rath of OhAirt, *anglice* O'Hart? OhAirt is mentioned by O'Dubhagain as one of the chieftains of Tara; Topog. Poems, pp. 2, 6. His territory may have included Dollardstown, in the parish of Palnewtown, near the Boyne, to the north of Tara; and this place was probably the seat of the Dullards or Dollards of Meath, just as Dollardstown, near Ardree, Co. Kildare, appears to have been associated with Hugo Dullard; Reg. St. Thomas, Dub., R.S. p. 168. Adam Dullard and his brother Paganus witnessed a charter from Ernold Brun of the church in the vill of Baliomorhechad, now Brownstown, the adjoining parish to Dollardstown; Chart. St. Mary's, Dub., R.S. i. p. 68. There is a large rath or fort at Dollardstown beside the road from Navan to Drogheda.

(3166-73.) To *Thomas de Cravile* (not mentioned by Giraldus). There is a Magister Thomas de Cravilla mentioned in the year 1234, Cal. Docts. Ireland, p. 312, also in the Reg. St. Thomas, Dub., R.S. pp. 277-8, in connection with the right of presentation to the church of Lethcor (Laracor) near Trim, and as a witness to a grant (cir. 1230) by the grandson of Adam de Feipo. He was probably a descendant.

(1) *Eymloth Began*. Carew's Abstract, copied by Ware, makes the most astonishing hash of this: 'and to one Thomas he gave Cramly, Timlathbegan north-east from Kenlis'; Harris (*Hibernica*) improves this into Tym-lathbogan, and in Ware's note to Spenser's State of Ireland, in the reprint of 1810, p. 80, this further error appears: 'unto one Thomas he gave Cramly. Timlath began north-east from Kenlis.' Eymloth is the parish of Emlagh, north-east of Kells. It is called Imlachbegan under the deanery de Kenles in the Ecclesiastical Taxation



of Meath; Cal. Docts. Ireland, 1302-7, pp. 260, 269. Imleach denotes land bordering on a lake, and hence a marshy or swampy place; Joyce, Names, i. 465; and Began represents (not Beg=little, as has been suggested in Butler's Trim, but) St. Becan, who was 'the ancient patron of the place, though he has since been dethroned by the Virgin Mary' (see O'Donovan's Letter, Ord. Surv. MSS. Meath Letters, p. 153, in the Library of the R. I. A., Dublin). Becan was added to distinguish this Emlagh from other Emlaghs, the most noted of which was Imleach-iubhair (=the lake marsh of the yew-tree, Joyce, *ubi supra*), the ancient see of St. Ailbe in Tipperary.

(2) *Laohrachalun* and *Sendouenath*. In Dopping's Visitation of the Diocese of Meath (MS. Marsh's Library, Dub.) these two places, under the forms *Laraghcaline* and *Shendonagh*, or *Sendonagh*, are mentioned as chapels in the deanery of Loxeudi. They also appear, but, as printed, less correctly, in Cal. Docts. Ireland, 1302-7, under the forms *Lechalyn* or *Lethcalyn* and *Sondonenach* or *Sundonenach*. *Lathrachaleen* would mean 'the site of the little marsh meadow'; Joyce, Names, i. pp. 309, 464. *Sendovenath* correctly represents the Irish *Sean-domhnach*, i. e. old church, but the name has now become *Shanonagh*; Joyce, Names, i. 319.

(3174-7.) *Ricard le Flemmeng*. Richard Fleming (not mentioned by Giraldus) was killed in 1176; see next note.

*Crandone*. Richard Fleming was granted land at Slane, and his descendants were Barons of Slane. See the table of descent from Richard le Fleming, Lord Slane, A. D. 1278, traced in Lynch's *Legal Institutions*, p. 198. The identification of *Crandone* is, however, difficult. Robert *Flandrensis* (who may have been the heir of Richard Fleming), gave a carucate of land in *Crevoda* to the monks of Mellifont (*Miscellany Ir. Arch. Soc.* vol. i. p. 160). This represents the Irish *Craebh-fhoda*, now Creewood, three miles N. W. of Slane (Joyce, Names, ii. 417); and it is suggested in Butler's Trim. p. 251, that the name may possibly be disguised in *Crandone*. The ancient name of Slane was *Ferta-fer-feic*=the graves of the men of Fiacc; Todd's St. Patrick, p. 420; and the *Ui Creamhthainn* were located here; Bk. of Rights, p. 152, note (f); *Ogygia*, iii. c. 76.

3178. *Un Mot*. This was the castle of Slane, on the left bank of the Boyne, between Navan and Drogheda. It probably occupied the splendid site on which the Marquis of Conyngham's castle now stands. With the account of this attack compare the following from the Ann.

IV. M. 1176:—'The castle of Slane, in which was Richard Fleming with his forces, and from which he used to ravage Oriel, Hy Briuin, and Meath, was plundered by Melaghlin the son of Mac Loughlin, Lord of the Kinel-Owen, by the Kinel-Owen themselves, and the men of Oriel. They killed 500 or more (the Annals of Ulster from which this was taken say "100 and more") of the English, besides women, children and horses; and not one individual escaped with his life from the castle. Three castles were left desolate in Meath on the following day, through fear of the Kinel-Owen, viz. the castle of Kells, the castle of Galtrim, and the castle of Derrypatrick. Richard Fleming himself was slain on this occasion.'

If the date in the Four Masters be correct, this account of the attack on the castle of Slane is introduced here out of its place. From the grant of lands to Raymond on his marriage, the writer is led on to tell of the general distribution of lands in Leinster and Meath, which of course did not all take place at one time, and from the grant to Richard Fleming he passes to the account of the sacking of his castle. Then after enumerating the Leinster chieftains who had submitted to the earl, he tells of the irruption of O'Connor and his followers into Meath, and of the abandonment and destruction of De Lacy's castle at Trim. But according to Giraldus, who does not mention the attack on Slane Castle, news of O'Connor's incursion into Meath reached Wexford on the morrow of the nuptials of Raymond and Basilia, and this appears to have been in 1174, soon after the disaster at Thurles, or at any rate prior to October 1175, the date of the taking of Limerick. It remains to note that Okaruel is Murchadh ua Cearbhaill, who succeeded Donnchadh in 1168, and died 1189. For Macdonleue see note, l. 1756. Ororig cannot be Tiernan O'Rourke who was killed in 1172 (see note to l. 2940), but must be some subsequent lord of Breffny. As to Malathim, from the passage just quoted from the Four Masters one is tempted to identify him with Melaghlin O'Neill, king of the Kinel-Owen, but a comparison with ll. 3248-9 makes it probable that O'Melaghlin of Meath was intended.

3208-21. This passage has been entirely misinterpreted by Carew's Abstract, which subsequent writers have followed. 'The erle Richard,' he says, 'haveing (as is thought) pacified Leinster, the Irish, notwithstanding ther pledges were in his Handes, conspired agenst him, Namely,' and then follows the list of names, who, 'with many othirs, rose in Armes agenst him'; Car. MS. 596, Lambeth Palace. To this

Harris (*Hibernica*, p. 43) adds a note suggesting reasons for the supposed defection. This mistake no doubt arose from a mistranslation of *vers sei*, which here means, 'towards him,' 'with him,' i. e. on his side, and not 'against him.' Most of the chieftains named, all of whom belong to Leinster, have already been mentioned either as having been always on the earl's side, or as having been conquered by him, or as having given in their submission. These chieftains are as follows:—

*Murtherdash*, i. e. Murtough Mac Murrrough; see note to l. 1743.

*Dovenald Keuanath*, i. e. Donnell Kavanagh; see note to l. 619.

*Macdonthod*, i. e. Donnell Mac Donnchadh, king of Ossory; see note to l. 560.

*Macdalwi* is probably the Machtalewi of Giraldus, R.S. v. pp. 120, 269. He was a chieftain in Leinster, but where his territory was is not clear. It was probably the 'tenementum Machtaloe' made appurtenant to the service of Wexford by Henry II at the council of Oxford in 1177. See Hoveden, R.S. ii. 134. Benedict, R.S. i. 164. Is the name represented by Kilmactalway (called Kilmacdalowey, *Cal. Docts. Ir.* vol. i. No. 569), a parish in the barony of Newcastle, county Dublin?

*Oduvegin*, perhaps O'Duibhginn of Fearann-deiscertach, now the barony of Bargy; *Topog. Poems*, p. 93, note (468).

*Obrien del Duffhre*, O'Braoin of the Duibh-thire. He was probably the successor of Murchid Obrien mentioned ll. 141, 2163. The Duffry, long an 'Irish barony' (*Car. Cal.* a° 1596, p. 190), was a district comprised in the present barony of Scarawalsh, Co. Wexford, including the wood of Killoughrim (Coille Aughrim), some rapidly disappearing vestiges of which still exist, and inhabited by the Siol Brain; cf. *Topog. Poems*, p. 91, where however, note (465), O'Donovan says the district must be placed further to the S.W., the Siol Brain giving their name to the barony of Shelburne; but it seems to me much more probable that there were two branches of the Siol Brain in Wexford. The Duffry was granted to Robert de Quenci (l. 2748), and passed through his daughter Maud to the Prendergasts. The O'Briens however soon recovered possession of it; Clyn (*Annals Ir. Arch. Soc.* pp. 26-7) speaks of murders committed by the 'O'Brynnis' or 'O'Bryinys de Duffry' in the years 1335-6. Duffry Hall still preserves the name of the district. According to Joyce (*Names*, ii. 268), Duffry correctly represents Duibh-thir, while the more modern form Duffry seems to be derived from the genitive Duibhthire.

*Gylmeholmoe*, i. e. Donnell Mac Gilmoholmock; see note, l. 2283.

*Mackelan*, i. e. Faelan Mac Fhaelain, lord of Ui Faelain; see note, l. 840.

*Olorcan of Obarthy*: this is probably O'Lorcan of Fothart an chairn, now the barony of Forth, Co. Wexford; see Bk. of Rights, p. 211 n.; Topog. Poems, p. 93. n. 469, 470.

3223. *Trym*: Baile atha Truim, now Trim on the Boyne, Co. Meath. This castle was the chief seat of the lordship of Meath. For a description of the existing remains of Trim Castle and for many notices concerning it see Butler's Trim.

3238-3303. This irruption of O'Connor into Meath took place in 1174 soon after the defeat and massacre at Thurles, and the earl's march to oppose him (ll. 3308-37) was made immediately after Raymond's return and the marriage with Basilia; Giraldus, pp. 311, 315. It is impossible to be sure about the identification of all the names in the list of Irish chieftains who took part in this attack, but they were probably as follows:—

*Ochonchur*: Roderic O'Connor, King of Connaught.

*Oflaverti*: O'Flaithbheartaigh (O'Flaherty and Laverty) chieftain of the Muintir Murchadha or Ui Briuin Seola, whose territory was nearly co-terminous with the present barony of Clare in the county of Galway. See O'Flaherty's H-Iar Connaught, Ir. Arch. Soc. p. 2 n.

*Macdermot*: Mac Diarmada, chieftain of Magh-Luirc (Moylurg), a territory in the barony of Boyle, Co. Roscommon. The Mac Dermots were of the Siol Muireadhaigh, and their tribe name was Clan Maoilruana; Topog. Poems, p. 55, n. (251). In 1175 Conor Mac Dermot was lord of Moylurg.

*Macherathi*: Mac Oireachtaigh (Mac Heraghty or Ma Geraghty), chieftain of the Muintir Roduibh. This family was seated in Magh Naoi, or Machaire Chonnacht, in the county of Roscommon. Like the O'Conors and Mac Dermots they belonged to the Siol Muireadhaigh; Topog. Poems, p. 53, n. (245); Hy Many, Ir. Arch. Soc. p. 19.

*Okelli de Omani*: O'Ceallaigh, lord of Ui Maine, a district lying west of the Shannon, from the northern end of Lough Ree to the boundary of Thomond, the present Co. Clare. See Hy Many, Ir. Arch. Soc. pp. 2-7. Conor Moenmoy O'Kelly, who was slain in 1180, was lord of Hy Many at this time. See Ann. IV. M. 1180; Hy Many, Ir. Arch. Soc. p. 101.

*Oharthire*: O'h-Airt (O'Hart) (?). Cf. note to ll. 3164-5.

*Ohinnathi* : perhaps O'Finnachtaigh (O'Finaghty), either the chieftain of Clann-Conmhaigh or the chieftain of Clan Murchadha. This family, like so many of those already mentioned, belonged to the Siol Muireadhaigh ; Bk. of Rights, p. 107, note (s) ; Topog. Poems, p. 53, n. (231, 246-7).

*Ocarbre* : O'Cairbre, chieftain of 'Sweet Tuath Buadha' (the district now called Tuaith or Twy in the barony of Clonlonan, Co. West Meath, Ann. IV. M. 1156, note), is mentioned by O'Dubhagain, Topog. Poems, p. 11 ; but as all the names up to l. 3248 appear to belong to Connaught, perhaps at this time there was a family of this name in Cairbre, now the barony of Carbury, Co. Sligo ; ib. note (278).

*Oflannegan*. There were several O'Flanagans, but probably O'Flanagan of Magh Aoi, hereditary steward to the kings of Connaught, and chieftain of Clann Cathail, was intended ; Topog. Poems, p. 51, note (238).

*Omanethan* : O'Mannachain (O'Monaghan), chieftain of Ui Briuin na-Sinna, a district in the Co. Roscommon, situate between Elphin and Jamestown ; Topog. Poems, p. 63, n. (302) ; Ann. IV. M. a° 1218, note (r).

*Odude* : O'Dubhda (O'Dowd and sometimes Doody, which, though not so elegant, is nearer the native Irish pronunciation, O'Dooda) ; Hy Fiachrach, Ir. Arch. Soc. p. 111, note (g). The death of Taithleach O'Dowd, lord of Tireragh and Tirawley, is recorded Ann. IV. M. a° 1192.

*Osathnessy* is probably O'Seachnasaigh (O'Shaughnessy), chief of the Cinel Aodha, a sub-tribe of the southern Ui Fiachrach, whose territory was co-extensive with the diocese of Kilmacduagh, Co. Galway ; Bk. of Rights, pp. 108-9, notes ; Topog. Poems, n. (333). Cinel Aodha, properly anglicised Kinelea, comprised the district about Gort in the barony of Kiltartan (see map prefixed to Hy Many, Ir. Arch. Soc.). As to Poltilethban, the unrhythmical nature of the line and the repetition of the name Omanethan in the preceding line suggest corruption.

*Moletlin* : I suppose this represents O'Melaghlin of Meath, perhaps the Manus O'Melaghlin, lord of East Meath, who is said to have been hanged at Trim in 1175 ; Ann. IV. M.

*Ororig* : O'Rourke, but not, as before noted, Tiernan O'Rourke.

*Omadori de Kinel Oneil*. This can hardly refer to a chieftain of the Cinel Eoghan, as they are mentioned in l. 3258. Perhaps we should read Omaldori, representing O'Maoldoraidh. Flaithbheartach O'Maoldoraidh is mentioned Ann. IV. M. 1172, and his death is recorded id. 1197. As he was descended from Niall of the Hostages he might be

called 'de Kinel Oneil,' though, as coming through Conall Gulban, the youngest son of Niall, he should more properly have been described as of the Cinel Conaill. He was married to a daughter of Roderic O'Connor; Ann. IV. M. 1176.

*Macdonleue*: Cooley Mac Donlevy, king of Uladh; see note to 1756, and cf. l. 3186.

*Okaruel*: Murrough O'Carroll, lord of Uriel; cf. l. 3184.

*Mactawene* (?).

*Macscilling*: the only person of this name (which appears to be Norse) mentioned in the Index to the Ann. IV. M. is the commander of a foreign fleet from the west coast and isles of Scotland, summoned to do battle with a fleet raised by Turlough O'Connor in 1154.

*Macartan*: Mac Artain, chieftain of Cinel Faghartaigh, now Kinelarty, a barony in the County Down; Topog. Poems, p. 36, n. (174).

*Macgarrahan*: the only person of this name mentioned in the Index to the Ann. IV. M. is Mac Garaghan, Canon of Lisgool, who died in 1431.

*Makelan*: Faelan Mac Fhaelain, lord of Ui-Faelain; see note to l. 840.

*Onel de Kinelogin*: O'Neill, king of the Cinel Eoghain, whose territory, Tir-Eoghain (now Tyrone), comprised the whole of the present Counties of Londonderry and Tyrone, the barony of Inishowen in Co. Donegal, and parts of the County Armagh.

3315. *sur l'ewe*, i. e. the River Boyne.

3344-3459. Giraldus, pp. 320-3, says that Raymond set out on the expedition against Limerick on the 1st of October, and the Ann. Inisfallen and Ann. of Boyle supply the year, viz., 1175. He does not mention the king of Ossory, but he describes the difficulty caused by the Shannon. The first to cross, he says, was David of Wales, Raymond's nephew, who was followed by Galfridus Judas. Not being supported they recrossed when the latter was drowned. Meiler then crossed, and stood his ground until supported by Raymond and the rest of the army, when they carried the town by storm. The Four Masters do not mention the taking of Limerick, but record that in 1175 Roderick O'Connor expelled Donnell O'Brien from Thomond, and that in 1176 the English were driven from Limerick by Donnell O'Brien 'by laying siege to them,' an account which differs materially from that of Giraldus, p. 333, while the Ann. Inisfallen, sub anno 1176, substantially corroborate Giraldus.

# NOTES

## DEFINING THE TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS MARKED ON THE MAP.

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**Midhe**—the whole of East and West Meath, the northern half of Co. Dublin, nearly the whole of Co. Longford, the baronies of Kilcoursey, Garrycastle, Ballycowan, Ballyboy, and Eglish, and the parish of Castlejordan in the barony of Warrenstown, in King's County. *Chief King*, O'Maolseachlainn (O'Melaghlin).

Subdivisions in West Meath :—

**Breaghmhaine** : the barony of Brawny. *Chief*, O'Braoin (O'Breen).

**Cuirone** (afterwards Dillon's Country) : the barony of Kilkenny West. *Chief*, O'Tolairg.

**Calraighe** (Calry) : the parish of Ballyloughloe in the barony of Clonlonan. *Chief*, Mag Amhalghadha (Magawley).

**Ui Mac Uais** : the barony of Moygoish. *Chief*, O'Comhraidhe (Curry).

**Cinel Einda** (included in Dalton's Country) : a small territory near the hill of Uisnech. *Chief*, Mag Ruairc (Rourke.)

**Cinel Fiaachach** (afterwards Mageoghegan's Country) : the barony of Moycashel ; *Chief*, Mac Eochagain (Mageoghegan).

**Corca Ræidhe** : the barony of Corkaree. *Chief*, O'h-Ionnradhain (Henrion).

**Corca Adhamh** : included in the barony of Magheradernon (afterwards Petit's Country). *Chief*, O'Dalaigh (Daly).

**Dealbhna Mor** : the barony of Delvin. *Chief*, O'Finnallain.

**Feara Bile** (afterwards Darcy's Country) : the barony of Farbill ; *Chief*, O'h-Ainbheith (Hanvey or Hanafy).

**Feara Tulaoh** (afterwards Tyrrell's Country) : the barony of Fartullagh. *Chief*, O'Dubhlaidhe (Dooley).

Subdivisions in Longford :—

**Cairbre Gabhrain** : the barony of Granard. *Chief*, O'Ronsain.

**Muntir Gilgain** : distributed among the baronies of Ardagh, Moydow and Shrule. *Chief*, O'Cuinn (O'Quinn).

**Teathbha** (Teffia). This name was at one time applied to the county Longford and the western half of West Meath. The river Eithne (Inny) divided it into North and South Teathbha.

**Subdivisions in King's County :—**

**Dealbhna Eathra**: the barony of Garrycastle. *Chief*, Mac Cochlain (MacCoghlan).

**Feara Ceall** (Fircal), (O'Molloy's Country): the baronies of Ballycowan, Ballyboy, and Eglish. *Chief*, O'Maolmhuaidh (Molloy).

**Muintir Tadhgain** (the Fox's Country): the barony of Kilcoursey. *Chief*, O'Catharnaigh (O'Caharney or Fox).

**Críoh na gCedach**: the parish of Castlejordan in the barony of Warrenstown. *Chief*, O'Follamhain.

**Subdivisions in East Meath :—**

**Dealbhna-Beg**: the barony of Fore. *Chief*, O'Maolcallann (Mulholland).

**Luighne**: the barony of Lune. *Chief*, O'Braoin (O'Breen).

**Teallach Modharain**: the barony of Upper Moyferath (?). *Chief*, O'Donnchadha (Dunphy).

**Gaileanga Mor**: the barony of Morgallion. *Chief*, O'Leochain (Loughan).

**Uí Laeghaire**: the greater part of the baronies of Upper and Lower Navan. *Chief*, O'Coindealbhain (Quinlan).

**Uí Mac Uais**: occupied the barony of Lower Moyferath. *Chief*, O'h-Aenghusa (Hennessy).

**Brugh**: a district on the Boyne, according to O'Donovan, near Stackallan; Sir William Wilde and others have, however, sought to identify it with the district between Slane and Oldbridge, where the chambered tumuli of New Grange, Dowth, Knowth, &c., cluster. It was a pagan cemetery.

**Onodhbha**: a name now represented by Knowth in the barony of Upper Slane. *Chief*, O'Dubhain.

**Odhbha**: the barony of Skreen (?). *Chief*, O'h-Aedha (Hughes).

**Deisi Teamhrach**: the barony of Deece. This tribe are said to have been expelled from Meath in the 3rd century, when they settled in the county Waterford.

**Subdivisions in Dublin :—**

**Fine Gall** (Fingal): the greater portion of the Co. Dublin north



of the Liffey, inhabited by the Ostmen, but at this time, according to O'Huidhrin, subject to Mac Gillamocholmog.

**Salthne**: the barony of Balrothery West. *Chief*, O'Cathasaigh (O Casey).

**Laighin**, or **Leinster**, comprised the modern province less Midhe, as above defined, the Co. Louth, which was part of Oirghialla or Uriel, and the baronies of Ballybritt and Clonliff in King's County, which formed the district of Eile ui Cearbhaill or Ely O'Carroll. *Chief King*, Mac Murchadha (Mac Murrigh).

Principal divisions of Leinster:—

**Cairbre** (afterwards Bremyngnam's Country): the barony of Carbury, Co. Kildare. *Chief*, O'Cairdha (Keary and Carey).

**Ui Failain** (Offelan): the baronies of Ikeathy and Oughteranny, N. and S. Salt, Clane, N. Naas, and the northern part of Connell. *Chiefs*, Mac Eochaidh (Keogh) and O'Brain (O'Byrne), but in A.D. 1170 Mac Fhaelain (Mackelan).

**Ui Failghe** (Offaly): the baronies of East and West Offaly in Co. Kildare, Portnahinch and Tinnahinch in Queen's County, and Warrenstown, Coolestown, Philipstown, and Geashill in King's County. *King*, O'Conchobhair Failghe (O'Conor Faly).

Subdivisions of Offaly:—

**Clar Colgain**: in barony of Lower Philipstown. *Chief*, O'h-Aenghusa (Hennessy).

**Tuath da Muighe** (Tethmoy): baronies of Warrenstown and Coolestown. *Chief*, O'Maoilchein.

**Magh Aoife**: in barony of East Offaly. *Chief*, O'Murchadhain (Moran and Morrin).

**Geisill**: the barony of Geashill. *Chief*, O'h-Aimirgin (Bergin and Mergin).

**Leghe** (Lea): in West Offaly and small part of Portnahinch. *Chief*, O'Ceallaigh.

**Clan Maoilughra** (Clanmalier): the baronies of Portnahinch and Upper Philipstown. *Chief*, O'Diomasaigh (O'Dempsey).

**Ui Riagain** (Iregan): the barony of Tinnahinch. *Chief*, O'Duinn (Dunne).

**Ui Dunchadha**: the barony of Uppercross and part of Rathdown, through which the river Dodder flows, in the Co. Dublin. *Chief*, Mac Gillamocholmog.

**Clar Cualann**: the level land in the half-barony of Rathdown, Co. Dublin. *Chief*, O'Cosgraigh.

**Feara Cualann** (Fercuolen): the half-barony of Rathdown, Co. Wicklow. *Chief*, Mac Gillamocholmog.

*Note to Feara-Cualann.* O'Donovan does not distinguish Clar-Cualann, the plain of Cualann, from Feara-Cualann, but places the territory in the half-barony of Rathdown in the north of Co. Wicklow, with which in the 17th century Fercuolen was considered co-extensive; see Bk. of Rights, p. 13; Topog. Poems, n. (365). It is probable, however, that at the time of the English invasion the territory of Cualann was much more extensive. The Four Masters record, sub a° 938, that the abbot of Cill Achaidh was drowned in the sea of Delginis-Cualann, i.e. near Dalkey Island. Again, it would be impossible to call the mountainous region in the north of Co. Wicklow 'a plain.' O'Huidhrin, indeed, appears to speak of distinct territories, or rather perhaps of O'Cosgraigh's land, 'the mast-bearing territory of the plain of Cualann,' as having been carved out of 'the fair Feara-Cualann.' This plain appears to have extended up to the neighbourhood of Dublin, where it gave its name to the Slighe Cualann, the ancient road leading from Tara, through Dublin towards Bray, and where the name is still preserved in the suburb of Cullenswood. This was the boscus de Coloigne or Colonia mentioned in the Annals for the year 1316, printed in Chart. St. Mary's, Dub., R.S. ii. p. 297, and was included in the manor of Cullen or Collon belonging to the Archbishop of Dublin in the 14th century. See Mr. James Mills' notices of the Manor of St. Sepulchre, Dublin, in Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc. 1889; and Stokes' Ireland and the Ang. Norm. Church, p. 225, note. Glencullen preserves the name in the mountainous district near Enniskerry; see Chart. St. Mary's, Dub. i. 35 and Index. The Four Masters mention both the Ui Briuin Cualann and the Ui Ceallaigh Cualann: the former included Delgany (Ann. IV. M. 1021), and the latter is to be equated with O'Huidhrin's 'O'Ceallaigh over East Ui Teigh'; Topog. Poems, p. 89, n. 445.

**Ui Muiredhaigh** (Omurethi): the baronies of Kilkea and Moone, Narragh and Rheban, Kilcullen, South Naas, and the part of Connell south of the hill of Allen in Co. Kildare, and probably part of Co. Wicklow. *King*, O'Tuathail (O'Toole). O'Donovan,

while rightly insisting that Muirheartach O'Tuathail (the father of St. Lawrence O'Toole) was lord of Ui Muiredhaigh, appears to deny that prior to the English invasion Imaile was subject to him (Ann. IV. M. 1180, n. (e); Bk. of Rights, p. 210 n.), though the genealogy inserted in the Book of Leinster asserts this. Lines 887-8 of our poem certainly seem to imply that Glendalough in Imaile was in some sense subject to O'Toole. I have accordingly left the eastern boundary of Ui Muiredhaigh undefined in the Map.

**Ui Mail (Imaile)** : now a valley in the barony of Upper Talbotstown, Co. Wicklow, but the ancient territory was more extensive and included Glendalough. *Chief*, O'Taidhg.

**Ui Eineoghhlais** : the barony of Arklow. *Chief*, O'Fiachra.

**Laeighis (Leix)** : the baronies of East and West Maryborough, Cullenagh, Stradbally, Ballyadams, and Slievemargy, in Queen's Co.

Subdivisions of Leix :—

**Laeighis Beata, or Magh Biada** : the great heath of Maryborough. *King*, O'Mordha (O'More).

**Cinel Grimthainn** : a territory about Dun Masc (Dunamase). *Chief*, O'Duibh (Deevy and Devoy).

**Magh Druchtain (Feran O'Kelly)** : a district extending from Stradbally to Luggacurren. *Chief*, O'Ceallaigh.

**Gailline (Dysart Gallen)** : in the barony of Cullenagh. *Chief*, O'Ceallaigh.

**Criooh O m-Buidhe, or Ui Buidhe (Oboy)** : in the barony of Ballyadams. *Chief*, O'Caollaidhe.

**Criooh O m-Barrtha or Ui Bairrohe** : in the barony of Slievemargy. *Chief*, Mac Gormain.

**Ui Drona (Odrone)** : the baronies of Idrone, Co. Carlow, and, according to Mercator's Map of 'Udrone,' that part of the barony of Carlow which lies south of the Burren river. At one time Ui Drona also included the six parishes in the barony of Gowran, Co. Kilkenny, adjoining the Barrow, which form part of the diocese of Leighlin, but this district, known as Magh Mail, appears to have been annexed to Ossory before the English Invasion (see Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc. 1864-6, pp. 198-9). *Chief*, O'Riain (O'Ryan).

**Fotharta Fea**: the barony of Forth, Co. Carlow. *Chief*, O'Nuallain (O'Nolan).

**Ui Ceinnsealaigh** (Hy Kinsellagh): included the whole of Co. Wexford, the barony of Shillelagh, Co. Wicklow, and the northern extremity of Co. Carlow. It is sometimes used to include the districts of Forth and Odrone as well. *King*, Mac Murchadha (Mac Murrrough).

Subdivisions of Hy Kinsellagh:—

**Ui Deaghaidh**: nearly co-extensive with the barony of Gorey. *Chief*, O'h-Aodha (Hay or Hughes).

**Ui Feilmeadha Deas** (Southern Offelimy): the barony of Ballaghkeen. *Chief*, O'Murchadha (O'Murchoe and afterwards Murphy).

**Ui Feilmeadha Tuaidh** (Northern Offelimy): in the barony of Rathvilly, Co. Carlow. *Chief*, O'Gairbhídh (Garvey).

**Siol Elaigh**: the barony of Shillelagh. *Chief*, O'Gaoithín (Gahan).

**Dubthoíre** (the Duffry): the barony of Scarawalsh, south-west of the Slaney. *Chief*, O'Brain (Breen).

**Beanntraighe**: the barony of Bantry; Clann Coscraigh.

**Siol Brain**: the barony of Shelburne.

**Fearann-deiscertaoh**: the barony of Bargy. *Chief*, O'Duibh-ginn (Deegin and Duggan).

**Fothart an Chairn**: the barony of Forth. *Chief*, O'Lorcain (Larkin).

**Fearann na-gCenel** (Fernegenall): the barony of Shelmalier East. *Chief*, O'h-Artghoile (Hartley or Hartilly).

**Ossraighe**: the whole of Co. Kilkenny and the former barony of Upper Ossory, now the baronies of Upperwoods, Clandonagh, and Clarmallagh, in Queen's County. *King*, Mac Gillaphadraig (Fitzpatrick).

Subdivisions of Ossory:—

**Coill Uachtoraoh**, now the barony of Upperwoods. *Chief*, O'Dubhshlaine (Delany).

**Ui Duach** (Idough): the barony of Fassadinin, and the lowlands of Galmoy and Crannagh adjoining the Nore. The level district about the Nore was also called Magh Airgead Ros. *Chief*, O'Braonain (Brennan).

**Gabhran**: a name preserved in the barony of Gowran, but Mr. Hogan (*Journ. Kilk. Arch. Soc.* 1864-6, pp. 235-250) gives grounds for supposing that the name was applied to the great central plain of Ossory so as to include the baronies of Shillelogher and Kilkenny; he takes Cluain Ui Cearbhaill to be an alternative name for the same district. *Chiefs*, O'Donnchadha (Dunphy), and O'Cearbhaill (Carroll).

**Magh Sedna**: the north-western extremity of the barony of Galmoy. *Chief*, O'Broithe (Brophy).

**Magh Lacha**: a plain in the barony of Kells, between the King's River and the Glory River. *Chief*, O'Faolain (Phelan and Whelan).

**Magh Airbh**: a plain in the barony of Crannagh near Tubbrid. *Chief*, O'Caibhdeanaigh (Keveny and Gaffney).

**Ui Bearchon** (Ibercon): the northern portion of Ida. *Chief*, O'Caolluidhe.

**Ui Deagh** (Ida): the central portion of the barony of Ida.

**Ui Grine** (Igrine): the southern portion of the barony of Ida.

**Ui Eiro**: the barony of Iverk. *Chief*, O'Brudair (Broder and Broderic).

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- Adcleth, l. 3095; Hathcleyth,  
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 Almaine, 2684: Maine, in France.  
 Anjo, 2684: Anjou.  
 Ardbrechan, 3145: *Ard Breccain*,  
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 Ardri, 3113: Ardree near Athy.  
 Arklo, 3093: Arklow.  
 Athethur, 1021: see Hachedur.
- Banne (la), (read 'Banue'), 461,  
 469, 474, 478: called 'Banua'  
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 aldus: *Cuan an Bhainbh*, Ban-  
 now, Co. Wexford.  
 Barne (la), 779, 810: *Bearbha*,  
 the river Barrow.  
 Becherin, 1781, 1783, 1974, 2027,  
 2030: *Beg-Eire*, Begerin or  
 Begery, an island in Wexford  
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 Bertun, 1044: (?)  
 Bree, 3093, (*Bri*=a hill): Bray.  
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 Britaine, 2683: Bretagne, Brittany.
- Cassele, 2661, 2665: *Caiseal*,  
 Cashel.  
 Chastel brec, 3134: *Caislen-breac*,  
 = Castell bret (qy. brec) where  
 K. John stopped on the 16th  
 August 1210, perhaps Castle-  
 brack in the barony of Tinna-  
 hinch, Queen's Co.  
 Chastelknoc, 1754, 3132: *Caislen-*
- Cnucha*, Castleknock, Co.  
 Dublin.  
 Clondolcan, 1571, 1573: *Cluain-*  
*Dolcain*, Clondalkin, Co. Dublin.  
 Clontarf, 1757: *Cluain-Tarbh*,  
 name unchanged, Co. Dublin.  
 Connoth, 113, &c.: *Connacht*,  
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 Corkeran, 224; Korkeran, 221,  
 223: perhaps Gort-Corcrain,  
 a townland near Youghal.  
 Crandone, 3174: (?) in the  
 barony of Slane, Co. Meath.  
 Croiz (la), 2590: Cross on the sea,  
 near Pembroke; Carew Cross!
- Dalkei, 1761: the Danish form of  
*Delginis*, Dalkey or Dalkey  
 Island.  
 Deys (li), 1420: the territory of  
 the *Deisi Mumhan*, now repre-  
 sented by the baronies of Decies,  
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 Diveline, 138, 843, 1568; Develine,  
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 line, 1786; Dyvellyne, 1854;  
 Dyviline, 2464; Develin, 1556;  
 Divelyn, 1975; Dyvelin, 1749,  
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*Duibh-linn*, Dublin.  
 Domdonuil, 1406; Dondonuil,  
 1417; Dundounil, 1494 (called  
 'Dundunnolf' by Giraldus):  
 probably the place now known  
 as *Drum Domhnaigh* (Drum-  
 downy), Co. Kilkenny, on

- the Barrow, near Ballinlaw Ferry.
- Druusuns, ioling, 2947: Druidston (pronounced Druson) Chins, on St. Bride's Bay, Wales.
- Duftir, 2748; Duftthre, 3215: *Duibhtir*, long known as the Duffry, Co. Wexford.
- Eboy, 3103: probably the territory of the *Ui Buidhe*, properly anglicised Oboy (the Obowi of Giraldus), in the barony of Ballyadams, Queen's County.
- Eir, 2263, 2415: the Islands, meaning here the Orkneys.
- Engletere, 244, &c.: Angleterre.
- Eschoce, 2979: Ecosse, Scotland.
- Eymloth Began, 3168: *Imleach Becain*, so called from its patron St. Becan; a parish north-east of Kells, now called Emlagh.
- Fernegenal, 3074, 3080: *Fearanna-gCenel*, a territory in the barony of Shelmaliere East, Co. Wexford.
- Fernes, 110, &c.; Fernez, 513, &c.: *Fearna*, Ferns, Co. Wexford.
- Fertekerath, 1310: *Ferta-na-gCaerach*, now Fertagh in the barony of Galmoy, Co. Kilkenny.
- Finglas, 1918: *Fionnghlaise*, Finglas near Dublin.
- Fotherd, 954; Fothord, 3064: *Fotharta Fea*, now the barony of Forth, Co. Carlow.
- Gales, 323: Galles, Wales.
- Gascoine, 2683: Gascogne.
- Gisorz, 2887: Gisors in Normandy.
- Glaskarrig, 3068: *Glascarraig*, Glaskarrig, Co. Wexford.
- Glindelath, 887: *Gleann-da-locha*, Glendalough.
- Hachedur, 1012; Athethur, 1021: *Achadh-ur*, now Freshford, Co. Kilkenny.
- Hadhnorkur, 3138: *Ath-an-urchair*, Ardnurcher or Horse-leap, in the barony of Moycashel, West Meath.
- Hathcleyth, 2210: see Adcleth.
- Hogges (la), 2321: the Haugr, Howe, or Thingmote, which at this time and for centuries stood outside Dublin near the Steyne.
- Huluestere, 1756: see Uluestere.
- Iddle de Instepheni, 3015: *Inis-Teimhne* or *Indsi temle*, now known as the Little Island, in the Suir below Waterford.
- Karebri, 3084: *Cairbre*, now the barony of Carbury in Co. Kildare.
- Karret (read Karrec), 1397: the Karrech of Giraldus; Ferry Carrick on the Slaney, near Wexford.
- Karreu, 2860: Carew Castle, near Pembroke in South Wales.
- Kelberi, 3154: perhaps corrupted from Kilbixi; *Cill Bigsighe*, in the barony of Moycoish, West Meath. It would, however, better represent *Cill Bearaigh*, Kilberry, in Meath.
- Kencelath, 107, 618: see Oken-celath.
- Kenlis, 3169 (hence Headfort): *Ceanannus*, Kells, Co. Meath.
- Kilkenni, 1311: *Cill Chainnigh*, Kilkenny.
- Knoc Brandon, 1653: *Knoc-Brendain*, Mount Brandon in Kerry.
- Kyldare, 2696, 2771, 2795: *Cill Dara*, Kildare.
- Kylmainan, 1759: *Cill Maigh-nenn*, Kilmmainham.
- Kylmantan, 3094: *Cill Mantain*, Wicklow.

- Lachrachalun, 3170 (read Lathrachalun): Laraghcalin in the deanery of Loxeudi, Co. West Meath.
- Laynestere, 19, 103; Leynestere, 40, &c.; Leyniestere, 3035: *Laighin*, Leinster.
- Leis, 1177; Leys, 1228, 1251, 1267: *Lacighis*, Leix.
- Lethcoin, 46, 77, 85; Lethchoin, 3261; Leschoin, 22; Lescoin, 3271: *Leath-chuinn*, the northern half of Ireland.
- Lethelin, 802; Lethlin, 807; Lethelyn, 3103: *Leith-ghlionn*, now Old Leighlin in the barony of Idrone West, Co. Carlow.
- Lethunthe, 47, 81: *Leath mhogha*, the southern half of Ireland. See note to L. 22.
- Lochgarman, 3095: the Irish name for Wexford.
- Lundria, 2948: Londres, London.
- Lymeric, 2035; Lymeric, 2156, 3390: *Lusmneach*, Limerick.
- Lysmor, 2666; Lismor, 2668: *Lios mor*, Lismore.
- Macherueran, 3136: now the barony of Magherademon, Co. West Meath.
- Makerigalin, 3143: *Machaire-Gaileang*, now the barony of Morgallion, Co. Meath.
- Man, 2263, 2415: The Isle of Man.
- Mithe, 18, &c.: *Midhe*, the kingdom of Meath.
- Monestere, 1758: Munster, used here of *Tuath Mumhan* or Thomond.
- Nas (le), 3088: *Nas*, Naas.
- Normandie, 241, 2679, 2976: Normandy.
- Norrath (le), 3123: Narragh, Co. Kildare.
- Norwiche, 2264: Norway.
- Nouan (le), 3144: Navan, Co. Meath.
- Obarthi, 3070; Obarthy, 3217: *Ui Bairrche tire*, now the barony of Bargy, Co. Wexford.
- Odoth, 2051: *Ui Duach*, also anglicised Idough, a territory comprising the barony of Fassadinin, Co. Kilkenny, and some neighbouring districts.
- Odrono, 1421, 1982, 3067; Drone (?), 2008: *Ui Drone*, now the baronies of Idrone, Co. Carlow.
- Ofelmeth sur la mer, 3114: *Ui Feilmeadha Teas* or *Deas*, the Southern Offelimy, now the barony of Ballaghkeen, Co. Wexford.
- Offali, 2773, 2776, 3105; Offaili, 2804: Offailie, 2777, 2790: *Ui Failghe*, Offaly or Ophaly.
- Offelan, 841, 3105; Ofelan, 858, 871, 3090: *Ui Faelain*, Offelan or Ophelan.
- Okencelath, 886, 2181, 2826, 2939; Okenselath, 1742, 1785; Kencelath, 107, 618: *Ui Ceinnsealaigh*, Hy Kinsellagh.
- Omani, 3242: *Ui Maine*, Hy Many.
- Omorethi, 3097: *Ui Muireadaigh*, called 'Omurethi' by Giraldus.
- Orobert en Osserie (read Owerk), 3110: *Ui Eirc* now the barony of Iverk, Co. Kilkenny.
- Osseri, 75, 127; Osserie, 205, 534, 935, &c.: *Osraighe*, Ossory.
- Peito, 2684: Poitou.
- Pembroc, 2502: Pembroke.
- Penbrocsire, 409; Penbrocscire, 2498; Pemleoc shire, 2591: Pembrokeshire.
- Poltilethban, 3247: (?).
- Portfinan, 2758: Porth'stinian in Ramsey Sound, near St. David's.



Port Largi, 2212: *Port Lairge*, the Irish name for Waterford.

Ratheimarathi, 3155: perhaps read Rathcunarthi, *Rathcuanartaigh*, ancient name for Rathconrath, West Meath (?).

Rathennarthi, 3165: perhaps *Rathin-O hAirtaigh*, O'Hart's Rath, now Dollardstown in the parish of Painestown, Co. Meath (?).

Rathkeuni (read Rathkenni), 3137: *Rath Cennaigh*, Rathkenny in the barony of Slane, Co. Meath.

Ratwor, 3150: *Rathguaire*, Rathwire in the barony of Farbill, Co. West Meath.

Scrin, 3156: *Scrin-Choluimcille*, Skreen.

Seint Davi, 369; Seint David, 401; Sein Davi, 450, 2761: St. David's, Pembrokeshire.

Seint Eadmund, 2965: Bury St. Edmunds.

Sendouenath, 3171: *Seandomh-nach*, now Shanonagh, in the parish of Templeoran, West Meath.

Slani, 1778: *Slaine*, the river Slaney.

Steine (la), 2269, 2321: The Steine, Steyne, or Stayne, a

plain near Dublin, where Trinity College now stands.

Thatmelin, 1104; Thamelin, 1113: *Teach-Moling*, now St. Mullins. Co. Carlow.

Tiberath, 1042: *Tiobraid*, Tubbrid, perhaps Tubbridbritain in the barony of Crannagh, Co. Kilkenny (?).

Tirbrun, 24, 89, 1740, 1909: *Tir Briuin*, the territory of the *Ui Briuin Breifne* in the counties of Leitrim and Cavan.

Trym, 3223, 3262, &c.: Trim, 3338: *Ath Truim*, now Trim, Co. Meath.

Uluestere, 2733; Huluestre, 1756: Ulster, used here of *Uladh*.

Watreford, 1368, 1414, 1502, 1853, 2595: Waterford.

Weiseford, 484, &c.; Weyseford, 1854, &c.; Veisseford, 1969: Wexford.

Wenenath, 1043: *Uaithne-n-ath*, perhaps the ancient name for the district round Freshford, Co. Kilkenny (?).

Winkinlo, 3092: Wicklow.

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- de Marreis, Richard, 1811.
- Meiler le fiz Henriz: lands at Bannow, 447; takes part in the first raid into Ossory, 747, 765; and in the second, 930; and in the march on Dublin, 1551; and in the sortie from Dublin, 1945; and in the battle in Odrone, 2001; left in Dublin by King Henry, 2721; given Carbury by Earl Richard, 3084; and Ardnurcher by Hugh de Lacy, 3141 (MS. Meiler le fiz Hervi, read Henri); leads the way across the ford at Limerick, 3425.
- Milis *or* Miles le fiz Davi, *or* le fiz l'evesque de Sein Davi: lands at Bannow, 449; takes part in first raid into Ossory, 748; besieged in Dublin, 1810; left in Dublin by Henry, 2722; given Owerk (Iverk) in Ossory by Earl Richard, 3108.
- Moriz, *or* Morice, le fiz Gerout (Maurice FitzGerald): lands at Wexford, 1154, 1171; marches into Leix, 1237; fortifies Karret (Carrick on the Slaney), 1396; given Naas and Wicklow by Earl Richard, 3087.
- de Mumoreci, *or* Momorci, Hervi (Hervey de Montmaurice): lands at Bannow, 457; takes part in the first raid into Ossory, 606, 749; and in the second, 930; remains with Dermot, 1140; joins Raymond, 1496; given Obarthy on the sea by Earl Richard, 3071.
- Murierdath, *or* Murtherdath (i.e. Murtough son of Murrough Mac Murrough, lord of Hy Kinsellagh): takes part in the siege of Dublin, 1743, 1760; makes peace with Earl Richard, 2183, 3210.

- de Muset, Willame, given lands by de Laci, 3159.
- de Nangle, Gilibert (de Angulo), 3142.
- de Nangle, Jocelin, 3144.
- Nichol, a monk, kills O'Ryan of Odrone, 2006.
- de Nungent, Gilibert, 3158.
- Obrien, Dovenald, li reis de Lymerich *or* de Monestere, at the siege of Dublin, 1758; joins with Earl Richard in an expedition against Mac Donnchadh, 2035, 2046; his treachery, 2093; expedition against him, 3346.
- Obrien, Murchid *or* Morthoth (Murchadh Ua Brain), abandons Dermot, 141, 152, 599; beheaded, 2163.
- Obrien del Duffhre (the Duffry, Co. Wexford), probably the successor of Murchid Obrien, 3215.
- Ocarbre (O'Cairbre), 3244.
- Ocarui, Awelaph, (O'Garvy?), 1741, 1789, 1908.
- Ochonchor (Roderic O'Conor), 3238, elsewhere called li reis de Connoth; at Clondalkin, 1572, 1634; summons a hosting to besiege Dublin, 1746; at Castleknock, 1755; his answer to the earl, 1849; his hosting against Trim Castle, 3238 et seq.
- Odimesi, *or* Odymesy (O'Dempsey, chieftain of Clanmalier), raid against him, 2774 et seq. 3213.
- Odude (O'Dowd), 3246.
- Oduvegin (O'Duibhgin?), 3214.
- Offelan, Dovenald, del Deys (Donnell O'Phelan of the Decies), 1420.
- Offlannegan, 3244.
- Offlaverti (O'Flaherty), 3240.
- Oharthire (O'Hart?), 3243.
- Ohinnathi (O'Finaghty?), 3243.
- Okaruel (O'Carroll), 20, 3184, 3252.
- Okelli, king of Hy Mani, 3242.
- Okinad, Awelaf, 225.
- Olorcan of Obarthy, 3217.
- Omalory (?) of the Cinel O'Neill, 3250.
- Omanethan (O'Monaghan), 3245.
- Omorthie, Omurthe, *or* Omurthith (O'More, chieftain of Leix); raid against him by Mac Donnchadh, 1180; seeks aid from Dermot, 1194; gives hostages to Dermot, 1267; on Earl Richard's side, 3213.
- Oneil, 18; Onel, 3258.
- Orageli (O'Reilly of Tirbrun), 1788, 1909, and see 1740 (note).
- Oriande Odrone, 1421, 1994, 2010.
- Ororic (O'Rourke), king in Leathchuinn, 23; seeks aid from the king of Connaught, 112.
- Ororig (a different individual), at the attack on Ricard Fleming, 3188; at the hosting against Trim, 3249.
- Osathnessy de Poltilethban (O'Shaughnessy?), 3247.
- Othothil (O'Toole), 888.
- le Petit, Willame, 3135.
- de Prendergast, *or* Prendregast. Moriz *or* Morice, also called Moriz Osseriath *or* Ossriath; lands at Bannow, 455; takes a leading part in the first raid into Ossory, 521, 605, 665, 692, 736; and in that into Offelan, 854; and in the second raid into Ossory, 929; leaves Dermot, 1069; and offers his services to Mac Donnchadh, 1088; receives the name Osseriath, 1147; with Mac Donnchadh in Leix, 1223; conspiracy to murder him, 1287, 1325; returns to Wales, 1387; returns to Ireland with Earl

- Richard, 1545; besieged in Dublin, 1805; sent to negotiate with O'Connor, 1846; sale-conducts Mac Donnchadh, 2063 *et seq.*; goes to England to aid Henry, 2038; given Fernegenal by Earl Richard, 3073.
- de Prendergast, Phelip, 2824, 3041.
- de Quenci, Robert, besieged in Dublin, 1802; marries Earl Richard's daughter, 2744; given the Duffry and the constablenesship of Leinster, 2747; killed 2808.
- Randolf *fiz* Rouf, 979.
- Regan, Morice, Dermot's 'latimer,' 8; chief authority of the writer, 4; sent to Wales for aid, 422; sent to summon the citizens of Dublin to surrender, 1657.
- Reginald (Ragnald), Danish chieftain in Waterford, 1506.
- Reinand (Reinaud, Renaldus?), 3121.
- Reis *or* Ris (Rhys ap Gruffudd, prince of S. Wales), 378, 380, 391.
- Reymond, Reymund, *or* Reymun (to suit rhyme) le gros, lands at Domdonuil, 1404; battle there, 1460; takes part in the march on Dublin, 1542, 1608; and in the sortie from Dublin, 1903, 1937; seeks Earl Richard's sister to wife, 2830; goes to Carew Castle, 2860; summoned to Ireland by Earl Richard, 2996; marries the Earl's sister, 3033; given the Forth, Odrone, and Glas carrig by Earl Richard, 3061; expedition to Limerick, 3353 *et seq.*
- Ricard le *fiz* Gilbert, generally called Ricard li quens, *or* li quens simply, Richerd (?) 1509; his interview with Dermot, 327; sends Reymund to Ireland, 1401; lands at Waterford and takes the city, 1501; marches on Dublin, 1541, 1612; leaves Miles de Cogan governor of Dublin, and goes to Waterford, 1721; besieged in Dublin, 1762; takes part in the sortie, 1905, 1941; and in the battle in Odrone, 1989; joins O'Brien against Mac Donnchadh, 2049; summoned to Henry, 2205; returns to Ireland with Henry, 2593; raid against O'Dempsey, 2777; refuses his sister to Reymund, 2848; summoned by Henry and made governor of Glora, 2864, 2882; returns to Ireland, 2912; summons Reymund to his aid and grants his request, 2904; enfeoffs his barons in Leinster, 3064-3127; expedition to Trim, 3320.
- Ricard le *fiz* Godoberd, 410.
- de Ridellalord, Walter, 1803, 3099.
- Robert le *fiz* Bernard, 2608.
- Robert le *fiz* Godoberd, 3082.
- Robert (FitzRichard), 3123.
- Robert le *ha* Esteuene, *or* Estephene (Robert FitzStephen), imprisoned by Rhys, 383; lands at Bannow, 442; takes part in the first raid into Ossory, 521, 604, 746, 789; and in the raid into Osselan, 854; and in the second raid into Ossory, 929; remains with Dermot, 1138; marches into Leix, 1201, 1236; given Wexford by Dermot, 1308; taken prisoner at Carrick on the Slaney, 1772; brought in chains before Henry, 2031; left in

Dublin by Henry, 2719; goes  
to Normandy to aid Henry,  
2936.

Smiche, Robert (Smith?), 693.  
Smorch (Sidroc?), Danish chief-  
tain in Waterford, 1506.

Tuit, Richard, 3148.

Tyrel, Huge, 3133, 3229, 3264,  
3338.

de Verdun, Bertram, 2610.

Willame le fiz Audeline, 2603.

## GLOSSARY.

Words not met with elsewhere are marked with a dagger: †.  
 Infinitives not occurring in the text are placed between square brackets: [ ].  
 The more doubtful words are marked with a query: ?.

### A.

- †[**Abucher**], *v. refl.* and *n. pp.* abuchez, 706, 1355, to go into ambush, to be in ambush; Mod. Fr. *s'embusquer*; cf. 'abushe, abuse, abusche' (Murray).  
 [**Aco(1)per**], *va. pp.* acope, 2087, to accuse; cf. *encuper*, infra.  
**Adrescer**, *va.* 2644. *cond.* addressereit, 2151; *adrescereit*, 2058, to redress.  
**Aduris**, *adj.* 1895, 2400; *aduris*, 1906; *adurez*, (read *aduriz*: *tapiz*), 714, hardy.  
 †[**Afailir**], *vn. pp.* afailiz, 1473 = *manquer*, *faillir*, *tomber* (Godefroy); cf. 'afayle,' to fail (Halliwell).  
 [**Affermer**], *v. refl. impf.* se affermout, 1397, to fortify oneself.  
 [**Afer**], *va.* t'afe, 354, I assure you. *v. refl.* s'afiout, 626, 1261, to place confidence (in).  
 [**Affreer**], *vn. pp.* affreez, 1448; cf. Chancer, 'affrayed,' scared.  
 [**Afoler**], *va.* 724, to foyle, wound, &c. (Cotg.); cf. Fantosme, R.S. 1317; cf. 'afoild,' foiled, cast down (Halliwell), and *obsol. v.* 'afole,' to be fool (Murray).  
 [**Afubler**], (Lat. *affibulare*), *va. pf.* afubla, 178, (lit.) to fasten on with a pin; cf. *fubler*, infra.  
**Agenuler**, *vn.* fere a. 991, to bring to the knees.  
**Agravanter**, *va.* 1432, 3263, to crush, to demolish.  
**Agueite**, *sf.* 1328, an ambuscade; cf. Chaucer: 'The leon sits in his *awaite* alway to sle the innocent, if that he may.'  
**Aime**, *sm.* par a. 717, 1424, by estimation, i.e. approximately; for *esme*, from *esmer*, Lat. *as-timare*.  
 [**Ajorner**], *vn.* to dawn, to shine; *trestut* *lor* *ajorne*, 494 = *tout le jour tant qu'il lui* (Godefroy).  
**Aitant**, 692, &c., sometimes written *ai tant* (i.e. *a itant*), thereupon.  
**Aler**, *vn.* 77 = *aller*. *ind. pr. sg.* 3 *va*, 152, &c.; *veit*, 174; *vet*, 1047, 2093: *pl.* 2 *allez*, 190; 3 *vont*, 762; *wnt*, 2163. *impf. sg.* 3 *alout*, 261. *pf. sg.* 3 *ala*, 485; *alat*, *alad*, 1542: *pl.* 3 *alerent*, 549. *fut. sg.* 1 *irrai*, 214; 3 *irra*, 3237; *irrat*, 858; *irrad*, 2224: *pl.* 1 *irrum*, 676; 3 *irrun*, 1556. *subj. pr. pl.*



- 1 augum, 799; 3 voisent, 539.  
*impf. sg.* 3 alast, 542. *imper. pl.*  
 1 alum, 1244. *pp.* ale, 263.
- Aloez**, *pp.* 498 (Lat. allaudare),  
 renowned; cf. 'alowe,' to praise  
 (Halliwell).
- Aloez**, *pp.* 603 (los = Lat. laudes),  
 renowned; cf. 'alosed,' praised  
 (Halliwell).
- Altretel**, *adv.* 2932, similarly.
- Alures**, *adv.* 2192, for ailurs, Lat.  
 aliorsum, Mod. Fr. *ailleurs*.  
 M. reads à l'ures which he  
 takes as the Mod. Fr. *à l'heure*;  
 but this does not account for the  
 s, nor yield so good a mean-  
 ing.
- Amdeus**, *adj.* 2179; andu, 1707;  
 Lat. ambos duos.
- Anuit**, *adv.* 792, to-night.
- [Apeiser]**, *va. pp.* apeise, 2199,  
 to appease, to pacify.
- [Apendre]**, *vn. ind. pr.* apent,  
 1255, 2554, 2788, to appertain  
 to, to belong to; cf. append  
 (Halliwell).
- †**[Aphaleiser]**, *va. pp.* aphaleises,  
 1481, thrown from the cliff  
 (falaise or faleise). The word  
 is perhaps not to be found else-  
 where, but 'defalaisier' is still  
 used in Guernsey of raising a  
 sheep which has fallen down a  
 cliff; Metivier, Dict. Franco-  
 Norm. For the action, cf. Jehan  
 Bodet, La chanson des Saxons  
 (apud Bartsch and Horn, 330  
 4-5):—'Chascun liier au col  
 une grant pierre bise Et geter  
 enz el Rin d'une haute *falaise*,'  
 and Pierre de Langtoft's Chron-  
 icle, R. S. 23:—'Al *falays* de la  
 mer outre l'ad gettez.'
- Aparailer**, *va.* 372; apariler,  
 1206, 2221. *v. refl.* aparailer,  
 860, 1363; apariller, 3000, 3018,  
 to equip, to get ready.
- [Aprucer]**, *va.* aprucen, 1248,  
 to approach.
- Aquiter**, *va.* 1057, to subdue;  
 2023, to release.
- Aracine**, *pp.* 3206, rooted (used  
 figuratively).
- [Ardeir]**, *vn. pf.* arst, 1627, to burn.
- Arriver**, *vn.* 461, &c., always used  
 strictly according to its ety-  
 mology (ad ripam) = to come  
 to shore, to land, unless, perhaps,  
 in l. 1996.
- Arsun**, *sm.* en a. 2028, on fire;  
 cf. Eng. law term 'arson.'
- ¶ **Artire**, 2434; M. translates 'di-  
 rectly, one after another,' but  
 without explaining the word. I  
 think we may safely restore  
 a *martire*. Gilmoholmock was  
 faithfully carrying out his in-  
 structions; see l. 2312, where the  
 phrase recurs, and cf. l. 2528.
- ¶ **Aruele**, 1079. This is, perhaps,  
 the puzzling word *arvale*, men-  
 tioned in Du Cange under arva  
 2, with the supposed meaning  
 evil intention, or better, I think,  
 ill humour. See quotation from  
 Vitae Patrum MSS., 'Et si s'en  
 vient moult liément, Sans mal-  
 talent et sans arvale'; and cf.  
 arval, *adj.* = mécontent, irrité  
 (Godf.).
- [Aseurer]**, *va. pp.* asuere, perh.  
 read aseure, (Lat. assecurare),  
 2541; asure, 3402, to guaranty,  
 to assure.
- Asquans**, *pron.* 2437 (properly  
 alquant, auquant; Lat. aliquan-  
 tum), some people.
- [Asseir]**, *va. pp.* asis, or assis (1)  
 to fix, 1186; ascit, 1185, prob-  
 ably a graphic variant for the  
*pf.* assit or asist; (2) to besiege,  
 beset, 1824, 1950; (3) *v. refl.*  
 to post oneself, 2319.
- [Assenter]**, properly, assentir. *pp.*

assente, 2371, a term used of dogs scenting their prey. The word is also assimilated to the first conjugation in Bozon, S. A. T. F. p. 151, and cf. *id.* Introd. p. lxiii. Godefroy, however, gives to *assenter* the meaning, 'to have perception of, to hear,' quoting this passage alone.

† [Astiver], *va. pp.* astive, 2012 = *frapper* (Godefroy, quoting this passage only); but perhaps we should read astine, for astoné 'or astuné,' forms which gave rise to the obsol. verb 'astone' or 'astune' (Murray) = to stun, to strike senseless, and cf. estoner, estuner, now *étonner*.

† [Asuivre, Asuir], *pp.* asuie, 2120, used here in the sense of 'struck.' So *consuivre* has the meaning of *atteindre en frappant* (Godefroy), and cf. l. 2445.

Anques, (aliquid and s), *adv.* 2242, 2248; aques, 1034, somewhat.

[Aurer], *va. imp.* aure, 2980, to praise.

Auter, *sm.* 1131 = *autel*; so 'auter' = altar (Halliwell).

Autresi, *adv.* 449; autreci, 607, likewise, also.

[Avaler], *vn. pp.* avalez, 646, to go 'à val,' i. e. ad vallem, to descend. Cf. Sir John Maundeville, 'summe of the Jewes have avaled down to the valeyes,' and Spenser, F. Q., I. i. 21, 'when his later Spring gins to avale.'

† Avans, 2570: read anaus, *pl.* of anel, i. e. rings, chains; cf. 'Metre en buies e en aneus,' Benoit, Ducs de Norm. ii. 18966; and cf. enanele, 2632.

Aver, 342 = *avoir. ind. pr. sg.* 1 ai, 1381; 3 ad: *pl.* 1 avum, 1246; awm, 2521; 2 avez, 2039; 3 ont, 130; unt, 216. *impf. sg.* 3 aveit,

27; avet, 2171: *pl.* 3 avaient, 230; aveient, 1110; aveint (read aveient), 830, 1273. *pf. sg.* 3 out. *passim*, ust (?), 341; ut, 3051: *pl.* 3 urent, 1964. *fut. sg.* 1 aurai 941: *pl.* 2 avez, 695, 2295; 3 averunt, 675. *subj. pr. pl.* 3 eint (?), 540. *impf. sg.* 3 eust, 3402.

## B.

Bachelor, *sm.* 10, 751, 'a title of gentrie inferior to Banneret and superior to Escuyer' (Cotgrave). In l. 346 the word appears to be used in the sense which has passed into English, an unmarried man.

Bacun, *sm.* 1962, bacon.

Baesse, *sf.* 1478 girl, wench; cf. baisse = *servante* in Guernsey Patois, see Metivier.

Bailler, *va.* 1478. *impf.* ballout, 2187. *pf.* bailla, 1393; baillad, 2656; baillat, 2904: *pl.* baillierint (qy. baillèrent or baillirent, from baillir), 619. *pp.* baillie, 2123, to give, entrust, or give the custody of; cf. Eng. bail, bailment, bailiff.

[Banir], *va.* to convoke by ban or proclamation. *pp.* banie, 549, assembled; cf. Gaimar, 3853, 'cil vindrent od lur ost banie.'

Barnage, *sm.* 1864, 2746, } = assembly  
Barne, *sm.* 3113, } of barons.  
2160,

Baronie, *sf.* 365, 2038, 2680; barunie, 1527, barons (collectively).

[Bastir], *va. pf.* basti, 1328, to contrive.

Batant, *pr. p.* of battre employed adverbially, 2701-2; tut b. 113, 1263, 1920, in all haste.

Batele, read batel, *sm.* 2501 = *bateau*.

- Baudur**, *sf.* 586, 3337, boldness, self-confidence; cf. *esbaudir*.
- Bellei**, *sm.* 3368 (Lat. *bis-legem*), injustice, outlawry; cf. Gaimar, *Lestorie*, 5567-8, 'Meille lurent envers le rei A mult grant tort e a *beslai*'; and Raoul de Cambrai, S. A. T. F. 6819, 'con m'as traie et mise en grant *beloi*.'
- Bendex**, *adj.* *escuz* b. 975, shields furnished with iron bands.
- Bier**, *sm.* 930, 981, 2011; *ber*, 1683, 3085. *nom. sg.* of *baron*; but see 1384, 1395.
- Blois**, *adj.* 3283, blond.
- Boidie**, *sf.* 2523, 3404, deceit, perfidy; cf. *Veidie* infra.
- Bordel**, *sm.* 3317, a small house, a cabin.
- Bois**, *sm.* 2128, &c.; *boiz*, 771 = *bois*.
- Brande**, *sf.* 2975, properly a conflagration, hence a disturbance (Godefroy).
- Brant**, *sm.* 988; b. d'acier = 'a cuttleasse or courtelax' (Cotgrave); cf. Spenser, F. Q. i. iii. 42, 'with thrilling point of deadly yron brand.'
- [**Brocher**], to prick with spurs, hence to ride rapidly. *pp.* *brochant*, 1705; *tut* b. 2084, 3266. So *broche* or *broach* passed into M.E. R. Brunne, *Chron.* 277, 'Ther stedes *broched* thei fast.'
- Bruce** (L.L. Broca), *sf.* 696, 715 = *broussailles*, while the Mod. Fr. *brosse* = a broom. The two words have generally been treated as identical in origin; cf. English 'brush' = (1) brushwood, (2) a broom. These two words are, however, treated apart in Murray, q. v.
- Bruines**, *sf.* 673 (Lat. *brunia* = *lorica*, Du Cange), *corselet*; cf. Fantosme, R.S. 156, 'Vestir haubercs e bruines.' This form was, perhaps, peculiar to the Norman dialect; elsewhere we meet *bronie*.
- Bues**, *sf.* 2570, for *buies*, fetters for the legs, gyves.
- †**Buschement**, *sm.* 713 = *embûche* (Godefroy quoting this passage only). We might read *l'enbuschement*, cf. 697; but the simple word was probably used also; cf. 'A buschement slely maid he thair,' Barbour's Bruce, viii. 442, quoted in Murray under 'Bushment.'

## C.

- Cafe**, *adj.* 1285 = *chaurves*.
- Capelet**, *sm.* 990, 'partie du haubert qui enveloppait la tête sous le casque' (Godefroy).
- Ceinz**, *adv.* 1439, 1824 = *céans*.
- Celt(e)**, *sf.* 1164, a c. d'esperon, with prick of spur; cf. Fantosme, R.S. 306, 'a cuite d'espurun'; La Mort Aym. de Narb. 3342, 'a quoite d'esperon.' The 'coite' was the rowel of the spur.
- Cel**, *sm.* 2985, 3051 = *ciel*.
- †**Cenceus**, 1919, read *cenceus*; Lat. *cancelli*. The word is properly applied to a grille or barrier of any kind, or the space enclosed by such; hence the chancel of a church. The word is here used of a fortified camp, stockades.
- Ces**, 1900 and elsewhere = *ses*.
- Chalenger**, *va.* 2492, to claim.
- Champ**, *sm.* 1442; *cham*, 541; *champe*, 669; *camp*, 1468; *pl.* *chanz*, 2455 = *champ*.
- Champele**, *adj.* 687, (lit.) on the open field, often used as an epithet of *bataille*; cf. 'Un estor chanpel,' La Mort Aymeri de Narbonne, S. A. T. F. 3507.

- Chanuz**, *adj.* 2430, hoary, from *chanuir*, to become white.
- Chape**, *sf.* 171, 175, 597, a cope.
- Charnals**, *adj.* 1820, properly, of the same blood, hence intimate (Godefroy); but perhaps we should read 'charnals e amis,' kinsfolk and friends.
- Chens**, *sm.* 2175 = *chiens*.
- Chere**, *sf.* 2335 = visage, mien. So, 'cheer,' 'cheere,' 'chere' (Chaucer).
- Cheveintainnes**, *sm.* 609, chieftains, captains. So 'cheventen,' 'chevetein' (Chaucer).
- Cis**, 1190, i.e. sis = *six*.
- Cis**, 1438, i.e. ci = *ici*; cf. 685.
- Citheseins**, *sm.* 1380; *sithezein*, 1377; *cithiceinz*, 1659; *citheinz* (read *cithiceinz*), 1513, citizen.
- Clamer**, *va.* 259, 281, 807, &c., to call, to acknowledge. *v. refl.* 284, to complain, to make plaint: clamer quit, 2902, to release absolutely; cf. Eng. law term, 'to quit claim.'
- Co**, *refl. pron.* 297, 441, 910, 1366, 1901 = *se*.
- Co**, *dem. pron.* 530, 582, &c.; *ceo*, 327; *ico*, 549 = *ce cela*.
- Coiment**, *adv.* 720, 1340; *coiement*, 1010, quietly. So, 'coy' = quiet (Chaucer).
- [**Complir**], *va. pp.* compluz! (in rhyme), 760 (see note), as if from a latin form 'complutum,' to complete.
- Conestable**, *sm.* 2799, 3362, 3374; *conostable* (but read *conestablie*), 2749, constable, *connestable*.
- Conestablie**, *sf.* 2835, 3053; *conestablerie*, read *conestablie*, 2812 = *connestablie*.
- Congie**, *sm.* 2573, 2851; *conge*, 361 = *congè*.
- Conquere**, *va.* 334, 2734 *pp.* conquais, 2973. *subj. impf.* conquist, 351, to conquer.
- Conrei**, *sm.* 1454, 1614, 1905; *conre*, read *conrei*, 1464; *cunrei*, 1610, company, troop.
- Contemple**, *sm.* 3233, time, epoch (Godefroy).
- Conustre**, *va.* 187. *pp.* conuz, 525, to recognise, to greet.
- Cop**, *sm.* (for *colp* from L. L. *colpum* = colaphum), 909, 990, 2012 = *coup*.
- †**Cord**, *sm.* 2616 = *accord*.
- Corroement**, *sm.* 1579, anger, hostility.
- Coruoe**, *sm.* 2252; *coruz*, 2562 = anger, *courroux*.
- [**Co[n]sivre**], *va. pf.* cosuit, 2445, to pursue, to reach, with the added notion of hitting.
- [**Co[n]venir**], *v. impers. pf.* covint, 1459; *covent*, 648, to happen, to be necessary.
- Culvert**, *adj.* 2025, perfidious. From Lat. *collibertus*, a freedman who serves a master in company with another freedman. See Plautus, Poen. iv. 2. 88.
- Cuntur**, *sm.* used both as *subj.* 1646, and as *obj.* 1548, as a synonym of *quens*, *conte*.
- Cuntur**, *sm.* 407, informant, *conteur*.

## D.

- Damisel**, *sm.* 3265, 'a young gentleman professing armes and not yet knighted' (Cotg).
- Dampne Deu**, *sm.* 3445, from Lat. *Domine Deus*.
- Dars**, *sm. pl.* 2428 = *dards*.
- Debareter**, *va.* 535, &c. = to defeat: perhaps with a notion of out-witting, out-manceuvring; cf. *barater*, *baraterie*.

**Degeter**, *va.* 3300. *pp.* degete, 282, to throw down, to throw out.

**Deliverement**, *adv.* 1198, &c., promptly; cf. 'delyverly' (Chaucer).

**Demeine**, *adj.* 1, 423; demeyn, read demeyne, 2995. (L.L. *de-manus* = *dominus*), own.

**Demorer**, *vn.* 1365; used substantively sanz d. 853. *impf.* demorout, 1728. *pf.* demorat, 2755; demorerent, 481; demorint (?), 808, to tarry, to dwell. *ful.* demurrat, 1189, used actively = to detain.

**Deors**, *prep.* 3291 = *dehors*.

[**Depopler**], *va.* 1350, to publish.

**Derein**, *adj.* 1464 = *dernier*.

[**Descoffrer**] ? *va. imp.* descoffre(t), 2536 = 'sortir d'un coffre, montrer. faire voir' (Godefroy), but see footnote.

**Desgarnis**, *adj.* 1933 (cf. *Fantome*, 1773), unarmed.

**Desmesure**, *sf.* 2467, extravagant conduct.

**Despandre**, *va. pp.* despandu, 1350 (*qy.* respandu; cf. 3331), *répandre*.

**Despandant**, *adj.* 329, prodigal, lavish.

**Desturber**, *va.* 1074, 1332, 1374, 1577, to obstruct, hinder.

**Detrefs**, *prep.* and *adv.* 702, &c.; destrefs, 731, 2372, 2799; destrez, 699; treis (read detrefs), 2375, behind, in the rear. The forms detrefs, destrefs, so often occurring in this poem, appear not to have been found elsewhere. They rhyme with -ez, -es (past part.).

**Deu**, *sm.* 272, &c.; Deus, 1173; Teu, read Deu, 2240 = *Dieu*.

**Deus**, *num. adj.* 1067, 1902; dous, 1203, 1838, 2053; deu, 1329 = *deux*.

**Deve**, *adj.* 2265, 2270 (*pp.* of *desver* = to be mad), Johan le deve = John the Mad, or as Giraldus translates it 'the Wode'; cf. *Bray's Conquest of Ireland* (Car. Cal. Miscell. p. 277), 'Wodyr than wode houndis'; and Tennyson's *Owd Roa*, 'an' scread like a Howl gone wud.'

[**Devoir**], = *devoir. impf.* deveient, 1317; deveint (read deveient), 1274; *cond.* devoroie, 2433.

**Digner**, *vn.* 3050 = *dîner*.

**Dire**, *va.* 2433. *ind. pr. sg.* 1 di, 999, 2296; dis, 2009: *pl.* 1 dium, 394; 3 dient, 942. *pf. sg.* 3 dist, 530. *ful. sg.* 1 dirrai, 3297; 3 dirat, 143: *pl.* 1 dirrum, 2519. *subj. pr.* 1 die, 252, 551. *impf. sg.* 3 deist, 3426. *pp.* di(s)t, 856; dit, 1169; as a *subst.* dit, 197; di(s)t, 407, saying.

**Dis**, *sm. pl.* tut d. 883, 1148, 3049; Lat. *dies*.

**Dis**, *num. adj.* 695, 1896; Lat. *decem*.

**Discipline**, *sf.* 2407, as we say in military slang 'punishment.'

**Divise**, *sf.* 3078, par tele d., on this condition.

**Doner**, *va.* 157, 1867. *impf.* donout, 3086. *pf.* donat, 3070; donad, 3114; dona, 3078. *ful.* durra, 363, 437. *cond.* durreit, 343, 1187. *subj. pr.* donge, 274. *impf.* donast, 2833 = *donner*.

**Dongun**, *sm.* 2715, 3272; dengin, 176: *pl.* dunguns, 3205 = *donjon*, stronghold, dungeon.

[**Doter**, *duter*], *va. ind. pr.* dutent, 531. *pf.* duterent, 844, 962; doterent, 529, 634. *subj. impf.* dutassent, 662. *pp.* dute, 683, 2228, to dread.

**Dreiture**, *sf.* 2492; a d. 2468,

directly: used as an adj.  
3324 = *droit* (Godefroy).  
**Dreituel**, *adj.* 2172, 2220, right-  
ful.  
**Druz**, *sm. pl.* 907, 1900, 2233,  
comrades.  
**Dute**, *sf.* 545, 830, 1472, 2564,  
dread.  
? **Dute**, *sf.* 2341, perhaps for 'duite'  
from a supposed Low Lat. *ducta*  
= entrance.  
**Dusse**, *num. adj.* 2500, *donse*.

## E.

**Eider**, 1770; *aider*, 1158. *va.* and  
*n. fut.* *eiderat*, 3279. *cond.*  
*aidereit*, 294. *pr. p.* *aidant*, 288,  
2297; *eidant*, 2308 = *aider*.  
**Einces**, *adv.* 3410, 'nay rather';  
*eynces que*, *conj.*, 2725, 'before  
that,' *avant que*.  
**Eindegre**, *sm.* 2613; *par sun e.*  
= *propre mouvement, mouve-  
ment spontané* (Godefroy, who  
gives references to Chron.  
d'Angleterre, MS. Barberini,  
&c.).  
**Eine**, *adj.* 2705 = *ainé*.  
**Einz**, *adv.* 770, previously; 802,  
nay rather; *einz que*, 374, 580 =  
*avant que*; *al einz que*, 260 =  
*le plus tôt que*.  
**Eire**, *sf.* 1963, journey; cf.  
*Fantosme*, R.S. 1463, 'tint sun  
eire,' and our law term 'justices  
in eyre'; *eirs*, read *eires*, 633, is,  
I think, the same word used in  
the sense of 'occasions,' 'times.'  
For similar use see *Evangile de  
Nicodeme*, S. A. T. F. B. 1451,  
'Atant revint la voiz autre eire.'  
(so) **Eiser**, *v. refl.* 3318, to take  
one's ease.  
**Eleis**, *sm.* a grant e. 690, for  
*elais* = *élan*, in particular that  
of a horseman charging (Gode-  
froy).

**Em**, *pres. impar.* *prist l'em*, 1830;  
cf. *vendeit l'um*, 1828 = *sm.*  
† **Enanele**, *pp.* used as *adv.* 2632,  
from *en* + *anel* = *anwen*, en-  
ringed, in chains.  
**Enbuehement**, *sw.* 607; cf.  
*buschement*, *supra*. 'Enbusche-  
ment' = an ambush (Halliwell).  
† **Enocharterer**, *va.* 3130, to give  
by charter. This word usually  
= to throw into prison.  
**Encoste**, *prep.* and *adv.* 2200 (*in-  
costam*); *parc.* 2301 = *à côté de*.  
[**Enou**] *1 per*, *va. perf.* *encupa*,  
2637 = *incuper*; cf. *acuper*,  
*supra*.  
[**Enditer**], *va.* (*in-dictare*) *pp.* 36, 3  
*endita*, 6. *pp.* *endite*, 177, to  
point out, to relate.  
† **Enfantesme**, *sm.* 970; *enfan-  
teyme*, 998 = *fantôme*.  
† **Enforciblement**, *adv.* 3047; cf.  
*forciblement*, 1861, in great  
force.  
**Engin**, *sm.* (*ingenium*), 160,  
machination, trick.  
? **Enoier**, 2879, perhaps we  
should read *enoler*, i. e. *en-  
nuyer*. See footnote.  
**Enparler**, *sm.* 1385, pleader.  
**Enseigne**, *sf.* (*insignia*), 2800;  
*ensegne*, 2750; cf. *seigne*, 2024,  
*ensign*, standard.  
**Enseigne**, *pp.* used as *adj.* 2114,  
2551, learned, accomplished,  
well-bred; e. de bataille, 620 =  
*instruit de b.*  
**Entisement**, *sf.* 2246, enticement,  
instigation; cf. *Fantosme*, R.H.  
II. 359, 400.  
[**Enuer**, **Enuier**], *v. impers.*  
*enuet*, 1674, it annoyed.  
[**Enveier**, **Enveer**], *va. pp.* *envea*,  
3266. *fut.* *enverrum*, 1840. *pp.*  
*anvee*, 1843, to send.  
? **Envers**, *sm.* 2989, but better read  
*enverses*. *sf. pl.* = *reverses*; cf. the

- phrase donner enverse à = abatre, renverser, nuire, faire mal à (Godefroy).
- Envis**, *adv.* (invitum + s), 1299, unwillingly.
- [**Esbaudir**], *pp.* esbaudiz, 2399, emboldened.
- [**Eschiper**], *vn. perf.* eskipa, 2589. *pp.* eschippe, 221, 223, to embark, to ship.
- [**Escondire**], *va. pf.* escondist, 2855, to refuse.
- † **Es iurat**, 212. M. suggests *esguart*, but this does not seem to yield a suitable meaning. I think we should restore *essart*, meaning 'clearance' and then 'destruction, extermination, massacre.' The phrase *faire grant essart* was a common one; see Godefroy, and cf. Fantosme, l. 1058.
- † **Eskaux** [eskavz], *sm. pl.* 2475; Lat. *scaphas* = small boats. Giraldus, R.S. v. 257, describing the flight of Hasculf after the taking of Dublin uses the very word: 'Pars tamen eorum portior naves et *scaphas* intrantes.'
- † **Esperimer(e)**, *vn.* 3309 = *se porter en armes* (Godefroy quoting this passage only), but we would rather read *esperuner* = *éperonner*.
- Espleiter**, *va.* (L.L. *explicitare*), 248, 1979, 2507, to accomplish. *v. refl.* 2225, to hasten.
- Este-vus**, 1232, &c. (ecce) = *voilà*.
- Estor**, *sm.* 438, provisions, farm-stock; cf. English, 'store,' and Bozon, S. A. T. F. 121.
- Estover**, *verbal subst.* 648, necessity.
- Estre**, = *être*. *pr. sg.* 1 su, 279; 3 est *passim*: *pl.* 1 eymes, 670; eimes, 2520; 2 estes, 2112, 2981; 3 sunt *passim. impf.* (a) *sg.* 3 iert, 4, &c.; ert, 34, &c.: *pl.* 3 erent *passim*; earent, 1113; ierunt (qy. ierent), 414. (b) *sg.* 3 esteit *passim*; estoit, 110; estait, 1946: *pl.* esteient, 470, &c. *perf. sg.* 3 fut, 220; fud, 237, &c.; fust, 3050, [?]: *pl.* 3 furent *passim*. (a) *fut. sg.* 1 sarrai, 3299: *pl.* 1 serrum, 683; 2 serrez, 698; 3 serrunt, 506; (b) ert or erent, 537. *cond. sg.* 3 serreit, 68: *pl.* 3 serreient, 635, &c.; serreint (read serreient), 724. *subj. pr. sg.* 1 sei, 289; 3 seit, 344, &c.: *pl.* 1 seimis, 2309; 2 seez, 288, &c.; 3 seient, 894, &c.; seint (read seient), 1797, 2515. *impf. sg.* 3 fust, 3448: *pl.* 1 fuissoins (read fuissoms), 668; 2 fuissez, 2479; 3 fussent, 984, 3350. *pp.* este, 632.
- Estre**, *prep.* (extra), 782, 1240, 2385, besides.
- Estrus**, *adv.* a e. 1865, 3348, a esturz (read estrus), 973, completely, suddenly, at once.
- Estur**, *sm.* 774, 1483, 2325, 3292, combat.
- Ewe**, *sf.* 955, 968, 3315, 3419 = *eau*, river.
- F.
- [**Failir**], *vn. fut.* fauderum, 902. *subj. impf.* fausit, 128. *pp.* failiz, 148; failliz, 208, to fail.
- [**Faiter**], *va. pp.* faite, 743, to arrange.
- † **Fechelis**, 478; perhaps read fetheils, *sm. pl.* (Lat. *fideles*), t and c being often confused; see footnote, and cf. *ficheis*, infra.
- Feffement**, *sm.* 438, 1241, 3107, 3149, a gift of lands, a feoffment.
- Feffen**, *va.* 435, 3130, to invest with a fief, to enfeoff.

**Feis**, *sf.* (vicem), 27, &c.; *fiez* (read *feis*), 268; *feiz*, 397, 635, 2229, 3190, &c. = *fois*.

(1) **Feiz**, *sm. pl.* 3078, 3097, 3119, 3176, *fief*.

(2) **Feiz**, *sf. pl.* (*fidem*), 2111; *fei*, *sg.* 2065 = *foi*.

(3) **Feiz**, *sm. pl.* (factum), 3304, *faits*.

(4) **Feiz**, see *feis* = *fois*.

**Fiez**, *sf.* (vicem + -atam), 596; *feez*, 3010; *feiz* (read *fiez*), 2673 = *fois*.

**Fel**, *sm.* often used in oblique cases, e. g. 152, 168; while *felun* is used in the *nom. sg.* 141, and *fel* as the *nom. pl.* 2505.

**Fere**, 1852, (read *fuer*), *sm.* a nul f., at no price, by no means.

**Fere**, = *faire*, 167. *ind. pr. sg.* 1 *faz*, 3; 3 *feit*, 2095; *fet*, 660: *pl.* 2 *fetes*, 192; 3 *funt*, 1450. *impf. sg.* 3 *feseit*, 170; *feiseit*, 76: *pl.* 2 *feseint*, 860; *feisent*, 1363. *pf. sg.* 1 *fiz*, 934; 3 *fist*, 42: *pl.* 3 *firent*, 46. *fut. sg.* 1 *frai*, 193; 3 *fra*, 3029: *pl.* 1 *frum*, 804; *frums*, 1335; 2 *frez*, 697; 3 *frunt*, 131. *cond. sg.* 3 *freit*, 58: *pl.* 2 *friez*, 694. *subj. sg.* 2 *faces*, 2296: *pl.* 2 *facez*, 2539. *impf. sg.* 3 *feist*, 306. *imper. pl.* 1 *fesum*, 1832; 2 *fetes*, 1440; *feites*, 1206; *fetez*, 1590. *p. pr. fesant*, 1942. *pp. fet*, 277.

**Ferin**, 1962, read *ferine*, *sf.* (Lat. *farina*), meal.

[**Ferir**], *va. fut.* *ferrunt*, 678. *imper. feres*, 2394; *fercz*, 1924. *pp. feruz*, 2368, to smite.

[**Former**], *va. pf.* *femra*, 3223; *fermerent*, 1407, to fortify.

**Feute**, *sf.* 504, *fealty*.

**Ficheis**, *sm. pl.* 813, Godefroy gives *Ficheis*, *adj. fiddle*, quoting

this passage only; but better read *fitheis* or *fetheis*, (*fideles*); cf. *fetheils*, *supra*.

**Flori**, *pp. adj.* 3214, *le veil flori* = the old man with a white beard; *une lande florie*, 1217 = a plain white with flowers.

**For**, *prep.* 315; *fur*, 1869, beyond, except.

**Forolette**, *sf.* 3339, read *forte-lecce* = *forteresse*.

**Fören**, *adj.* 1654; read *forein*: *plein*. Godf. quotes the passage under *ferain*, i. e. *sauvage*, *farouche*; but the word would seem to represent *forain*, i. e. out of the way.

[**Fubler**], *va.* 597, 3048, to put on, cf. *afubler*.

## G.

**Garant**, *sm.* 675; *nom. sg.* *guarans*, 1822; *guarant*, 2985, protection.

**Garde**, *sf.* 2646, guaranty.

**Garison**, *sf.* 1712; used in same sense as *garnesun*, provisions.

**Garnesun**, *sf.* 1961, 2693, victuals, provisions.

[**Garnir**], *va.* (1) to warn, 1319, 1580, 2106. (2) to arm, to furnish [with arms], 1329, 2356, 3381. (3) *pp. f.* *la garnie*, the rich, the fertile, as an epithet of *Leynistere*, 2675, 2836, 3101; cf. 'France la garnie,' La Mort Aym. de Narb.

**Gavelocs**, *sm. pl.* 2428, 3197, *iavelot*. This form passed into English: *gavelok* = a spear (Halliwell).

**Geitar**, *va.* 132. *perf. jeta*, 2148. *pp. gete*, 216; *jete*, 335 = *jeter*; cf. *degete*, 282.

[**Gestr**], *vn. pr.* *gisent*, 805. *perf. jast*, 968; *jout*, 779, 1217;



jut, 2137: *pl.* 3 jurent, 1224, to lie.  
 Grant, *sm.* 791, 1398, will, desire.  
 Greins, *adj.* 3045, peevish.  
 Guaigu[n]s, *sm.* *pl.* 2174; so in l. 142, the probable reading is guaigun; cf. Raoul de Cambrai, 333, gaingnon, a large watch-dog.  
 Gueiter, *vn.* 980, to keep watch; but for li chef gueiter better read l'eschelgueiter; see eschargaytare and exchalgayta under 'Scaraguayta,' Du Cange; and cf. Fantosme, R.S. 626, 'La nuit fait ses guaites sun ost eschielguaitier.'  
 [Guerpir], *va.* 139, 3289, 3295, to abandon; cf. reguerpir, 137.

## H.

Ha, *prep.* 3368 = *a*.  
 Han, *sm.* 2736, read ahan. The form haan also occurs; Gaimar, 1526. It properly means the laboured breathing of a man at work; hence any form of bodily or mental trouble. The word is preserved in the Guernsey Patois; see G. Metivier's Glossary.  
 Hatie, *sf.* 573, 708, 1684, 2357, animosity: see 'atia' and 'hatya' = odium, Du Cange.  
 † Haust, 757; M. reads hanst, 'the length of a lance.' The fem. hanste is not uncommon, and should, perhaps, be read here.  
 Heite, *pp. adj.* 915, 3051; heiste, 1096; from heiter = *hailier*, to rejoice.  
 Herberger, *va.* and *n.* 465, &c., to lodge, to encamp, *héberger*; cf. Chaucer, 'herbergage' = lodging. In ll. 2941, 3203, it

appears to have the meaning, to plant with houses or castles.

† Herdeler, *va.* 1017, to fence in with hurdles.

Herite, *sf.* 2622; erite, 2728; en e. = in fee.

Hireson, *sm.* 3225; hirefun, read hiresun, 3273, a stockade, with projecting points. Mod. Fr. *hérisson* (= a hedgehog) is from the same root: L. Lat. *ericionem*, dim. of *ericius*.

Hu, *sm.* 2370, 2411; cf. 'hue and cry.'

Hue, *sf.* 2372 = *hue*.

Hucher, *va.* and *n.* 944, 1879, 3320, 3437, to call, to proclaim. L. Lat. *huccare*, from *huccus*, a call-cry (Brachet).

## I.

Iddle, *sf.* 3015, 3020, island; Langtoft, R.S. p. 10, has the form 'ygle.'

Ignel, 565; i. ias, read ignelpas, *adv.* directly (M.); tost inaus, 263; tost ynaus, 1917, rapidly. Fantosme, R.S. 155, has the form 'igneus,' but as the word is corrupt in our text in each case (l. 263, iuanz; l. 1917, ynaus), perhaps we should read tost vias (Lat. *vivacius*) as in l. 2802. This would suit the rhyme better.

Iloc, 109; eloc, 1044; illoc, 370; eloec, 1374; illoques, 1189; *adv.* there.

## J.

Joing, 2947, intended, I think, to represent the sound of Chins in Druson Chins; see footnote. With 'Chins' cf. *Chine*, a chink

or cleft in a cliff (Isle of Wight).

**Joude, sm. j.** à pe, 2386, 2877, i.e. gelde, geude, jeude = 'soldat à pied armé d'une lance, ordinairement paysan levé par une sorte de conscription' (Godefroy.)

**Juneluns, sm.** 754 = *genoux*.

## K.

**Kerneus, sm.** 2350 = *créneaux*.  
See Spelman's Glossary, karneus and kernellare.

## L.

**Lande, sf.** 1217, 1224, 1571, 1597, 'a wild, untilled, shrubby, or bushie plain,' Cotgrave.

†**Langport, sm.** 1000. This, I think, is not the name of a place, but the Irish 'longphort' = encampment.

**Larris, sm.** 2432; larriz, 2455, 'untilled ground' (Cotg.), wastes.

**Latimer, sm.** 1, 8, 423, 2995, a man who knows several languages, an interpreter. He had sometimes other accomplishments:—

'Li latimiers par fu tant sages  
Que bien l'aprist de tos langages,  
D'eskes, des tables, et des des.'

Blancandin, ap. Bartsch et Horn, 570, 5-7.

**Laute, sf.** 2568 = *loyauté*.

**Lee, prep.** 2408; *usu.* lez (latus), at the side of, near.

**Leement, adv.** 475, 1174, 1966, joyfully.

**Lei, 3221:** *pl.* leis, 2040 (?), law, custom.

**Leis, 313,** perhaps for lai(s), a lay or song.

**Lesser, va.** = *laisser*, 38, &c. *pp.* leasse, 1566, &c. *fut.* [as if from laier leier] larrai, 3128; lerrai, 2861; lirrai, 10; lerrum, 1390; larrunt, 538. *cond.* lirreit, 1855.

**Lez, adj.** 1389; *usu.* liez (læ-tum), glad.

**Livereson, sf.** 434; liveresun, 1100, rations; with the former passage cf. Roman de Rou, iii. 6197-6200:—

'A cels ki uoldrunt, pramist terre

Se Engleterre poet cunquerre;  
A plusurs pramist liureisuns  
Riches soldees e boens dons.'

**Loement, sm.** 2583, advice.

[**Loer**] (laudare), *va. pr. sg.* 1 lou (= advise), 791. *impf.* loeit, 2897. *pp. adj.* loe, 2209, praised, renowned.

[**Loignier, longnier**], *pp.* longge, 997, = s'éloigner.

**Los, sm.** (laudes) 1698, renown.

**Lui, sf.** 2761, = *lieue*.

**Lui, read liu, sm.** 67, 70 = *lieu*.

## M.

**Maiste, sf.** 2236, majesty.

**Manant, adj.** 3360; manans, 14, powerful.

[**Maneir**], *vn. pr.* meint, 272. *pf.* mist, 24, 2939, to dwell.

**Mar, adv.** (mala hora), 1996, 2072; mars, 3409 = à la male heure.

**Marine, sf.** 2408, 2904, 2918, sea-shore. *adj.* la m. gent, 2472, 2484.

**Materie, sf.** 2752, 3059 = *matière*, subject-matter.

- Mauveis**, *adj.* 190; malveis, 186; maveise, 2246 = *mauvais*.  
**Mechins**, *sm. pl.* 2162, 3355, attendants, servants.  
**Meimes**, a m. de, 233, 1021; a memes de, 3155, near to; cf. a meisme de Brudeport, Richard's La Besturne, apud Carmen de Bello Lewensi, Clar. Press, p. 155, l. 37; and ad mesme de Rikhale, P. de Langtoft's Chronicle, R.S. ii. p. 400.  
 (1) **Meins**, (Minus), *adv.* 2677, 3393 = *moins*.  
 (2) **Meins**, (Mensem), *sm.* 309, 2972, rhymes with reis and engleis = *mois*.  
**Meint**, *adj.* 2760, 2943, 3001 = *maint*.  
**Meintenant**, *adv.* 2318, 2642, instantly. Cf. meigntenaunt (Halliwell).  
**Melle**, *sf.* 1027, 1622, 2323, a combat.  
**Menbre**, *adj.* 1690, 2011; menbre(e), 3027, either membratum, strong-limbed; or memoratum, renowned.  
**Menbrus**, *adj.* 2392 (membros-um) strong-limbed (Cotg.).  
**Mea**, *sm.* 2701 } messenger.  
**Message**, *sm.* 2055 }  
**[Messler, Meller]**, *va. pp.* melle, 2242-4-8, embroidered.  
**Mester**, *sm.* 303, 2732, need.  
**Mestre**, *adj.* 1075, 2740, principal, master.  
**Meus** (melius), *adv.* 1438 = *micux*.  
**Meyne**, *sf.* 123, 1567, 1683, 1725, 2378; meine, 893, 1115, 1135, 1144, household, suite, followers.  
**Mi** (medium), 107; par mi, 631; par mie, 2120, the middle.  
**Mie** (micam), 128, 1857, participle used to enforce the negation.  
**Mire** (medicum), *sm.* 820, 823, a physician. The word survives in Guernsey Patois (Metivier).  
**Morthrir**, *va.* 1281; murthrir, 2559; mordrir, read mordriz, 1293, to murder.  
**Mot(e)**, *sf.* 3178, 3300, the mound of earth on which a castle is built.  
**Mullier**, *sf.* 347; muller, 340, 2044; muiller, 1739, 2833, 3063, wife.

## N.

- Naffrez**, *verb. subst.* 514, &c. *pp.* 1375; naufrez, 579, 1953, wounded.  
**Natural**, *adj.* 1837, &c.; naturel, 203, &c., freeborn, noble.  
**[Neer]**, *vn. pp.* neez, 3459, to drown.  
**Nepurquant**, *conj.* 2249, however.  
**New**, *sm.* 2267, nephew.  
**Nis**, *adv.* n. nul, 2344, not even one.  
**Noblei**, *sm.* 879, magnificence. Cf. Bozon, S.A.T.F. 124, where the *fem.* form nobleie is used.  
**Noise**, *sf.* 1450. This word has passed unchanged into English.  
**Notimer**, *sm.* 1075, 2740 (*usu.* notinier = nautonner), mariner.  
**Nues**, read nus, *adj.* 672; nuz, 3330, i.e. without defensive armour.  
**Numer**, *va.* 1553; nomer, 2830 = *nommer*.

## O.

- O**, *prep.* 638; od, 63, &c.; ad, 1109, with.  
**Occire**, *va.* 1287. *pp.* ossis, 1949; occis, 781, &c. *pr. p.* occiant, 2426, to kill, to slay.

Oiance, *sf.* en o. 3408, in the hearing of all.

[Oir], *va.* and *n.* *pr. pl.* oiez, 1309. *pf. sg. i.* oi (dissyllable), 764, 979. *fut.* orrez, 3371. *imper.* oes, 933 (the initial letter in the MS. is here a D by mistake for O), oiez, 278, 2579. *pr. p.* oiant, used absolutely, 1864. *pp.* oi, 1910, = *ouir*.

Orgulus, *adj.* 3239, orguluz, 1866 = *orgueilleux*.

Os, *adj.* 1405, 1543, daring.

Ostal, *sm.* 956, 2575: *pl.* osteus, 818; ostels, 1338, lodging, hostel.

Otrei, *sm.* 1398, 1408, permission; cf. mod. Fr. *octroi*.

## P.

Pareins, *sm.* 149, mod. Fr. *parrains* (not *parents*, as M. says), used here with reference to the relationship constituted by the Irish custom of fosterage; as to which see the treatise on Cain Iarrath, Anc. Laws of Ireland, vol. ii. 146.

Parler, *vn. pr. sg.* 3 parole, 1434. *pf. sg.* 3 parla, 5.

Part, *sf.* turner une p. 1540; venir une p. 326, to turn or go aside, i.e. to hold a conference; cf. assemblez une part, 1986.

Passer, *vn.* 422, 443, always used here of crossing the sea.

Peca, *adv.* (pièce + a = habet) 1163, for a long time.

Pener, *v. refl. pf.* se peinerent, 712; se sunt penez, 870, 3326, to give oneself trouble (poenam), to exert oneself.

Pere, *sf.* (petram), 2013 = *pierre*.

Peres, 3361; pers, 2646. *sm.* (pares), equals, peers; per, 2834, consort, spouse.

Pes (pacem), *sf.* venir a p. 544, &c., to make peace, 1288, 2070; peis, 2182, 2284, 3168 = *paix*.

Pes (pedes), *sm. pl.* 1097, 2419; as piez, 179. *sg.* pe, a pe, 679, 1376 = *pied*.

Pirs, *adj.* properly pis (pejus), de mal en pirs = *de mal en pis*, 763, 2530, 3183, in each case rhyming with -is, or -iz.

Plaine, *sf.* 669, 1593, open ground, as opposed to woody districts; cf. the form in the charters, 'in bosco et plano.' In these two passages the word is applied to high mountain tracts.

[Plaire], *v. impers. perf.* plut, 919; plout, 1715. *fut.* plerra, 2074. *cond.* plerreit, 2893. *subj. pr.* place, 1291. *impf.* plust, 1091.

[Pleger], *va. perf.* plegerent, 2647, to go bail for; cf. repleger, *infra*.

[Pleidir], *vn. impf.* pleideit = 2104. So in Bozon pledir = *plaidir*.

[Pleier], (plicare), *va.* a sun guant plee, 2149; pleia sun guant 2641, folded his glove: a ceremony signifying an offer to clear oneself, by battle or otherwise, from a charge of felony. So Raoul de Cambrai, S. A. T. F. 5408: 'Se droit n'en faites et le gaige ploier,' and the dying Roland, 'por ses pechiez Dieu porofrit lo guant.' See vadium in duello, and plicare vadia, Du Cange.

Plein (planum), *sm.* 1655, 3415: *pl.* pleinz, 2432; plains, 2792 = *plaine*, trestut a p. 484, directly.

Plein (plenum), *adj.* mist sun plein (?), 3080; plain, 1603 = *plein*.

[Pleindre], *v. refl. ind. pr. se*

pleint, 115, 121. *impf.* se ple-  
niout, 100 = *se plaindre*.  
Pleit (placitum), *sm.* 366; pleist,  
2155: *pl.* pleis, 2187, agreement,  
legal procedure, pleas.  
Plessor [plexum-are], *va.* p. les  
pas, 1316, 1576; p. les boys,  
1594, to plash the passes  
through the woods, i. e. to close  
them by felling trees across them  
and intertwining the branches;  
a method sometimes adopted to  
this day in Ireland to obstruct the  
officers of the law in evictions.  
Poant, *adj.* 1399, 1443, powerful;  
used as *subst.* les plus poanz,  
1507.  
[Poeir], = *pouvoir*, *poer.* *v. subst.*  
44. *ind. pr. sg.* 1 pus, 360;  
3 put, 2074: *pl.* 1 poum, 1333;  
3 pount (?) (perh. read porrunt  
*fut.*), 132. *impf.* poient (?), 416. *pf.*  
pout, 45, &c. *fut.* purrat, 2278.  
*cond. sg.* purreit, 71; porreit, 295;  
porrout (?), 1209. *subj. pr.*  
puisse, 940. *impf.* peust, 2734;  
pust, 168: *pl.* pussent, 2879.  
Poestifs, *adj.* 1056; poestifz, 243,  
898, powerful.  
P Ponde, *sm.* 3421 = *pont*. Can  
the form be due to the rhyme,  
munde : ponde ?  
Pour (pavorem), *sf.* (always  
dissyllable), 723, 771, 1080,  
1472, 2557 = *peur*.  
Preer, *va.* 2779, to plunder, to  
spoil.  
Preie, *sf.* 590; prei, read preie,  
908, booty, prey, spoil.  
Premer, *adj.* 127, &c.; tut p. 500,  
&c., used adverbially = *pre-*  
*mièrement*.  
Prendre, *va.* 71. *ind. pr.* pernent,  
231. *perf.* prist, 99; pristrent,  
1554. *subj. pr.* preist, 93.  
Pruvere, *sm.* a p. 173, obj. case  
of *prestre* (presbyter).

Prus, *adj.* 967 = *preux*.  
Pus, *adv.* 448, &c. = *puis*.

## Q.

Quens (comes), *sm.* This form is  
in general found only in the  
*nom.* with conte, cunte, or cuncte,  
2783, in the oblique cases. Al  
quens occurs, however, 327,  
1790, and the form conte, cunte,  
or cuncte is frequently found in  
the *nom.*, e.g. 3022, 1877, 2789.  
Quer (cor), *sm.* 275 = *cœur*.  
Quere (quaerere), *va.* 254. *pr. p.*  
querant, 190. *pp.* quis, 2165, to  
seek for.  
Quider (cogitare), *va. ind. pres. sg.*  
1 qui, 1310: *pl.* 3 quidunt, 1419.  
*impf.* quidout, 992; quidount,  
984. *perf.* quiderent 994, to  
think, believe.  
Quisse (coxam), *sf.* 2446 =  
*cuisse*.  
Quite (quietum), *adj.* used as *adv.*  
71, 2062 = *quitement*, 69; clamer  
quit, 2903, is the English law  
term 'to quit claim,' to release  
absolutely.

## R.

Realer, *v. refl.* 2062, to go again,  
to return.  
Reals, *sm. pl.* 2923, belonging to  
the king. So Fantosome, R.S.  
1185, *les reials*, the king's par-  
tisans.  
Reddur, *sf.* 1022, = *raideur*,  
vehemence. 'Reddour' = vio-  
lence (Halliwell).  
[Reguerpir], *va.* 137, to abandon,  
cf. guerpír, supra.  
Reisun, *sf.* 145, 2493, discourse,  
story.  
[Relier], *va.* 641, to bind together  
again, and hence (*fig.*), to rally.  
Ramaner, *vn.* 1346. *ind. pr.*

- remanez, 792. *pf.* remist, 1410; remistrent, 639. *subj. impf.* remansist, 1302. *pp.* remansuz, 537; remans[r]us, 1151; remis, 785, &c., to remain.
- Ren, *sf.* 2072; la ren del monde, 341; cf. 53 reigne, read rer. Lat. rem; ne-ren = rien, 156, 1914.
- ? Rendre, *v. refl.* 385, *se faire moine, entrer en religion* (Godefroy); but this can hardly be the meaning here. I think the line is corrupt.
- Renger, *va.* 1591 = ranger.
- Repeirer (repatriare), *vn.* 297, 910, 1354; repeirir, 1298, to return home; hence, simply, to return, 3059.
- Replegeez, *pp.* 2153, to go bail for; cf. pleger.
- [Resaner], *va. pp.* resanez r.l. 2390, saner, read resaner, 514, to heal.
- [Respondre,] (re-expandere), *v. refl. pp.* responduz (read respanduz), 3331 = repandre, to spread, scatter; cf. despandu, *qy.* respandu, 1350.
- [Respondre], *vn. pr.* respont, 1794. *pf.* respondi, 2889; responderunt, read respondirent, 1336. *pp.* respondu, 1851.
- [Restre], *v. subst. pf.* refu, 2972, to be in one's turn.
- ? Restur, 1110, see footnote. The word cannot be used here in its ordinary sense of 'reparation,' 'recompense,' unless ironically.
- Retraire, *va.* 388, to relate. *refl.* sen sunt retreiz, 3305, to retire. *pp.* retret, 2060 = 'upraised,' (Cotg.); but perhaps we should here read *rettet*, cf. 2143, 2643.
- Better (rectare), *va.* 2643, *pp.* rete. 2143, to accuse.
- Reuler (regularem), *adj.* 181, moine r., i.e. a monk regular, under the rule of (St. Augustin).
- Riochef, *adv.* de r. 60, 2930 = *derechef*, again, anew.
- Robber, *va.* 888, 908. rober, 1412, 2774, to rob, plunder.
- ? Roist(e), *adj.* 1015, steep.
- Rus, *adj.* 3283, = roux.

## S.

- San, *prp.* 74, &c. = sans; nearly every possible graphic variant occurs: son, 523, &c.; sen, 628, 1773; sonz, 2031; senz, 1680; sens 361; sanz, 853, 1625.
- Sanement, *adv.* 2079 = saine-ment.
- Saver, *va.* = savoir, 622. *ind. pr. sg.* I sai, 452; *pl.* 2 savez, 613. *impf.* saveit, 2343; savent, read saveient, 1667. *perf.* sout, 1295; surent, 1914. *fut.* saverat, 2643. *subj. impf.* sust, 1688; susent 1341. *imper.* sacez, 2519; sachez, 645.
- Savement, *adv.* 913 = sauvement.
- Se = ço, i.e. ce, cela, 206, &c.
- Seeir, *v. refl. perf.* se sist, 2326, to sit down.
- ? Sege, 1364, perhaps read se.
- Segeter (sagittare), *vn.* 2348, to shoot arrows.
- Seigne, *sm.* 3034, perhaps read enseigne.
- Seingnes, *adj.* 37 = enseignes, *q. v.*
- Sen, *sm.* 1386, 2119, good sense, sens.
- Sene, *adj.* 1509 = sensé.
- Sent, *num. adj.* 1887, 1949; scent, 659 = cent.
- Seri or Sieri, *adj.* aselri, 496, read a sieri (cf. Lat. sero) = late.
- Serjans (servientes), 412, men-at-arms in service.

Serrement, *adv.* 868, 1247, with serried ranks.

Set, *num. adj.* 3332 = *sept.*

Sete (sagitta), *sf.* 2007, 2009, arrow.

Si, 1103 = *ses.*

Sigler, *vn.* 2258, 2915, to sail.

Sigles, *sf.* 230, sails, ships.

Simeins (septimanam), *sf.* 2677, = *semaines.*

Sire, *sm.* 30, &c., properly *nom.* *sg.* with seigneur in the oblique cases, but the latter is sometimes used in this poem in the *nom.*, e.g. 358, 843. Sires with the s added by analogy to the 2nd masc. declension occurs 2172, and perhaps 2220, while sire e seigneur, as if two different words, occur 290, 1642.

[Sivre, Suir], *vn.* and *a. ind.* *pr. pl.* 3 suient, 1245; suent (?). 1210. *pf. pl.* 3 syverent (read syvirent: virent), 547; siverent, 739; suierent, 1257; suerent, 690, 1213. *pr. p.* suant, 1047. *pp. sui*, 1048.

Sojerner, *vn.* 299, &c.; used actively 515. *impf.* sojornout, 516, &c.: sujorneit, 2697.

Somundre, *va.* 1560, 3280. *ind. pr.* somun, 3375, summon.

Sorur, *sf. acc. sg.* 2832, &c.: sor 3033, 3063, properly *nom. sg.* but here used in the *acc.*

† Soudeis, *sm. pl.* 1064 (*qy.* read souders), soldiers.

† Soudener, *sm. s.* a pe, 1376 (cf. 428, footnote), a foot soldier.

Souder (soldarium), *sm.* 1898, 3366, 3380, a hired soldier.

† Souderer, *qy.* soudeier, *vn.* 1274 = *soudoyer.*

## T.

Tant ne quant, 43, 215, 1248, at all.

[Taper, properly tapir], *perf. se* taperent (read tapirent), 721. *pp.* tapez (read tapiz: aduriz), 715, to lie hid. Cf. tapinage, tapised (Halliwell).

Targer, *v. refl.* 1088. *vn.* 1207, 1925, 3439, to delay; 'targe' = to tarry (Halliwell).

Tenir, *va.* 3037; tener, 776, 2838. *ind. pr.* tent, 382, 2193; tenent, 2197. *impf.* teneit, 384. *pf.* tint, 3052; tindrent, 1105; tendrent, 2196; se tindrent, 1340. *fut. sg.* 1 tendrai, 1842; 3 tendra, 1836. *cond.* tendreit, 2289. *imper.* tenez, 550. *pp.* tenu, 3299.

Terce, *adj. num.* 1905, third.

Tolir, *va.* 2708. *pp.* tollet, 218, to take away.

Traitur, *sm.* The old declension of this word seems quite ignored here. We find *subj. sg.* traitur, 136. *obj. sg.* traitur, 197; traitre, 1047. *subj. pl.* traitur, 2025; traiturs, 995; traiters, 492; traitres, 1082; traiteres, 672; traiterez, 2500; and in the *obj. pl.* traiters, 576; traitres, 2568.

Trechœur, *sm.* 2095, 2480; tricheur, *nom. pl.* 2565, deceiver.

Trefa, 2375, read detrefa, *q. v.*

Trefa (trabem), *sm. pl.* tents.

Treiter, *va. t. de* 2989, to treat of.

Truin, *sm.* 32, trunk, stock.

## U, V.

U (aut), *conj.* 431, *ou.*

U (ubi), *adv.* 96 (2058 = to whom) = *où.*

Vaie, 702 (perhaps read une envaie, *sf.*) = attack.

Valetun, *sm.* 1358, a page.

Vallet (vassalletum), *sm.* 751; valet, 1360; vaillez, 428, 2162, a squire, a youth who served under a lord.

- Vassal**, *sm.* 2081, &c. = (1) a vassal, (2) a brave man.
- Vassalement**, *adv.* 676, 2000, manfully.
- Vassallage**, *sm.* 3057, bravery; so Chaucer, 'vasselage.'
- Vassaurs**, *sm. pl.* 3161, perhaps read vavasurs, inferior vassals.
- [Veeir]** (videre), ver (?), 476, where a dissyllable is required. *ind. pr. pl.* 2 veez, 1436, 1823. *pf. vist* (?), 582; vit, 148, 1168; virent, 546. *subj. impf.* veisez, 2481. *pr. p. absolute* veant, 291; veans, 285.
- Veidle**, *sf.* 167, a trick, a ruse; cf. 'voisdye' (Halliwell).
- Veil**, *adj.* 33, 2430, 3214: *pl.* veiles, 3351; vels, 1285, 3283 = *viciil, vieux*.
- Veir**, *adj. and sm.* le v. 622; pur veir, 521; pur vers, 2706, 2819 = *vrai*.
- Velus** (villutum), *adj.* 1285, hairy, or, as we say, 'woolly.'
- Venir**, *vn.* 845. *ind. pr.* 1 venc, 284; 3 vent, 1871. *pf. sg.* 3 vint, 95: *pl.* 3 vindrent, 82; vindrini, 740. 778. *fut.* vendrai, 355; (de)-vendra, 1836. *cond.* vendreit, 364. *subj. pr. sg.* 3 vienge, 3383: *pl.* 3 viengent, 921; vengent, 522, 852, 2911. *impf.* venist, 129; venit (?), 62; venissent, 122.
- Vergunder**, *va.* 725, 849; to bring to shame.
- Veysin**, *sm.* 3249 = *voisin*.
- Vias** (vivacius), *tost v.* 2802, very quickly; cf. Philippe de Thann, Computus, l. 58, 'viaz.'
- + **Vigrus**, *adj.* 3339, vigorous.
- Ville**, *sf.* 1504 = *veille*.
- Vitaille**, *sf.* 2691, victuals.
- [Vivre]**, *vivere*, 685. *perf.* vequist, 2826. *fut.* viverai, 287; viverum, 903.
- Um** (homo), *indef. pron.* 1828 = *on*.
- Unques** (unquam and s), *adv.* 106; unc, 1317, ever.
- [Voleir]** = *vouloir*. *ind. pr. sg.* 1 voil, 11; 3, volt, 349; veut 31: *pl.* 1 volum, 1287; 3 volent, 1278. *impf.* voleit, 385; volait, 1959: *pl.* 3 voleient 1362; voleint (read voleient), 1281. *pf. sg.* 3 volt, 241; vout, 44. *fut. sg.* 1. vodrai 356; 3 vodra 431; voudra 622; voidra (?), 435; wdra, 2753: *pl.* 3 volerunt (?), 1437.
- Utime**, *adj.* = *huitième*; sei utime compaignons, 454; with this form of expression, cf. Gaimar, R.S. 1527, 'Sai duszime compaignons'; also ib. 5583, 'Lui setme assailli Hereward.'

## W.

- Waives**, *pp.* 222, abandoned; cf. Eng. law term, 'waiver.'
- [Warder]**, *va.* 273 = *guarder*.
- Wdra** = *voudrai*, see *voleir*.
- Wit**, *adj. num.* 2677. 3332 = *huit*.
- Wnt** = *vont*, see *aler*.
- Ws**, 3060 = *vus*.

## Y.

- Ynaus**, *adv.* *tost y.* 1917, very swiftly. See *ignel*.
- Yresche**, *adj.* 651, 1499, Irish.
- Yrrels**, *s.* 23, &c., Irishmen.
- Yver**, *sm.* 1729 = *hiver*.





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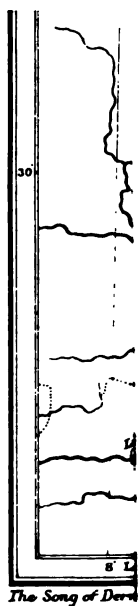
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