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Gleanings
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August Nathanson



GLEANINGS FROM
IRISH MANUSCRIPTS

GLEANINGS FROM IRISH MANUSCRIPTS

REV. PAUL WALSH, M.A.

[AN T-ATHAIR PÓL BREATHNACH]

SECOND EDITION

WITH MUCH ADDITIONAL
MATTER

DUBLIN

AT THE SIGN OF THE THREE CANDLES
FLEET STREET

Trí caindle forosnat cach ndorcha :

Fír, Aicned, Echna

Three candles that light up every darkness :

Truth, Nature and Knowledge.



First Edition, 1918

Second Edition, 1933

with additions

I GCUIMHNE MO MHÁTHAR
BRIGHID NÍ GHALLCHOBHAIR

1854-1917

AGUS M'ATHAR
MICHEÁL BREATHNACH

1854-1933



FOREWORD

In the year 1918, principally for my own amusement, I printed GLEANINGS FROM IRISH MANUSCRIPTS. The small edition was soon exhausted, and many eyes, including my own, have been watching for stray copies for over a decade of years. I may then be accorded indulgence if I issue the booklet again, and add to its contents a few essays which ought to be of value while Irish literature continues to be cherished. In the first edition I presumed on the liberality of my good friends the many editors of IRISLEABHAR MUIGHE NUADHAT, and the editor and publishers of THE CATHOLIC BULLETIN. To all I express my grateful acknowledgments, and to the latter a special word of thanks for now allowing me to reprint "Scraps from Irish Scribes." To the editor of THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, and to the publishers, Messrs Browne and Nolan, Dublin, I am indebted for permission to reprint "Who will buy my Poem," and "A Letter of John MacSolly." The Franciscan Prague Letter was given me, as indicated in the proper place, by Dr. Patrick O'Neill, who made the transcript in St. Isidore's, Rome. My friend, Colm O Lochlainn, to whose initiative this second edition is due, looked well to the printing, and he added the Index to enhance whatever interest the collection may have.

Pól Breathnach.

Lá Fhéile Mhichíl, 1933

CONTENTS

FAREWELL TO INIS FÁIL ...	...	PAGE 3
ELEGY ON ÉMONN Ó BRAONÁIN ...	...	12
ELEGY ON NIALL GARBH Ó DOMHNAILL ...	...	27
DISJECTA MEMBRA :		
LITIR Ó DHONNCHADH Ó MAONAIGH ...	...	53
LITIR EILE Ó DHONNCHADH Ó MAONAIGH ...	...	58
DÁN DO SHEÁN MAC AODHA Ó NÉILL ...	...	60
I DTAOBH MEGUIDHIR 7 MEGMATHAMHNA ...	...	64
TEASBÁNTAS Ó BHRIAN Ó FLAITHBHEARTAIGH ...	...	65
I DTAOBH AN ACHRAINN IDIR ÓRD S. PROINSIAS 7 ÓRD S. DOMINIC ...	...	66
FRANCISCAN MS. OF THE FOUR MASTERS ...	...	69
OLC MO THURAS SONN Ó LUNDAIN ...	...	86
VERSUS PRO LINGUA HIBERNICA ...	...	88
A POEM BY AODH MAC AINGIL ...	...	96
POEMS IN MAYNOOTH MSS. :		
i. TRUAGH LIOM MÁIRE AGUS MAIRGHRÉAG ...	...	108
ii. CEOLCHAIR SIN A CHRUIT AN RIOGH ...	...	111
iii. TABHRAIDH CHUGAM CRUIT MO RÍOGH ...	...	113
iv. GLÓIR IS MOLADH DHUIT A DHÉ ...	...	115
v. BÍ FÚM A MHIC AR MO MHUIN ...	...	116
vi. NÍ BHFUIGHE MEISE BÁS DUIT ...	...	117
vii. A BHEAN' ÓG ÓN A BHEAN ÓG ...	...	118
viii. SLUAGH SEISIR THÁINIG DOM THIGH ...	...	120
ix. AN T-ÚCAIRE ADTUAIDH ...	...	122
SCRAPS FROM IRISH SCRIBES :		
i. RISDEARD O CONCHUBHAIR ...	...	123
ii. CORC ÓG Ó CADHLA ...	...	153
WHO WILL BUY MY POEM? ...	...	182
THE FRIARS AT PRAGUE PROTEST ...	...	194
A LETTER OF JOHN MAC SOLLY ...	...	197
INDEX ...	...	205

*Ní hí an teanga do chuaidh ó chion
acht an dream dár dhual a didean*

p. 91

dídion /-

GLEANINGS FROM IRISH MANUSCRIPTS

FAREWELL TO INIS FÁIL.

A TEXT of the following poem was published by James Hardiman in 1831, together with a metrical version by the Rev. William Hamilton Drummond, D.D. Of those who have read either, few will be disposed to quarrel with the judgment of John O Donovan, which says that "in that edition the original text is much corrupted, and the metre destroyed by the addition of unnecessary words and syllables, and the English translation conveys ideas which the author never intended."¹ It is hoped that the present edition will enable the reader to estimate more accurately the merits of the piece. O Donovan says of it that it is "a nice little poem, written in very pure Irish,"² and Standish Hayes O Grady calls it "a pretty bit."³

The text has been prepared with the help of the following sources :

F, the O Gara Manuscript, preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, and numbered 23 F 16 ; "compiled in 1656 at Antwerp and at Lisle by Ferghal dubh Ó Gadhra ('Nicholas' in religion), priest O.S.A., whom Cromwell's dissolution of the religious houses had forced with many more

¹ Ordnance Survey Letters of the county of Westmeath ii, 75.

² Ibid.

³ Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum 481.

to seek refuge in the Low Countries.”⁴ Our poem is the last in the codex, and is written in a hand not quite so neat as the remaining 169 pieces in the manuscript. The scribe returned to Ireland some time before June 5th, 1686, at which date he certifies that he is safe and sound at Bannada (*san mBeinn fhada*), county Sligo. In a colophon he craves the reader’s indulgence for errors and omissions, because he had never a teacher. Evidently his task was a labour of love.

N=23 N 15, R.I.A. p. 21. Date c. 1761. The scribe was Mícheál mac Peadair Uí Longáin, died c. 1770.⁵

G=23 G 24, R.I.A. p. 58, written by Mícheál óg Ó Longáin some time after 1799.⁶ Some thousands of pages of his work remain. He was born about 1766.⁷

M=3 C 1 Maynooth College p. 392, being vol. 1 of the Murphy collection. Scribe, Mícheál óg Ó Longáin. For a collation of this manuscript I am indebted to Pádraig Ó Néill.

H=Hardiman’s printed text, *Irish Minstrelsy*, ii. 226, 228.

O D=a few lines cited by O Donovan in his O. S. Letters of the county of Westmeath. These I possess in a transcript made in 1905 by J. J. O Farrelly for Thomas J. Shaw of Mullingar.

Eg.=British Museum MS. Egerton 111 f. 123, a copy of F and other sources. See O Grady, *op. cit.*, 339 ff.

4 Ibid. 339.

6 Cf. p. 167.

5 Cf. pp. 320, 326.

7 Cf. 23 N 15, ll. c.

Of the foregoing F is the most accurate, as one would expect, but it contains many mistakes, as a glance at the variants will show. It seems to have been copied hurriedly. It and H are the only authorities which give all seven stanzas, Eg not being independent. The sixth and seventh are given in inverse order in H, and they were probably so in O Donovan's manuscript, for he has the corrupt reading *duna doirbhghéis* the same as Hardiman. N gives the seventh stanza but not the sixth, while G and M omit both.

It is not easy to decide the question of the authorship of the poem. It is anonymous in F, and of course in Eg, in N, and in G, while Ó Longáin in M ascribes it to Seathrún Céitinn. It may be taken for granted that the attribution to Céitinn is a mere guess, based perhaps on a certain similarity of treatment of the same theme by that author in a well-known poem. Compare also the opening line of our piece with Céitinn's *soraidh dá tulchaibh aonaigh*.⁸ Hardiman's heading runs as follows: *Gearróid Nuinsionn ar bhfágbháil Éireann dó*, 'Garret Nugent (composed it) after having left Ireland.' O Donovan's copy had a similar title.⁹ Hardiman seems to have had no doubt about the matter, neither does Douglas Hyde,¹⁰ but O Grady says "the verses were no

8 Fr. MacErlean's ed. of Céitinn's poems 18, l. 27.

9 "It would appear from the little poem above alluded to that Gerald or Garrett [Nugent], the author of it, was either the baron of Delvin or at least a brother of his."

10 *Literary History of Ireland* 492.

doubt written for [Nugent], not by him, when he fled to France."¹¹

There is, then, but little direct evidence for Garrett Nugent's authorship. The fifth stanza, however, if rightly interpreted below, points unmistakably to its having been composed in England, and it is most unlikely that an Irish bard should have accompanied the exile from Ireland to France, from France to England, and there have penned these verses. Christopher Nugent, baron of Delvin 1559-1602, at most times a staunch Elizabethan, a musician and writer of an Irish primer, died in Dublin castle. His wife was Mary Fitzgerald, daughter of Gerald, eleventh earl of Kildare. He was succeeded by his son, Richard 14th baron, afterwards first earl of Westmeath. A younger brother was Garrett. The cause of his exile is not known. He came from France to England, and a letter to the earl of Salisbury, written in January 1607-8, says that "being here in England, utterly unfurnished with means for maintenance, he cannot longer abide here, but thinks it his duty to make his Lordship acquainted with the course he purposes to take. He prays his Lordship to have regard of his estate, procuring him some means from His Highness [the King] in case of his stay here; otherwise to admit him into his own service, assuring himself that, being entertained by his Lordship, his friends in Ireland will be more

¹¹ *Catalogue* 481 n.

willing to afford him any means they can. Else he begs leave to return to his own country.”¹² In another letter from the English lords of the Council to the Irish Deputy, written the following 26th of February, we find “that this gentleman, Mr. Garrett Nugent, having come over hither out of France for want of exhibits and maintenance withheld from him by his mother, and desiring to go over to Ireland, fears how he may be dealt with by the State as the case stands with his brother [imprisoned for alleged conspiracy in 1607]; that Chichester [the Deputy] is requested, on condition of his presenting himself before him immediately on his arrival, to allow his mother to dispose of him as she shall think good, without any hindrance on the part of the State.”¹³ The poem then appears to have been written in 1607 or 1608, and it seems the more natural to suppose that Nugent himself was the author.

The metre is strict *deibhidhe* with alliteration in every line and at least one internal rhyme in the third and fourth lines of each stanza.

1. Diombáigh¹ triall ó² thulchaibh³ Fáil
diombáigh¹ iath Éireann dfágbháil
iath milis⁴ na mbeann mbeachach⁵
inis na neang nóigeachach.⁶

¹² *Calendar of State Papers of James I*, 1606-8, 404.

¹³ *Ibid.* 427.

Title: none F Eg G; Gearroid Nuinsionn air bhfágbhail Eirenn do H; ní fedar cia chan an duain bheag so N (al. man.); Dochtúir Céitinn cct. air na dhul go Sagsona M. 1 diombuadh H. 2 do N. 3 thulachaibh F. 4 mhillis G. H. 5 mbeach F. 6 noigeach F.

GLEANINGS FROM IRISH MANUSCRIPTS

2. Cia atá ¹ mo thriall tar sál ² soir
ar dtabhairt cúil diath ³ Fhionntoin
do scar ⁴ croidhe fan ⁵ ród rinn
níor ⁶ char fód oile acht Éirinn.

3. Fód as troime toradh crann
fód as féaruaine ¹ fearann ²
sein Eire ³ bhraonach bheartach ⁴
sa ⁵ tír craobhach cruithneachtach. ⁶

4. Tír na gcuradh is na gcliar x
Banbha na nainnear nóirchiabh
tír na sreabh ngormtholach ¹ nglan
sna bhfear noirbheartach nuabhrach ² *n-ághmhar*

5. Dá bhfaomhadh ¹ Dia damh tar mais
rochtain dom dhomhan dhúthchais ²
ó ghallaibh, ní ghéabhainn dol
go clannaibh séaghainn Saxon.

¹ ciata F; ó tá GM; cidh tá H. ² sáil H. N; sáile M.
³ dioth F; iar ccur chúil re hiath G M. ⁴ omit F. ⁵ san G M.
⁶ ní H; nár G M.

sic leg.?
¹ uaithne H. ² as lia iasg ar abhann G M. ³ seanéire F;
seanchlár ír H N; Iseanchlar mhíon- G M. ⁴ bhleachtach
G M. ⁵ an H N. ⁶ chruineachtach F.

sic leg.?
¹ ngoirmealtach G M N; ngormaltach H. ² nághmhar
H N G M; nuadh—F.

¹ naomhadh = n-a, H N; ndáileadh G M. ² arochtain
an domhain dúthchais F; rochtain dom domhoin (do mhóin)
dúthchais H N; rochtuin don domhan dúthchais G M.

FAREWELL TO INIS FÁIL

6. Slán don fheadhain sin tar mhéis ¹
macraidhe tíre Targhéis ²

transpose?

- ↗ dām̄h as caoine i gclár Midhe ³
dream as saoire sochaidhe. ⁴

7. Dá mbeith ¹ nár bhaoghal muire ²
ag ³ fágbháil leasa Laoghuire ⁴
mo mheanma siar ní séanta ⁵

triall ó Dhealbhna is doidhéanta.

Diombáigh.

¹ bhuidhin fheughainsi tar ndéis H; dfhágsam dar ndéis
O D. ² macraidh F.; macra (macraidhe) dúna Doirbhghéis
H O D. ³ saoire a cclár midhe F; caoinche chláir Midhe H.
⁴ sochaoine F.

¹ mbiadh H. ² mara H; nara N. ³ omit H N. ⁴ laoghara N.
⁴ séun H; nar sheanta F.

TRANSLATION

1. Sorrow it is to pass away from the hills of
Inisfail, sorrow to leave the land of Erin, a
country sweet with honey of mountain bees, an
island with many a young steed upon its plains.
2. Though my journey is eastward o'er the ocean
and I have turned my back to the land of
Fintan,¹ yet I am without heart for the road,
for mine ne'er loved another sod of earth but
Erin alone.
3. A spot is she most rich in fruit-trees' yield, no
sward of meadows as green as hers, Erin the
ancient, the sorrowful, the great, corn and
woods hath her soil in abundance.²

4. Home of heroes and of bards is Banba of the maids with golden tresses, land of streams blue-watered,³ pure, and of noble ⁴ men of great deeds.
5. Did God grant to me to come back from the stranger ⁵ to my native home, I would not go to the children of England's nobles.
6. Farewell to that company I leave behind, the youth of Turgesius' land,⁶ no family so gentle in Meath's extent, a right noble host.⁷
7. If seas had no danger for me, yet I could not deny that my thoughts fly ever westwards as I leave the liss of Laoghaire ⁸ ; no easy matter is it to part from Delvin.⁹

NOTES.

1 A periphrasis for Ireland. Another is 'Fort of Laoghaire' below. Fintan, son of Bóchna, was fabled to have lived before the deluge and to have preserved the ancient chronicles and history of Ireland.

2 *sa* may be the substitute for the possessive relative. 's a ' and its,' is also possible.

3 from *tuile* 'flood.' A slight change of spelling in *oirbheartach* would give another rhyme here (for the eye), and perhaps this was intended.

4 *ághmhar* 'valorous' gives good sense, and should perhaps be retained.

5 Perhaps *gaill*...France here.

6 The barony of Fore in Westmeath, in which is situated Dún Tairghéis (Doirbhghéis is corrupt), called also Ráth an dúin. The fort still exists in the townland of Ballany near the road from Castlepollard to Collinstown. See O Donovan's

FAREWELL TO INIS FÁIL

Four Masters i, 466 note d and O. Survey Letters ii, 87 ff., where some remarkable traditions are recorded.

7 The rhyme *Midhe : sochaidhe* is the only one in the poem in which the consonants immediately preceding the rhyming syllables do not agree in quality.

8 Monarch of Ireland at St. Patrick's coming A.D. 432.

9 The people of Dealbhna mhór were subject to the Kings of Meath and were ruled in pre-Norman times by members of the Ó Finnalláin family (see Book of Rights 183 and FM. etc.). The name was retained as that of a barony, parish and town in the east of county Westmeath.

ELEGY ON ÉMONN Ó BRAONÁIN

THE FOLLOWING poem is edited from a manuscript in the Franciscan Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, which is marked A.14, and of which some account has been given by Father Dinneen in his edition of the *Forus Feasa of Céitinn*, vol. viii, Irish Texts Society, p. xxxi. With the exception of some lines the poem is very accurately copied. A few misspellings have been rectified below.

The family of Ó Braonáin 'O Brennan' to which Émonn Ó Braonáin, the subject of our poem belonged, was descended from Énna, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. The *Laud Genealogies*, printed by Kuno Meyer, *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* viii, 291 ff, enumerate no less than fourteen sons of Niall, and the descendants of at least four of these, were settled within the limits of the modern county Westmeath. Énna *a quo* Cenél nÉnnae, says the genealogist : O Flaherty gives further particulars thus : *Ennius Fionn natu iunior cuius stirps olim in Tirenda Tirconalliae, regione inter duo maris brachia, nempe inter sinum Lochfewail et Suilech sinum, et O Broenain in Kinelenda prope Uisneach collem in Kinelfiachia*, Ogygia 401. The ancestor of the Uí Braonáin is referred to by our poet twice, stanzas 11 and 28. According to Ó Dubhagáin as cited by Lynch, *Cambrensis Eversus*, i. 238, the family of Mag Ruairc belonged to the same race. The name of Ó Braonáin is still common in the parish of Castletown, which lies a few miles to the south

of the hill of Uisneach, Baile Uí Bhraonáin, now Brennanstown, in the same parish, is referred to in the *Onomasticon*, page 90.

In the Census lists, and on modern maps the townland and parish of Castletown are called Castletown-Kindalen. O Conor, O Donovan's assistant on the Ordnance Survey, gives¹ as Irish for the latter portion of the name *cionn dá léana* 'end of the two meadows. This, however, like much that O Conor wrote, was a mere guess. It is true that the form Kindalen appears as far back as 1634 in an Inquisition of Charles I. no. 90, but older references, to quote but a few, are as follows : *Castleton et Kenalena* (1563) Eliz. no. 1, *Castletone Kynnalene* (1624) James I, no. 65, *Castletone Kinalene* *ibid.* These forms are reflexes of the Irish Cenél Énna. Adamstown, the seat of Émonn Ó Braonáin, lies at the northern boundary of the parish, while Brennanstown is a good distance to the south; hence we need have no hesitation in concluding that Cenél Énna embraced a large part, if not all, of the parish of Castletown.

Émonn Ó Braonáin, on whom the elegy was written, lived as we learn from the poem, at Baile Adhaimh. In an Inquisition taken in March 1633 (n.s.). Charles I, no. 82, will be found a list of townlands, including Adamstown, which were his property. He died on the 30th November, 1632, and was succeeded by his son Oliver, who was dispossessed under the Cromwellian plan-

¹ Ordnance Survey Letters of Westmeath i, 308. Lloyd copies from O Conor, *Post-Sheanchus* ii, 151.

tations. The father of Émonn was Tomás (stanza 34), in all probability "Thomas O Brynan of Adamstowne" Fiants of Elizabeth, no. 1603.

The poem is anonymous in the manuscript. It was evidently written by one who had a training in the schools, possibly by an Ó Cobhthaigh. That family gave many poets to Ireland, and the name was well represented in the neighbourhood of Adamstown in the seventeenth century.

In the following edition marks of length absent in the manuscript are supplied.

1. Coitchenn cumha chloinne Néill,
do throim-loit orchra íad-séin,
cáoimh-chletha do clódh ré tan,
dáoir-chetha ón mbrón dá mbáthadh.
2. Monúar atáid go tríamhuin
sliocht tuirseach Néill Náoi ghíalluigh,
an ceólchuire fár ghin goimh
nimh eólchuire dhá n-argoin.
3. Táinicc an chumhaidh c[h]oitchenn
go tteidhm bfiochdha bfornoicht-tenn
fán rígh-ealbha ó Bhóinn na mbenn,
mí-mheanma dhóibh an dílghenn.
4. Tarla dhanshúaimhnes orra
síol Néill lesa Líathdroma,
tíad tar úidh an eóil shenta
gan dúil cheóil nó chuideachta.

5. A n-imshníomh do-chóid ó cheilt
fine Néill dealbdha an deisgeirt,
mar chrécht ttrom as teó dochar
n-a ghleó lonn gan leasochadh.
6. Créd an tochrádh grod trom-sa
do loit uile an fheadhon-sa,
ór comhbúaidhreadh thiar is toir
an fhían c[h]ronnúaidh-gheal chobhsoidh
7. An sníom cogaidh nó ceilge,
nón sliocht dénta díbhfhéirge
ón báoghlaighe a mbeó-ghoin sin,
leómuin áol-maige Uisnigh. a[h]
8. Nón toghuil úaibhrech eachtronn,
nón díol écht nó eineac[h]lonn,
nón pláigh bhreacht-lonn reachtmar rod,
nón letrom neartmhar namhod. x
9. Ní fogh[u]il gh[ai]le nó gráin
ro-s-mill, acht bás Í Bhráonáin
laóich fhearchonta as mire méin
fine reann-c[h]orcra rí-Néill. x
x
10. Éamonn Ó Bráonáin bas tseng,
éin-díth chlár, cara prímh-cheall,
a bhás as olc dá fhine
s as cás do ghort gheil-Mhidhe.
11. Dob éun-oigher dhÉnna mac Néill,
ba flaith ar chlú s ar chaithréim
an saoir-bhengán go ngné ngil,
s dob áoin-lennán é dhéixibh.

12. Oidhedh ² churaidh na Craóibhe
dúsgadh uilc is anaóibhe,
do bhí an donus-so, a Dhé, a ndán
s é ní horusa dhiompádh.
13. As mairg dúthaigh rér dhealaigh
a maith líonmar fhlaithemail,
s a rai-réidhe fa riar sgol,
s a mhían dainfhéile is degnamh.
14. Cennus fine nó fedhna
ní fhuil nó ól fínemhna,
nád grinn-bhearta fa chró Cuinn
ó ló imdechta Émuinn.
15. Fúarus sgéul ar chlannuibh Cuinn,
aóidhe sgeóil nach sgéul fábhuill,
an sgéal go bfairbhrígh ³ ar fuin,
ar aird-rígh ³ thréun ó Thenruigh. w.
16. Tarla cinnedh, lór dho lot,
tré ard-fhlaith dharbh ainm Cormac,
fá chrú Luighdhech mar do ling,
anú as cuimhnech an chréidhim.
17. Ré linn Chormuic mic Airt uill
níor tháruill mhaoith clann Criomhthuinn
acht lán don uile ionnmhus
an cuire sámh soichioll-bhras.

2 MS. oighedh. 3 MS. bfairbhriogh, airdriogh.

18. Ní raibhe a n-íarthor Eórpa
samhuil don droing dhoi-leónta,
a sén an tann-soin gur thill,
sgéul dá n-amhsoibh dob inghrim.
19. Daithle a bhfuarodar daóibh
rug ar chrú Chobhthaigh chnes-chaoil,
ag áos eóil atá a thuigsin,
lá leóin ar an laochruidh-sin.
20. An lá dhár thacht eite eó
rí Éirenn nár ob airm-ghleó
níor lá medhra a[n] lá do-luidh
acht lá tedhma dhá triathuibh.
21. Ainnséin ar n-imt[h]echt Chormaic
lingid uilc as othor-luit,
gér shuaimhneach ó shíodh 4 roimhe
síol úaibhreach ó nŪghoine.
22. Níor ríoghadh éin-rí ar Éirinn
déis an aird-rí uicht-shéimhfhinn,
do fhan a n-áontomha treall
nár lamh áon-togha dhimdeall.
23. Trí blíadhna do bhí an Banbha
nár shealbh rí nó ríogh-dhamhna
do chumhuidh Chormaic í Cuinn,
pudhuir ordhruic a n-abruim.

4 MS. síogh.

24. Aithghin Éirenn dhaithle a rígh
críoch Mhidhe na magh slis-mhín,
fíoch na trén-duilghe ro thogh,
díoth ar nÉmuinn-ne a hadhbhor.

25. Mar chloinn cCobhthoigh tré Chormac
bíd Íbh Néill na níamhonn-bhrat
ag cáoinedh Í Bráonáin Bhregh
áon-fháidh na nGáoidheal ngúaismher.

26. Tré n-a bás, ní reim ratha,
níor h[oi]rnedh ainm ardfhlatha,⁵
nó a rádh gurbh oirbheartach dfhior
um chlár toinnbhleachtach Tailtion.

27. Is coitchenn dá núa-chaoi aniogh
fine Néill na naói ngeimiol
gan lúadh fiadhuigh nó fledh-óil
dár dhúal dfialfhuil Éiremóin.

28. Slúagh Midhe na maoilenn mbán,
tugsad áoibhnes ar ochlán
a ndíaidh ⁶ í Énna Uisnigh,
bíaidh an séula suthuin-sin.

29. Dá égcaoine a nInis Fáil
iomdha banntrocht is bandáil
lé clódh beó-chroidhe bos
do lógh eólchoire dhamos.

⁵ The reading of this line is conjectural

⁶ MS. ndíáigh.

30. Bú dóich díllecht do chabuir,
bú sgíath dhín do dheóradhuibh,
gég Naói bú toirbertach tol
do bhaói oirbhertach iúlmhor.
31. Ní tug is níor thuill tatháoir
an seabhoc sáor sotla-chaoín,
menma ra-bhog na ríán nglan
mian a charod do chosnam.
32. Do-chuaidh an mhaith maraon ris,
do sgéith fúair-chioth gach flaithis,
nocha léir tairthe ós tealaigh
léim aithfe dá n-imdheadhuil.⁷
33. Ní faichter cnúas ar chranngheil,
nó fás áir ar úrthalmhain
ní nochtar a bhFíad na bFionn
gríán acht tré dhortadh ndílenn.
34. Mór mío-rath as mana cáis
mhothuighther tré mhac Tomáis,
do shíor ag lucht bhraon-chláir Bhregh
dhulc an chlaochláidh do cinnedh.
35. Trúagh do mhacraidh, do dháimh,
do-chí brugh Bhaile Adáim,
dún na n-gér-rann ⁸ s na ccall ccuir,
gan Émonn ann dá iarruidh.

7 MS. imdheghail.

8 MS. gerr-renn.

36. A áiremh ní fhéd file
 uaisle an fhéinnidh fhoirghlidhe
 gaoith-mhéinne nár thláith ré tenn,
 aoin-chéile cháich go coitchenn.
 Coitchenn.

TRANSLATION

1. Universal is the grief of Niall's progeny, death hath sorely pained them : fair warriors are overpowered for a time, while showers of sorrow flood upon them.
2. Alas, Niall Naoighiallach's race is lamenting in sorrow—grief has taken the place of merry making—the sting of regret is overpowering them.
3. This universal grief has come together with a raging destructive pestilence upon the royal houses of Boyne of the peaks, the death is a loss of courage to them.
4. The race of Niall of Liathdruim ¹ has become so unsettled, they miss their way upon a well-known road, they care not for music or company.
5. The sorrow of fair Niall's race in the south cannot be concealed, like a heavy painful wound, a fearful struggle which cannot be put an end to.

ELEGY OF ÉMONN Ó BRAONÁIN

6. Why is this sudden heavy sorrow which has wounded all this company, which has troubled east and west the renowned² strong warriors?
7. Is it a concern for war or treachery, or is it a party of marauders which makes the deadly wounding of the princes of Uisnech's white plain more severe?
8. Is it a hostile ravaging by foreigners, or a tribute of deaths and honour-prices, or a magic fierce raging red plague, or violent oppression of enemies?
9. No warriors' plunder nor dread hath injured them, but the death of Ó Braonáin, brave active heroes of the purple-lanced race of kingly Niall.
10. Émonn Ó Braonáin, graceful hand, a loss to the poets, a friend to the churches, to his family his death is an evil, and to the plain of white Meath a sorrow.
11. He was a true heir to Énna, son of Niall, he was a prince by fame and victories, a noble scion with bright countenance, a favourite of the bards.
12. The death of the hero of Craobh³ is an awakening of evil and discomfort, this misfortune was, O God, in store and it is not easy to turn it aside.

13. Pity is the country which lost his bountiful princely goodness, his readiness to support the bards,⁴ his desire for hospitality and generosity.
14. Headship of tribe or warrior-band there is not, nor drinking of wine, nor bright deeds in the fold of Conn ⁵ since Émonn died.⁶
15. I heard a tale of the children of Conn, a well-known story of a strong king of Teamhair which is no fable, but has a secret ⁷ meaning besides.
16. A misfortune happened, a great misery, through a prince named Cormac, how it came to Lugaid's ⁸ fold, to-day the loss is remembered.
17. During the time of great Cormac, son of Art, no sorrow came to Crimthann's ⁹ children but that peaceful bounteous company were rich in every wealth.
18. There was not in western Europe the like of that invulnerable band, until at that time their fortune turned, it was a sorrow to their warriors.
19. The learned know full well, a day of destruction came upon the heroes, upon the race of slender Cobthach,¹⁰ notwithstanding all their former ease.

20. When a salmon-bone ¹¹ choked the king of Ireland, who never refused a contest, the day he died was no day of merriment, but a day of destruction to her chiefs.
21. Then when Cormac died, evils and misfortunes sprang forth, though the proud race of Ughoine's ¹² descendants were comfortable in peace before.
22. No king was crowned over Ireland after the fair-breasted high-king, she remained unwedded ¹³ for a while, and was not bold enough to feast ¹⁴ another favourite.
23. Ireland was for three years without a king or king's successor for grief of Cormac, grandson of Conn, a well known grief I describe.
24. The land of Meath of the smooth plains is like unto Erin after her king, it has taken ¹⁵ a paroxysm of sorrow and the death of Emonn is the cause of it.
25. The Uí Néill of the bright garments are lamenting Ó Braonáin of Bregia, the prophet of the Gaedhil in bondage, as Cobthach's children did Cormac.
26. Because of his death, it was no bounty, in Tailtiu's milky plain ¹⁶ no prince has been proclaimed, nor can it be said that any was renowned.

27. The lamenting of the race of Niall of the nine fetters ¹⁷ is universal, there is no mention of hunt or feast, fitting pastime of Eiremón's ¹⁸ noble race.
28. The host of Meath of the white hills has exchanged pleasure for sorrow for the descendant of Énna ¹⁹ of Uisnech, the aspect of it shall be lasting.
29. Many matrons and womenfolk in Inis Fáil are lamenting him with sorrowful beating of hands to mitigate their grief.
30. Good was he to assist the orphan, he was a shield for protection to strangers, a Noah's branch munificent in heart, renowned and wise he was.
31. He never gave, nor merited, reproach, the gentle noble prince, he was a kindly soul of upright ways, his desire was to defend his friends.
32. Good has vanished along with him, a cold shower has been poured from every quarter of the heavens, no fruits can be seen upon the hill, an attack of decline destroying them.
33. No fruits are seen upon the trees, nor growth above the ground, the sun is not displayed in the Land of the Fair except through a flood of downpouring.

34. Many a misfortune and cause of sorrow is felt through the death of Thomas' son, for ever the fate of the people of Bregia's speckled plain has been determined by the evil of death.
35. Alas ! for the youths, the poets, who look on the house of Baile Adhaimh,²⁰ the house of witty verses and melodious harps ²¹ without Émonn in it but a-wanting.
36. No poet can enumerate the nobleness of the excellent warrior, wise, not timorous before the strong, the beloved of everyone universally.
- Universal.

NOTES.

- 1 Liathdruim, an old name for Teamhair 'Tara.'
- 2 *cronnúaidh-gel*, I only half understand.
- 3 an Chraobh, the townland of Creeve in the parish of Ardnurcher, and barony of Moycashel.
- 4 literally 'schools.'
- 5 i.e. Conn Cédchathach ; the 'fold of Conn' is a common synonym for Ireland with the poets.
- 6 *imdechta* stands for *imthechta* gen. of *imthecht* 'departure.'
- 7 *fuin* 'sunset' ; *ar fuin* 'concealed' ?
- 8 Lugaid i.e. Lugaid Riab nDerg who, according to the genealogists, was the ancestor of some Irish families. See the Laud Genealogies 292.
- 9 Crimthan Nia Nár, as to whom see Céitinn FF. ii, 234, FM. i, 92, etc.
- 10 Cobthach Caol mBreagh ; see the tale Orgain Dind rig CZ iii, 1 ff., Céitinn FF. ii. 160 ff. etc.
- 11 See FF. ii, 346, FM. i, 114.
- 12 Ughoine mór, ancestor of the Laigin, Osraige, and other races.

GLEANINGS FROM IRISH MANUSCRIPTS

13 lit. 'in unmarried state,' *aontomha* being subject to the verb in the next line.

14 *imdioll* i. *fleadh*, O Clery, cited by Windisch. The word is found in Cormac § 778 (new ed.) and Archiv i, 268.

15 lit. 'chosen.'

16 A synonym for Ireland. Tailtiu is now Teltown, not far from Navan, on the Blackwater.

17 i.e. Niall Nógiallach 'of the Nine Hostages.' The earliest explanation of the epithet is that Niall took five hostages of the five provinces of Ireland and four out of Alba i.e. Great Britain. See *Otia Merseiana* ii. 87.

18 One of the legendary heroes of the Milesians.

19 Énna, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages; see the Laud Genealogies, CZ viii, 293.

20 Baile Adhaimh, Adamstown in the parish of Castletown, and barony of Moycashel.

21 *call...coll* 'a harp made of hazel.'

ELEGY ON NIALL GARBH Ó DOMHNAILL

THE FRANCISCAN MS. A. 14 contains two poems and a copy of the *Forus Feasa* of Céitinn. Of the poems the first was edited by me in the *Irisleabhar Maighe Nuadhat* of 1913,* while the main text of the manuscript has been used in the Irish Texts Society edition of Céitinn's work. The only portion which has not hitherto been printed is the elegy on Niall Garbh Ó Domhnaill, of which the text with a tentative translation is here given.

The exact date of the manuscript is not known, but it must be later than 1632, as Émonn Ó Braonáin on whom the first elegy was composed, died in that year. It has been ascribed to Céitinn himself and to the Ó Cléirigh school. Though the writing is not of a uniform character the prose is probably all the work of the same hand. The poems show certain peculiarities also displayed by a note on a single leaf containing the genealogy of Maolchraoibhe, *a quo* Ó Maoilchraoibhe, also preserved in the Franciscan collection. The entry is as follows : *atá an senchus romhainn ar na sgriobhadh go glan do réir na leabhar as ferr do chonncamar 7 mar dherbhadh air sin ataimsi ag cur mo laimhe air so Madrid 28 Marta 1658 Tuileagna Ó Maelconaire seancha coitchenn Erenn* 'the above pedigree has been written accurately according to the best books we have seen, and as witness

* See the preceding paper.

to that I set my hand to this. Madrid, 28th March, 1658. Tuileagna Ó Maelconaire, general seanchaidh of Ireland.' If the writer of this entry was really the writer of our poems also, they were probably penned abroad after the dispersion of the learned men about the Cromwellian period.

In compositions of the character of the poem here presented the reader will search in vain for poetry of a high order. They have, however, a value of their own. Their language and metrics are invariably of interest, and they often throw sidelights on policy, and the life and manners of their time. The elegy on Niall Garbh is a good example of the charity of the Irish bards when celebrating the virtues of the dead. Niall Garbh was possessed of great personal valour, but that was the only quality that one could admire in him. He was the most hated man in the north of Ireland when he broke away from the anti-Elizabethan party. He was treacherous to an abominable degree, and no one was sorry for him when the English, having compassed their aims by his assistance, arrested him, sent him over to a London prison, and let him die there (1626). Yet the unknown bard who sang his praises after his death pretends to see nothing in him but virtue, and lauds him as the defender of the North when in reality he was the main cause of its downfall.

The text is printed as it stands in the manuscript except that a few obvious corrections have been made, in which cases the reading is given at the bottom as a footnote.

1. Bean do lámhaigeadh leith Cuinn,
ráinig sí snaidhm a fulaing,
fuair Banbha senmóir re seal
ó shen-róimh garma Gaoídheal.
2. Ní measda acht n-a mnaoi bhroide
buime bhráithrec[h] sár-oide,
máthair an fhlaithis, leath Cuinn,
breath nach aithis gan fhochuinn.
3. Antar re hoil gach docra,
leath roghain ¹ na ríogochta
díogha gach domhain re tan,
síona a foghair ar bfuaradh.
4. Altrom dá ttug do thréd Cuinn
don truaigh bhoicht beg dá shodhuing,²
luach eile a n-altruim dá dhíol
n-a eire ós acfuinn dimshníomh.
5. Fuar don dul sa a daltacht the
dArt Chliach, do Chormac Bhóinne,
fríth baoghal bhuime an dá mhál,
an saoghal uirre ar n-iompádh.
6. A cíoch do Chairbre Mhidhe,³
a hucht dF[h]iachaigh Sraibhtine,
réim soirbh Mhuiredhaigh da a muin,
oilemhuin ⁴ as doirbh dhíoltair.

¹ *Is this gen. sg.*

² shoguing.

³ Mhighe.

⁴ *Read as uilemhain.*

7. Cennchaís don chur sa a fledh-ól
ar iocht Eachach Maoighmeadhón,⁵
fíon nach eochair uaille aniugh
fuair ag síol Eochaidh aimsior.
8. Gabhla gan greim da a mbonaibh,
sailge neirt anallamhuin,
crú an Chédchathaigh cian bhus oil
far thécht-dathaigh fiadh Fionntoin. X
X
9. Fódla fatha go hursain
sesgad rígh don f[h]rémhach-sain,
frémh lagthach Éiremhóin uill,
méine-shlóigh ⁶ cathrach crobhuing.
10. An Eóraip ris fa riarach
rí ⁷ díbh-sein Niall Naoighiallach,
ráinig maighin athar Airt
sgathadh dainimh n-a dhíoghailt.
11. Eruic ó leith Cuinn c[h]liaraigh
a n-ábacht Néill Naoigiallaigh
téid do c[h]umhra f[h]réime an ríogh,
Eire ar n-umhla dá imshníomh.
12. Cruithnecht dherg gan déis cogail
uaidhe ⁸ a n-íoc an tseachadaidh,⁹
síol ághmar ¹⁰ dhá fhionn-mhac Néill
iomlat nach ádhbhar ¹¹ aitréin.

5 Maoidhmeadhon.

6 meinne-.

7 rígh.

8 uaighe.

9 tseachadaigh.

10 agmardha.

11 *So we must read here, but the word is adhbhar.*

13. Siansa a bethadh, boill a cuim
éruic lór ó leith sean-Chuinn
cuaine Conaill 7 Eóghain
bodhaing ¹² uaille a hinneónaidh.

14. Leth Mogha déis na healbha
tarrthaidh tuisle a creidemhna,
leth Cuinn s as cra[i]nn do tesgadh
ní caill fa t[h]tuinn tarrthasdar.¹³

15. Dígen ¹⁴ a drithlenn mbroide
ceilt ar chaill do shochraide,
nochtadh gach f[h]orlainn diath Breg ¹⁵
Niall Ó Domhnaill fa deiredh.

16. Braon díoghla ó Conaill don chioth
frémh fa díslé ó Niall naoíthech,
cuisle láir ochta Eóghain.
sompla cráidh dá chineólaibh.

17. Ua ¹⁶ an Chalbaigh aird ó Es Rúaidh,
ua ¹⁷ Seaáin Macha an mhór-lúaigh,
fatha deinmne ar druim gach cráidh
oighre an fhlaitha Cuinn Cruacháin.

18. Ūr an dá chló an ccéin do mhair
síol Néill Chaille, clann nDálaigh,
éan-chuingidh dob archa neirt
dfhéathluinnibh ¹⁸ taght[h]a an tuaisgirt.

¹² boghaing.

¹³ tarrthasdair.

¹⁴ So the MS

¹⁵ Bredh.

¹⁶ uadh with dh crossed out.

¹⁷ uadh.

¹⁸ dféaithlannaibh.

19. Cailg dá bfuair leath Cuinn cnedhach
an díthchennadh déidhenach,¹⁹
a díol décht ó aimsir Chuinn
créacht do aimsigh a hurraim.
20. Díth dheirennach dá ttarrthaidh ²⁰
ceinn-litir chraobh n-annallaidh,²¹
dúbladh oire ²² dá bfuair cor
do-c[h]uaidh go croide a céadfadh.
21. Niall Garbh Ó Domhnaill do dhul
a ttor ghiall grianán Lundan,
creach ²³ ra-domhain ²⁴ do ghabh geall
ar bharomail ²⁵ fer nÉirenn.
22. Fedh a thérma a ttor an ríogh
foirm Gaoideal gabus dímbríogh,
san tor-sain ²⁶ an tann ²⁷ do-chóidh
dob-am osnaidh da a n-onóir.
23. Niall Éirne sul fuair oidhedh ²⁸
bás dó an tann do tósgnoighedh
da a chuibhrech a nglasaibh Gall
lasair ó Luigdech leghann.
24. An tan ráinig a Ráth Both
géibhenn cníocht cuingidh Dálach
barrthar bang chosnaimh ó cCuinn,
an dol-sain ann ar amhuill.

19 deighenach.

22 eire.

25 bharamuil.

20 ttarrthaigh.

23 creacht.

26 sin.

28 oighedh.

21 nannallaigh.

24 rodomhan.

27 ttann.

25. Lá an gheimlighthe ag na Gallaibh
sníther srian gach Conallaigh,
tiad Eóghanaigh síos mar sin,
ceó-dhubhaidh gríos a ngaisgidh.
26. Ag so an lá ar luige uirre
dár gabh gais[g]edh saor-chuinge
leath Cuinn, is nir cinnedh dhi
filledh don c[h]uing n-a chéile.
27. Mur sgríobhthar n-a sgéalaibh fis,
an lá céadna as cenn oiris
da goid ón tánaidh tréd Breg²⁹
n-a lánaib³⁰ téd is troighedh.
28. An lá borb ciodhbé ar nár c[h]aill
fios a tacha ag Tír Chonaill,
ó S[h]ruibh Broin³¹ go Gulbain Ghuirt
goimh a chumhgaigh do-chonnairc.
29. Na fuinn-sin fhilatha ó cConaill
tug feacht aige, an én-chrobhaing,
dola³² ro-t[h]inn Rátha Both,
fáth[a] ma ttotha³³ ar ttel[l]ach.
30. Don doirb léidmigh laoi³⁴ Caille
tarrthaidh tosach mion-roinne,³⁴
tir cnoc-sholus na ccladh bfionn,
cottomhus magh³⁵ as maoilenn.³⁶

29 bredh.

30 lánuib.

31 bruin.

32 do la.

33 fathim attatha.

34 mionnroinne.

35 madh.

36 maoillenn.

31. Foithre a sealg i n-a sráidibh,
a hoirecht n-a n-acáidibh,
a taoisigh gan treabha a bprémh,
cneadha an laoi^{gh}-sin a leithsgél.

32. Fáth éгнаigh ga a haos cosnaimh,
ga a héigsibh, ga a heagalsuibh,
da a los-[s]ain as léir go bfuil
féil do t[h]osaigh gach turbaidh.

33. Mór ndúthaigh far dhúisg treat[h]an
lá Néill Ghairb do geimlechadh,
mór créidhim nach cailg gan fhios
s gach aird dÉirinn dan hoires.

34. Eachtair fhian Seghsa a Sagsaibh
lá a éga san iarnach-sain
gach Gaoidheal-tuir dá mé[i]d medh
n-a shaoilechtain téid toirnemh.

35. Mar tug bás Eachtair fhianaigh
oil tugha do Thrói-fhianaibh ³⁷
ég do ghéig bois-ghil Bhennc[h]air
téid san oil-sin dEirennchaibh.

36. Frithbhert Gaoidheal re Gallaibh,
fian Traoi tréimhse adchualama[i]r
san ccor-s[a]in le cathaibh Grég,
fachain far chosmhail ³⁸ coimhéd.

37 throighfhianaibh.

38 chasmhail.

37. Gibé tug tús don c[h]ogadh
Grégaigh fan Traoi tángadar
sluaigh do-ríomhtha ler dhoirbh cur
sdoirm ro-díochra ar a ruamnadh.
38. Nír choimh-réidh amuig s amach
techt is imt[h]echt fian nGrégach,
mór ccuaine táinig fan Traoi
nach ráinig uaidhe 39 an athchaoi.
39. A hucht Eachtair aird mic Prímh
ógbhadh Traoi tuirrthe a n-éisídh
ag techt re trén tegar nGrég
s ag legadh frémh a roighég.
40. Críoch Eachtair le a rugadh rath
táinig do ghliocus Ghregach,
bás mebhla 40 dinneall re a ucht,
filleadh berna ar a beódhacht.41
41. Gibé meabhal dar marbadh
mac Prímh fa bras meanmanradh 42
báire Troi-f[h]ian 43 térna lais 44
so[i]-mhiadh a ttérma tumais.
42. Iomthús Grég far gairdech broin
díobh re cailg ar ccur Eachtair,
cin[n]ter leó támhnadh na Traoi
do gleó ághmar an athlaoi.

39 uaighe.

42 meanmunradh.

40 meadhbhla.

43 troighfian.

41 beoghacht.

44 leis.

43. Niall Aic[h]le an tEchtair céadna,
Goill na Grégaigh soighnénta,
an Traoi ar chasmhail 45 braoin-iath Breg[h],⁴⁶
ar Traoi-fhian gasraid Gaoidheal.
44. Nír linged[h] re linn Eachtair
múr 47 Traoi an tionóil guais-bertaigh,
dinis Banba go bás Néill
do c[h]ás ní tarla acht toirléim.
45. Do ba neimní re Niall Garbh
crínad a alt df[h]iaclaib feól-arm
go tarrachtain 48 tíre a sean
df[h]ath-bertaibh gríbhe Gaoidheal.
46. Tar a c[h]loidhemh an ccéin rug
ní fríth baogal barr Fánad,
derna fa druim-f[h]liuch 49 a ccath
um chumhgach ttedhma Temhrach.
47. Fer darb foraois each is slóigh
na lubhghuirt láimh re geal-Bhóinn
s na fuinn dluta 50 fa ndú[i]n coill
um Búill, um S[h]uca, um Shionoinn.
48. S na céide um Eas Dara an druadh
s um C[h]oirshliabh Seaghsa snas-f[h]uar
s um C[h]all cCaoín na bfá[i]s-drian bfliuch
s na raoin san mBráits[h]liabh mBreifnech.

45 chasmhuil.

46 Bredh.

47 mar.

48 *We must read* tárrachtain : fháth-bhartaibh.

49 *The word must be read as* drumlach.

50 *The rhyme is here faulty. We must read* dluta.

Canar - ? fíréil -

49. Do ba sealbha ina láimh leis
crodh Echtgha⁵¹ is eallach Iorrais,
Sliabh Guaire is Glenn Righe
fa gerr uaidhe⁵² a n-innile.⁵³
50. Do ba ní leisen leis féin
cethra Muighe hAoi ar each-réidh,
uair éigin nó a ccrodh ar c[h]oill,
nírbh éidir dol⁵⁴ dÓ Domnuill.
51. Do dhíoladh a nDún na nGall
dáimh Connacht ar chrodh cCualann
as cléir Chnaghbha ⁵⁵ ar c[h]rodh ⁵⁶ aniar
tarbha ar a son do shoi-mhiadh.
52. Tráth a loingse at Loch Éirne
Manchaigh chuige ag coimhéirghe
Loch Éirne go froigidh faoi
doighir Éirne ar ar iontaoí.
53. A cCaislén na Finne ar fhíon
minic tug ua ⁵⁷ na n-aird-ríogh
buar Oirghiall, eachra Ó Maine,
cethra ccoirm-f[h]ian cCaonraighe.
54. A Leithfer an lá fa hóg
minic tug Niall anallód
beithir crobhfuilech cláir Bhregh ⁵⁸
cáir ⁵⁹ chomhuigh[e]ach as chairdedh.

51 Echtgha.

52 uaighe.

53 innille.

54 dul.

55 Chnodhbha.

56 cradh.

57 uadh.

58 bhredh.

59 coir.

55. Ríomh ar ghon dá gégaibh féin
Conaill, Eóghain, ailt saoir-Néill
léigfed díom, ní dénta dhamh,
díol a n-érca as dob obar.⁶⁰
56. Inghilt natharrdha Néill Ghairbh
ó greis⁶¹ go creich go cath-mhaidhm
riamh ag seilg bhraoin-tealcha Breagh,⁶²
nír cheird aoin-tengtha an áiremh.
57. Dol go dígenn a bforais
léigfed deagla an fhaltanais,
gan fhosgladh dá ndírghe dhamh
sgríbhne a ccosgar s a ccomhramh.
58. Niall Súilighe slán re a bhás,
ésga as grian dá chaoi a ccompás,
úir anoir as da thaobh⁶³ tig
s an mhuin⁶⁴ araon as aimrid.
59. Cúig bliadhna⁶⁵ fiched fuair me
sé chéd ar ccontus mhíle
ó c[h]eimpeirt Dé go dol Néill,
nocha cor é nach oilbéim.
60. Tesda an gart le gríb nEilge,
adbath bláth na Gaoideilge.
tré aisdrig Ealga na n-eang
cerda an ghaisgidh a ngéibenn.

Bean.

60 obair. 61 ógreis. 62 breadh. 63 thaoibh.

64 *To be read as mhoin to rhyme with a-noir.*

65 bliaghna.

TRANSLATION

1. Leith Cuinn is a woman that has been wounded,¹ she has reached the crisis² of her suffering, Banbha has had news from the dear old sanctuary³ of the Gaedhil that will serve her as a sermon for a while.
2. Leith Cuinn, mother of supremacy, the nurse of the poets' brethren, is⁴ now but a bond woman, but that is no humiliation without a cause.
3. There is now expectation of the disgrace of every misfortune, the select half of the kingdom is the poorest in all the world for a time, her voice⁵ has become silent.⁶
4. Little profit to the poor wretched one is her nourishing of Conn's⁷ flock, she pays another price for fostering them, a load of sorrow too great for her.
5. Vain now is her kindly rearing of Art⁸ of Cliu,⁹ of Cormac¹⁰ of the Boyne, the nurse of these two princes has been taken unawares, the world has turned against her
6. Her breast [given] to Cairbre¹¹ of Meath and to Fiacha Sraibhtine,¹² the prosperous reign of Muireadhach¹³ after them,¹⁴ for this care poor is her requital.

7. She expended then her festive drinking on ¹⁵ Eochu Muighmheadhón,¹⁶ her wine unlocks not the joy to-day that she once found with Eochu's seed.
8. His descendants ¹⁷ are without a patch of ground to stand on,¹⁸ they who of old were beams of strength,¹⁹ Conn Cédchathach's race, long the disgrace, they for whom Fiontan's soil was once fittingly bespread with colours.
9. Fódla was the jamb-support of sixty ²⁰ kings of that stock, the generous race of great Eremhón, noble hosts of the citadel of clusters.²¹
10. All Europe was once submissive to one of these kings, Niall Naoighiallach, he succeeded to Art's father's place, there was hurtful ²² destruction to avenge him.
11. Choirful Leith Chuinn paid an eric for Niall Naoighiallach's prosperity,²³ it went from the king's noble stock²⁴ and Ireland was prostrate with the sorrow of it.
12. She gave 'red wheat' ²⁵ without a piece of cockle in payment of the tribute, the valorous seed of Niall's two fair sons,²⁶ it was an exchange which was a cause of weakness. ²⁷

13. Its life²⁸ and the limbs of its body was an ample eric from Conn's half, Conall's and Eóghan's descendants, vessels of her warrior pride.²⁹
14. Leith Mogha sustained a stagger in its glory by the loss of the princes, it was in Leith Cuinn the trees were cut down, nor was it the hazels which fell to the ground.³⁰
15. It is a strengthening³¹ of her pangs³² of sorrow to conceal the number of the host she lost, but a letting loose of every oppression of Bregia's land is Niall Ó Domhnaill's death in the end.
16. It is but a drop of the shower of vengeance inflicted on Conall's race, he was the faith-fullest scíon of noble³³ Niall, a vein from Eóghan's³⁴ heart, an example of sorrow to his kinsmen.
17. The grandson of the great Calbhach³⁵ of Eas Ruaidh,³⁶ and of the worthy Seaán of Ard Macha,³⁷ a cause of anxiety in addition to every sorrow, the heir to Conn³⁸ of Cruachán.³⁹
18. While he lived the two sources of strength,⁴⁰ the race of Niall Caille⁴¹ and Clan Dálaigh,⁴² were fresh, he the one warrior who was a house⁴³ of strength of all the chosen scions of the north.

19. This last destruction is a sting that Leith Chuinn, already wounded, felt, this murder is enough for her [above all] since Conn's 44 time, a wound which lowered her honour.
20. The last destruction that came was that of the 'head-letter' of the pedigrees, 45 a doubling of her burden when she received a twist that wrung her heart.
21. The death of Niall Garbh Ó Domhnaill in the Tower for the hostages of London's mansions is a ruin too deep that hath wholly occupied 46 the thoughts of the men of Éire.
22. That he should be during his life 47 in the King's Tower rendered powerless the bodies 48 of the Gaedhil, but when he died there it was a time of sadness for their honour. 49
23. Before Niall of the Erne died, 50 when death [in prison] was announced 51 to him, by his bondage in foreigners' fetters the light of Lugaidh's descendants 52 went out. 53
24. When he was in Ráth Bhoth he was the restrainer of knights, the warrior of Clann Dálaigh 54 ; the defending hero 55 of Conn's race has now been checked from sporting there.

25. When he was fettered by the foreigners every Conallian's bridle was wrung off,⁵⁶ Cenél Eóghain went down likewise, the red heat of their valour darkened.
26. Now is the day oppressing Leith Chuinn though once she received the valour of her noble chieftains, it was not her lot that this one ⁵⁷ should return as her spouse.
27. The same day is the commencement ⁵⁸ of the plundering with raids of Bregia's flocks ⁵⁹ in withefuls, as is told in her tales.⁶⁰
28. Whomsoever that violent day did not injure, Tír Conaill knows how poor it is thereafter, from Srubh Broin ⁶¹ to Gulban Guirt ⁶² it has experienced the affliction of its constraint.
29. That the lands of the principality of Tír Conaill were the peerless warrior's for a while, and that the strong one of Ráth Bhoth died, are causes of the fall of our house.
30. To the valiant miserable land of Calainn's hero ⁶³ the beginning of poverty has come, the land of bright hills and hedges, plain and mountain in equal shares.

31. Her hunting woods are streets, her people are but vassals,⁶⁴ her chieftains hold not their ancestors' soil, the hero's wounds are the reason of it.
32. Her defenders, her poets and her churches have a cause of grief, it is clear accordingly that prosperity⁶⁵ precedes⁶⁶ every downfall.
33. The day of Niall Garbh's fettering called forth a sea [of tears] in many a country, many a pang which is no unheeded sting in every part of Éire where he visited.⁶⁷
34. The day of the death of the Hector of Seaghais's⁶⁸ fianas in England in that iron bond, the hopes of every prince of the Gaedhil, however mighty, fell.
35. As the death of brave Hector brought defeat⁶⁹ to the hosts of Troy, in the death of the fair-handed hero of Beannchor⁷⁰ it was the Irish were overpowered.
36. The fight of the Gaedhil with the foreigners and the heroes of Troy alike resisting for a while the armies of the Greeks we have heard of, 'twas a matter in which the defence was similar.
37. Whoever caused the war, many a Greek came about Troy, hosts hard to resist and to number, a storm fierce in blood-spilling.

38. Not equally easy was the coming and returning of Greece's warriors, many a band came to Troy that never went the journey back from it.
39. Because of great Hector, son of Priam, the youths of Troy were towers in conflict, facing the strength of the Grecian ranks and smiting their warriors.
40. The end of Hector, by whom success was achieved, came by Grecian treachery, a plot was laid for him, he was the turning of a rout for his vigour.
41. Whatever treachery slew the son of Priam of lively courage, Troy's ⁷¹ victories ceased with him, their fortune perished.⁷²
42. For the deed of the Greeks the ravens were glad ; when they despatched Hector with deceit they determined to destroy Troy with valorous attack the next day.
43. Niall of Achall ⁷³ was another Hector, the foreigners the lightning Greeks, Bregia's speckled ⁷⁴ plain was Troy, the Gaedhil the Trojan heroes.
44. While Hector lived the walls of Troy though dangerously surrounded were never scaled, and to Ireland until Niall's death no defeat came, but only attack.

45. Niall Garbh little cared if his limbs were chopped by the teeth of weapons, provided only he saved his forbears' land with skilful deeds ⁷⁵ of a chief of the Gaedhil.
46. When he gripped his sword no one could surprise the chiefs of Fánaid, gory was his hand in battle in the stress of Temhair's overwhelming.
47. He made foraging-ground ⁷⁶ for his horses and his host of the orchards by the bright Boyne, and of the lands enclosed by wood ⁷⁷ by the Boyle the Suck and the Shannon.
48. And of the hills at Eas Dara ⁷⁸ of the druid, at clear cold Coirshliabh of Seghais,⁷⁹ at Call Caoin⁸⁰ of the wet wastes⁸¹; and of the plains about Braidshliabh⁸² of Breifne.
49. He held in his possession the cattle of Echtgha⁸³ and Iorrus,⁸⁴ not far from him was the spoil of Sliabh Guaire⁸⁵ and Glenn Righe.⁸⁶
50. Besides, his own special property were the cattle on the plain of Magh Aoi, or sometime also their stock in the woods,⁸⁷ they could not escape Ó Domhnaill.

51. In Dún na nGall he paid the poets of Connacht with the spoils of Cuala,⁸⁸ and those of Cnoghba⁸⁹ with cattle from the west, it was profit for them for honour.
52. When his fleet was on Loch Éirne, Fir Manach rose against him, Loch Éirne to its brink⁹⁰ submitted, against its storms he turned.
53. Many a time in Caisléan na Finne⁹¹ for wine the descendant of high-kings gave the cattle of Airghialla, the horses of Uí Maine⁹² and the stock of Caonraighe's⁹³ warriors.⁹⁴
54. Often long ago did Niall, Bregia's bloody-handed hero, when he was young, bring to Leithfer⁹⁵ the spoils⁹⁶ of friends and foes.
55. I pass over the recounting of all he slew with his own hand, men of Tír Conaill⁹⁷ and Tír Eoghain from noble Niall descended, I could not do it, to make requital for it were a task.
56. Niall Garbh's venemous attacks,⁹⁸ from insult to spoil and battle rout, as he plundered ever Bregia's speckled hills, no one tongue could narrate it.
57. To the fullness⁹⁹ of their story I shall not go for fear of enmity, I shall not open the record of their victories and triumphs though it be ready by my side.

58. Dead Niall of Suilech ¹⁰⁰ fare thee well ; sun and moon in union lament him; to his side there in the east comes the clay, his back too is shrivelled.
59. Twenty-five years and six hundred and a thousand I have reckoned from God's birth to Niall's death, it was a sad event.
60. With Erin's griffin hospitality is dead, the flower of the Gaelic has perished, through the sorrow ¹⁰¹ of Elg ¹⁰² of the borders warrior-deeds shall be no more.¹⁰³

—A woman.

NOTES.

- 1 Lit. 'shot.' 2 Lit. 'knot.'
- 3 What place is referred to here is not clear, only it can not be London. Perhaps we should print *Róimh* 'Rome.'
- 4 Lit. 'is to be considered.'
- 5 *siona* seems equivalent to *siana* from O Clery's *sian* i. *glor.*
- 6 Lit. 'cold.'
- 7 Conn Cédchathach.
- 8 Art Aoinfhear, son of Conn.
- 9 Cliu, a territory in county Limerick.
- 10 Cormac, son of Art, grandson of Conn.
- 11 Cairbre Lifeachair, son of Cormac mac Airt.
- 12 Fiacha Sraibhtine, son of Cairbre Lifeachair.
- 13 Muireadhach Tíreach, son of Fiacha.
- 14 *da a muin* = *dá muin*.
- 15 Lit. 'through kindness to.'
- 16 son of Muireadhach Tíreach.
- 17 *gabhal* 'a fork, branch, family, etc.'
- 18 Lit. 'for their soles,' as *bonaibh* here = *bonnaibh*.
- 19 *sailghe* pl. of *sail* 'a beam.'
- 20 About sixty kings of the race of Eremhón ruled from the time of Conn to the Norman Invasion.

21 *crobhaing* metaphorically 'a family,' in which signification it is perhaps used here.

22 *dainimh* gives *dainmhe* 'hurt' Fianaigecht 42.

23 Lit. 'pleasantry.'

24 Lit. 'fragrance of root.'

25 *derg* cannot be applied to *cruithnecht* except in a metaphorical sense. The reference seems to be to chieftains who met with violent deaths.

26 Conall and Eoghan, ancestors of the Uí Domhnaill and Uí Néill respectively.

27 *aitrén* from *trén* 'strength' and the intensive *ath-*.

28 Lit. 'senses of life.' The exact meaning of *bodhaing* is unknown; see Kuno Meyer, *Contributions*, *bodang* 'a vat.'

29 'pride of striking.'

30 The poet means that the Munstermen in common with Ulster suffer for want of leaders—towering 'trees' he calls them, as opposed to hazels, smaller men.

31 cf. *digen* Kuno Meyer, *Contributions*.

32 Lit. 'sparks.'

33 *nóithech* i. *oirdheirc* O Cl. apud Windisch, *Woerterbuch*.

34 His descent from Eoghan, son of Niall, is apparent from the next stanza.

35 An Calbach Ó Domhnaill, grandfather of Niall Garbh, fell dead from his horse on the 26th of November, 1566.

36 Eas Ruaidh, Assaroe on the river Erne, near Ballyshannon.

37 From this line we infer that Conn mac an Chalbhaigh Uí Dhomhnaill was married to a daughter of Seaán Ó Néill. According to O Donovan, *Four Masters* vi. 2384, he married a daughter of Toirrdhelbhach Luineach.

38 Conn Ó Domhnaill, son of an Calbach. He was ousted from the headship of the clan by his father's brother Aodh dubh, father of Aodh Ruadh, and maintained a vigorous resistance to that chief until his death, 13th of March, 1583.

39 Cruachán, or Cruachán Lighean, or Druim Lighean, now Croaghan in the parish of Clonleigh and barony of Raphoe, three miles from Lifford.

40 For *cló* 'a whirlwind' metaphorically 'strength' see Kuno Meyer, *Contributions* s.v.

GLEANINGS FROM IRISH MANUSCRIPTS

41 So called from the river in which he was drowned, the Calainn g. Cailne.

42 A synonym for the O Donnell, Dálach being grandfather of Domhnall a quo the surname.

43 See *aircha*, Kuno Meyer, *Contributions*.

44 Conn Cédchathach, not Conn father of Niall Garbh.

45 *annalladh* properly *annáladh* 'chronicling,' but *craebha annallaidh* here represents something like the *géaga geinealaighe* of the genealogists. In the *geinealaighe* proper the descent of contemporary chiefs or earlier notable characters is traced backwards from son to father, hence the compliment to Niall Garbh.

46 Lit. 'taken a promise or pledge of.'

47 That is, after his arrest.

48 Lit. 'form.'

49 For the writing cf. l. 3. st. 6. l. 3. st. 23. l. 3. st. 32.

50 That is, when it was realised that his freedom would never be regained.

51 *tosgnaighim* from *toisc* g. *tosca* 'business, errand' Cath Catharda, Index.

52 Uí Luighdheach synonymous with Cenél Luighdheach, the original home of the O Donnell, the barony of Kilmacrenan.

53 Lit. 'melts.'

54 Dálaigh=Clann Dálaigh, as Manchaigh=Fir Manach, Eóghanaigh=Cenél Eóghain, etc.

55 For *bang* lit. 'a nut' see Kuno Meyer, *Contributions s.v.*

56 that is 'every Conallian was rendered absolutely helpless.'

57 Niall Garbh.

58 Lit. 'commencement of history.'

59 The natural order is *da(=do) goid tréd Bregb ón tánaidh*.

60 viz. in Táin Bó Cuailnge. *Troighedh*, which must mean something like 'ropes' I have not met elsewhere.

61 In Inis Eoghain near Inishowen Head at the mouth of Lough Foyle.

62 The ancient name of Beann Gulban, a mountain in the county Sligo.

63 Niall Caille.

64 *acáid* 'tenant, vassal' sic lege in Kuno Meyer's *Contributions*, not *acaid*.

NOTES

- 65 Lit. 'a feast'?
- 66 *thosaig* dat. sg. of *tosach*?
- 67 Lit. 'to which he is a tryst (person trysted with).'
- 68 Coirrrshliabh na Seaghsa 'the Curliou Hills' between Roscommon and Sligo.
- 69 *tugha* apparently for *tubha* v. noun of *tubhaim* 'I make to touch; I reproach.'
- 70 Bangor in Co. Down, I suppose. No immediate connection of Niall Garbh with the place is implied. Cf. Niall Aichle st. 43 infra.
- 71 recte *Trói-fhian* 'Troy's heroes.'
- 72 Lit. "he immersed the honour of their time, i.e. which they had for a time.'
- 73 The Hill of Skreen, one mile from Tara, Co. Meath.
- 74 *braon* and *braonach* are constantly applied to Bregia, hardly with reference to 'wetness, dampness, etc.' hence I translate 'speckled' following Peter O'Connell's *braon den bholgaigh* 'a spot of the pock.'
- 75 *fáth* 'knowledge, skill.'
- 76 *foraois*, English *forage*, French *fourrage*.
- 77 Lit. 'mansion of hazel.'
- 78 Now Ballysadare, Co. Sligo. I do not know who is the druid referred to.
- 79 See note on st. 34.
- 80 Situated somewhere in the neighbourhood of the boundaries of Cairbre Droma Cliabh and Tír Conaill. See *Onomasticon s.v.*
- 81 *fásdrian*=*fás-trian*. *Trián* occurs in place names as *Trián Cluana Meala* 'Clonmel Third,' *Trián Meadhónach* 'Middle Third,' etc.
- 82 The Braulieve mountains, east of Co. Sligo on the border of Breifne Uí Ruairc.
- 83 Now Slieve Aughty on the borders of Co. Galway and Co. Clare.
- 84 The barony of Erris, Co. Mayo.
- 85 Slieve Gorey, Co. Cavan.
- 86 Between Co. Down and Co. Armagh.
- 87 i.e. swine fed on the mast of the forest.

GLEANINGS FROM IRISH MANUSCRIPTS

88 According to Hogan, *Onomasticon*, this district extended from the Liffey to Arklow.

89 Knowth, near Drogheda. The name is fancifully explained as *cnoc Búa* 'Bua's hill.' See *Metrical Dinnsenchas* iii, 40, 483, and Stokes, *The Bodleian Dinnsenchus* § 43.

90 Lit. 'wall.'

91 Castlefinn, Co. Donegal.

92 Seated mainly in Co. Roscommon and Co. Galway.

93 In Co. Limerick, or Caonraighe Aidhne in Co. Galway.

94 Lit. 'ale-warriors,' i.e. warriors who were fond of ale.

95 Commonly called 'the Liffer' in Niall Garbh's time, now Lifford on the Foyle above Derry.

96 *cáir*=*cóir* 'what belongs to one, property, etc.'

97 For Conall=Conél Conaill and Eoghan=Cenél nEoghain see *Onomasticon*, s.vv.

98 *inghilt* 'grazing,' i.e. 'wholesale destruction.'

99 cf. *dobér dígeann mo chomurli duid* 'I shall give you the fullness of my advice' *Zeitschrift* vi, 92.

100 Now the river Swilly and a loch similarly named.

101 *aísdriú* seems dat. or acc. of *aistear* declined as a guttural stem.

102 An old name for Ireland.

103 Lit. are in bondage.

DISIECTA MEMBRA

[Ós rud é ná féadaim nótaí do sgríobhadh ar na píosaibh seo leanas is fearr dam iad do thabhairt mar atáid insna láimhsgríbhneibh gan Béarla gan tagra. Gach éinne léighfeas iad gheóbha sé an chiall do bhaint asta agus an litriúghadh do cheartúghadh dó féin. Ni fhéadfainn gach aon ní do shocrúghadh gan leabhair do bheith agam agus nil aon leabhar annso dhéanfadh an gnó dham. I nAberystwyth dam san mBreatain 15 Februarii 1915.]

Litr ó Dhonnchadh Ó Maonaigh.

Mo bennacht maille le honoir chugaibh a athair ministir.

Re linn beith san bFrainc dam ag legh-theoracht d'fonn maitheasa do denamh dom provinsi mar ios aithne do na brathraibh dfag me am dhiaigh sa tigh so Lobaine an tathair Aodh Mac Aingil togtá do gothaibh na mbrathar mar gardian agus do chuir an tathair Flathri umhlacht chuige as an Roimh do denamh confirmasion air an togha cedna. Cidhedh nirb aill leis ariamh gardian do gairm de fein no go dtainic sa geimre so do chuaidh tort go dtug Pater Ioannes Neyenus bratair ata annso na comisarius generalis provinciarum Belgicarum provinsial provinciae interioris Germaniae leis dar dtigh ne agus gur orduigh se na phrovinsial os cionn ar dtighe ne e agus go ndearna an provinsial sin togha nuad agus gur toga Aodh

go nuadh aris na gardian. Agus on uair sin alleith ata na gardian.

Ios amhla ata ni bfuil a statuid no sgribeann ar bioth ag an ord commissarius ar bioth mar ata an fear sin do beith acca agus da mbeit nir gababair si no deffinitores provinciae Hiberniae leis agus da ngabfad sibh ni roibh ann a cumhachtaibh teagh do dealudha re provinsi agus a cur re provinsi eile agus da ma beg a fiafraidhe de an roibh cead an generail aige nir fiafraidhe de e. Do bi cuid do na brathraibh air ti seasta leis .i. Eoghan O Frighil Domhnall O Higgin agus Seon Prestun agus na hoganaigh do gabh misi fein annso agus nir fuling Aodh sin doibh. Ata an teagh mar so min marbh fa provinsial na tire so. Ios se adbharr as ar iarradar brathre na tire sin meas maith riaghaltachta agus crabhaidh do bi oruinne tarsi fein agus foghluma mar an gcedna san universite.

Do bi fos cumachta an generail agamsa an uair do bi me am gardian brathre do chur re humlacht gach aon taobh toigeorainn fein deirc diarraidh ann gach aon ball agus sub poena excommunicationis ipso facto ar brathair ar bioth gan toirmesc do chur orm directe aut indirecte. Do bi fos agam novisti do gabhail etc. Ni hagam amain do bi so acht ag an ti do beith na gardian am diaigh do gnath. Ni luaithes do cuire an ministir coimhitheach sin os ar gcionn no do cuire sub obedientia oruinn gan deirc diarraidh publice aut privatim gan aon

noviste do gabail gan brathair do cur tar baile amach acht maille le hobediens an provinsial. Do bi so mar so go techt damsa on fFrainc mar inneosas an teactaire dibsi. Do bi a roibh do bhratraibh astigh lan do toirse mar do cuaidh an doig dibh fa maith ar bioth do denamh don tir acht iad fein amhain do thabhairt suas agus muna beith gradh daoine eile do thabairt do chum an uird orro gur fearr do geba gach aon dibh beatha a gconventibh eile ina acca fein. Cidhedh ar dtecht damsa fa corghaos do gabh ni eigin misnigh iad cidh nach misi ba cuis da misnigh acht gur chuir Dia a gcroithibh moran doganaibh maithe do na colaistibh agus do daoineibh eile techt san aibid agus cidh go roibh na Iesuitae agus na Capusini ag cur na lamh asta tangadar as a lamhaib chugainne. Do rinemar slighe chum na haithne fa novistibh do togbhail dinn cidh nach roibh sin dfiachaibh oruinn agus tuga duinn cead an meid dfedamuis do congmail suas gan deirc diarraidh do gabhail. Do gabad ar sin daindeoin an gardian begnach ochtar oganach agus duine maith tromda foghlumtha do gabh misi annsa Frainc agus Roibeard Mac Artuir a gcrut go bfuilemaid deithneamhar nobiste. Ata iomarca doganaibh maithe eile ag iarraid na habide agus tug cuid do na brathraibh geallta doib agus ni haill leis an gardian a ngabhail. Diarramar uile air a ngabail agus do leig me fein sa cabidil ar ma glunaibh me ceithre la da iarraidh sin agus nirb aill leis da rad nach leigfeadh eglan

provinsial do agus nach egla bochtaine do bi air. Do chuaidh me fein a gceann an provinsial agus do throid me leis go maith agus fa deiredh fuair me a litir don baile da rad na hoganaigh do gabhail agus nir fearrde. Adubairt Aodh nach fedfedh a mbeathughad. Agus go deimhin ata astigh aige do saothar na mbrathar ar an mbliagain so do chuaidh tort saith bliadhna fos darbhar do chum aráin. Ata beoir leithbliadna denta. Ata luach anlainn go cenn tri raithe dairgiod air laimh an procudora agus gan aon pinginn fhiach air da mbeith se deithneamhar ar fithid. Tuille fos diarradar na professi air iad fein da ma eigin e do chur a gconventib eile ler maith a bfhagail mas bochtaine do bi air agus an clann beg sin do denamh don provinsi. Do chuaidh se dinn uile. Dfaga misi an teagh re feirg as ni rach ann an fedh bias seson n uachtaran. Do bi me ag triall go hEirinn roimhe sin agus ni bfuil agam imtheacht anos oir ni bfuil mo leabhair reidh agus do chuir Flathri chugam fuirech re sgelaibh uaidh fein.

Ataim da iarraidh ortsa a athair provinsial tu fein do techt anall agus cuis an tighe so do redughadh o lamhaibh namhad. Ios se an tegh so ios novitatus agus an stuider don provinsi agus ma bionn se fa lamhaibh daoine eile ni biaidh biseach air. Do saothraigheamairne e agus ni bfuil neart againn air niosa mó. Ni haill linn lochta an gardian dinnisin do duine coigrith do cuirfeadh as oifige e agus go hairidhe ni fuiligimse do na bratraibh sin do denamh

oir ios dearbh leam gurb oram fein cuirfidis i agus ni gebainn uaid san i oir ni mesaim go bfeadfadh an general fein provinsial do denamh de san oruinn fein. Tuille eile ni mian leam gan dul dom tir feasta agus ios leor dom an tegh ud do tionsgnam agus dfagbail suas agus conncaid cách fein suas e. Ma tig sibse anall feda sibh athair eigin tromdha do tabairt libh na custos custodum chum na cabidle generalta agus sib fein do denamh gardian de annso agus na denaidh go brath dAodh Mac Aingil acht legthoir oir ni bfuil croidhe circe aige agus do thuill se annsna neithibh so fein beith go brath fa easonoir agus gan fiu legthoireachta donoir dfaghail. Go deimhin ios ro ionmhain riomsa e agus ios mor diomchair me ris cuirim a fiadnaisi ar cách. Cidhedh ios mian leam an firinne do rada. Na taobaidh beith na vicarius provincialis no na custos do chum na cabidle na na gardian astigh so go brath re duine ar bioth act re duine do ghlac an abid sa provinsi féin no sa tig si ios ionann sin. Tuille beg eile ni haill leamsa aon ni diob do taobhadh riom fein oir ni beg leam a ndearna me do clampar a gcoigrith agus daoine eile ag mille mo saothair orm. Biaid me tall aguibh sul mo thochus sibh me.

Ios olc linn go gcualamar sib do denamh legthora annso do Tomas Mac Grait agus gan sin do leigin no do grasaibh eile aige. Tuille eile ios olc do dearmadabhair sinn fein ar gcuid don clar do beith againn agus gur sinn do thuill

e agus nar tuill masla dom tir. Ata Emonn O Maolearcaid so Roimh agus ios mor goilleas na neithe so air. Atamuidne buidheach de agus ata se gradach san provinsi. Ni beg so anos. Acht ni dena sibsi fedh aimsire ar noifige seirbis ios fearr na degordughadh do chur ar an tegh so agus ios si cuis prinsipailte ata ag na coigriochaibh so re cur sios ar nagaidh ne nach bfuil aon provinsial againn agus ma ta nach tig do denamh visitatio oruinn. Da dtigeadh sibse aon uair amhain do cuirfamuis gles oruinn o sin amach.

Comairle air leasa o Dia dibh.

A nAnbhars 12 Maii 1610

do mhac dileas

FRATER DONATUS MONEUS.

Litir eile ó Dhonnchadh Ó Maonaigh.

Cuirim mo beannacht chugaibh a aithreacha. Ataid braithre na provinsi so ann a bfuilemuid ag denamh iomarcaidh orainn ag iarraidh sinn do beith fa chumachtaibh a ministir fein agus ma bimuid fa chenn ro bhegain aimsire dimig an teagh oir do cuirethar dfiachaibh oruinn sub obedientia non mendicare neque publice neque privatim et non recipere novitios. Do bi cumhachta an generail chum gan coda acc* againn roimhe agus ni bfuil gnothaighe againn annso acht chum daoine og do gabhail don provinsi agus chum a muinti. An fedh do bi misi so bFrainc ag leigthoireacht ios sedh do

* Léightear *gach coda acca* annso.

rinne siad so agus ní roibh do chenn ag Aodh Mac Aingil dfag me am ait na gardian a fiafraidhe dibh qua auctoritate amhain acht tug se a aonta doibh. Tar eis misi do teacht do gabhamar begnach daindeoin an gardian dreacht doganaibh maithe a gcruth go bfuil deithneamhar gabtha againn agus do beith ní mo da leigeadh an gardian duinn oir do fuarmar ó brathraibh an tire a dtoirmesc do togbhail faoi sin agus ní roibh ughdaras agam chum labhartha leo a naghaidh toile an gardian fa níos mo. Ata cách uile faoi so etc. diomdach don gardian. Comhairle maith ar an adbhair sin don ministir techt anall agus biocaire dfagbail os cionn na provinsi agus techt do reghudha an tighe so as clampar agus dul na diaigh sin chum na cabidle generailte. Na messadh se gurb etrom na gnothaidh so oir go deimhin íos se an teagh aon gabhal congmla na provinsi suas ma cumdaigther go maith e oir ataid na hoganaigh íos fearr sna colaistibh ag techt as lamhaibh na Iesuitae agus na Capusin dar nionnsoighe ne agus Aodh da ndiulta go maslaighthech tar eis na mbrathar do tabairt geallamhna doibh. Ní gabhann se ar so mo comhairle si nó comhairle an tighe uile ann aonfheacht. Do bí me fein ag imtecht anonn sa slighe so agus do rig sgela orm o Flathri gan dul anonn fos. Íos ar eigin feudaim so do sgriobhadh. Na saoilleadh an provinsial ughdaras do chur anall chum aon duine oir ní bfuil duine ann do denamh na

gnothaidhe nios duthrachaighe na misi agus ni gebhainn sin agus ni tiobradh aon duine toradh orm o docuaidh an ni sa riocht so. Ni leor fos gan an provinsial fein do dul chum na cabidle generailte agus athair eigin onordha don tir tall fein oir cidh go bfeadfadh daoine eile dul ann ni denadh gnothaidh acht iad fein agus go hairidhe ni bfuil gnothaidhe re mac aon provinsi eile.

Valete corde festivo

Antwerpia 12 Maii 1610

Confrater vester in Christo

FRATER DONATUS MONEUS.

Na bioth eglá costuis orra oir da mbeith degmisneach agus degcroidhe aguinne cidh go bfuil a gcoigrith ni beith uireasbha oruinn agus ni roibh fos ariamh. Cidheadh o do gabh drochmisneach sinn dimidemar muna reide Dia an ministir duinn.

*Dán do Sheán mac Aodha mic Fheardhorcha
Uí Néill do fuair bas timcheall 1640.*

1. Faoillidh fesda fian Ghaoidheal
cian bhús cóir da chommaoidhemh
iar neug is aithbheóghadh dhóibh
tre íocluibh ratha an ríoghshlóigh.
2. Gach imnedh imchian re hedh
gach díth euga gach éigen
dar tháir slóigh finntighe Fáil
faoilidh dhóibh ó na ndiombáidh.

3. Coill oighreachta hinnsi Breg
leó ní cuimhnech an cinnedh
nó broid gach Gaoidhil ó Ghall
no freumha a nárdfhilath anbhfann.
4. Fáth medhruighthe a menma aniogh
a ffuil ann dfhuighleach Gaoidhiol
techt slán do chennbhile cháigh
da eachtra ar ais ón Esbáin.
5. Eunluibh íci a nothras báis
flaith Banbha na mbert nemhthláis
an fedh bhus buan beó I Néill
neimh a nothar ní hoilbheim.
6. Deór a ccroidhibh cáigh a bhus
nior fhág da ffuil a fFlonndrus
duamhan tuislidh dha thaobh seng
s níor bfherr dfhoirinn na hEirenn.
7. In Seán O Neill si aniogh
eunfhuath Gall aointsherc Ghaoidhiol
Dia da choimhdhe tar gach cair
dob amhlaidh iad da athair.
8. Gach inmhe fan Fhódla riamh
da ffuair sena na saoirNiall
go ttáire an Seán re sén
diallach re a chuaine an coilén.
9. Bráighe ghill Thuinne Tuaidhe
cosnamh chána Craobhruidhe
saoradh bhreth broide Banbha
dóigh urruma a atharrda.

10. Eó Éirne is Esa Craoibhe
maighri seunda senDaoile
torchuir cuain Bóinne is Banna
s gach inbhir fhéil etarra.
11. Énfher feithmhe Themhra an trír
s gach iosdaidh da fhuil áirdrígh
mar tharla gan táth fa seach
gach ríoghsport * oile is Oileach.
12. Dún Genuinn Benn Bhorb na ccrot
an Srath Bán ga beg diomlot
gach brugh dhíobh na ghrianán Goill
neimh is ainmín gidh áloinn.
13. Dún Sobhairci is Dún Droma
slios Murbaigh s a merrdhronga
do dhíth iarla fhóid Uladh
fiabhrus bróin da mbethughadh.
14. Longnadh nach airighend féin
Craobh Tholcha an fhoinn fhóidréidh
grianmhagh glanMhacha fa ghruaim
Sliabh Truim is Emhuin armruaidh.
15. Cenn inmhe in fhine Chuinn si
mun dóigh é as a nattuirsí
da mbreith féin s na mbrugh sa ó bhroid
na dheghaidh re dóigh deghloid.
16. Ar ghairm Í Néill roimhe riamh
tarla ó thosaigh s ní saoibhchiall
tre bharr inmhe a loisi láin
buaidh na hÉirenn s a hedráin.

* Is dócha gur chóir *rioghphort* bheith annso.

17. Leó dubhradh s do derbadh soin
on áird thuaidh tig an chabhoir
s ó tá críoch na cabhra a ndán
fuighleach an séin re Seán.
18. Oighreacht Neill sin na naoi ngiall
is Tuathoil nar ob aoinghliadh
is Cuinn gan righe re a rath
go ttáire ua na nárdfhilath.
19. A sheal féine fuair gach fer
da threibh ríogh do ghort Ghaoidheal
leis fhuirghes Ere mar tá
fa ches imnedh gach éunlá.
20. Ni ben taoghdach treabh Dathí
fa mac Aodh déis a háirdri
dlighe an cháil chédna dhi si
rétla áigh na hinnsi si.
21. Fuighle naomh is fesa fágh
iomda leis lór do chonágh
créd acht adhbur inmhe sin
Gaidhil fesda budh faoillidh.

Faoillidh.

Acc sin duit a fhuighleach ar nannsa a dhuine
na haibíde gidhbé thú os cách a Ch. Í. R. accus
na héist re lucht an inchreachaigh re cáinedh an
an bhegáin rann sin do chionn gan sgoith no
prímhfher ealadhna da ndénomh : acht gidhedh
is ferr a lochdughadh ón tí da bfhaicher é do

bhrigh go ndiongna féin a samhuil ní bús ferr
amhuil adubhairt Goffraidh Mac an Bhairtt :

Saoithe na ninntleacht nanbfhonn
dalltor re hanbharr neigsi
dúnaid éunlaith na hoidhchi
súile re soillsi gréine, et cetera.
bhur ccara gan chlaochlódh
7 guidh oruinn ar son Dé

B. M. G.

.

*I dtaobh Meguidhir agus Megmhathghamhna do
thug iarracht fa chaisleán Bhaile Átha Cliath
October 1641.¹*

A atair ionmuin

X
Bu truagh libh an sgeal ata agam dibh do taobh
thigerna Innisgillionn .i. Concabair Mhéguibir
do bi anso Tor a ngeimleach go nuige so 7 ata anois
sa nGeata Nuadh prisun is truallighe a Londuin
.i. prisún na mbitemhnach 7 na malefactor ² e fein
7 Mac Mathamna 7 captin Albanach catolice do
tugadh leo as Eirinn. Ataid na ttriúr a naen-
tseomra ra beg amháin gan biadh gan ttigh gan
leabuigh acht aon drochleabuigh beag amháin
aca na ttriúr gan áit ag a rachaidís do chum
riachtanuis naduire (horresco referens) acht an
seomra ina gcodluid 7 ní lor leis na tiránuigh
mailluighe so acht atteirid go ngoirfidear do chum

¹ MS. D. II. p. 462.

² *ed* crossed out.

ceasta iad ar an tseachtmuin so chuguinn ag an tsession 7 ata eagla mor oruinn go gcuirfidear do cum bais iad. Iarruim oruib ar son De guibhe cinnte do deanamh ortha. Lor so ar an uair si acht Dia maille ribh.

bur nduine bocht fein

Londini $\frac{22}{12}$ Maii 1643.

SEMUS.

PS. Measuid daoine oile nach ttiúrtha do chum bretheamhnais iad. Gibe ní eireochas dóib cluinfe sibh e leis an gcéud posta.

Teasbántas ó Bhrian Ó Flaithbheartaigh.

Admhuimsi Brian O Flaithbheartaigh mac Morchaidh na maor go ttugas ar lámh an athar Pátruicc Ui Aodha athair spiriodailte na mbrathar mionúr Eirionnach a Lobháin culuighe Aiffrinn choniente Chille Connuill, sgur ghlacas ón athair reamhraidhte fithche púnt ar son mo shaothair 7 mo costuis leo 7 admhuim a bhfiagnuisi mo thighearna, muna bheith fíriachtanas oram, nach iarrfuinn ní san bith ar na braithribh roionmhuine dan cara 7 dan Benefactor me ar fedh mo chomhachta, 7 mar comhartha ar sin do bheirim obligáitt oram féin 7 ar mhoighridhe mo dhiaigh ma tigh maoid a ccomhachta nó a cceanas ar ndúitche choidhche, go ttiobhruid assioc 7 sásadh dona chonuent 7 dona bráthruibh remhráidhte Chille Connuill. Mar dhearbhadh ar sin sgriobhuim mo lámh. a mBrussil 13 July 1654.

BRIAN FLAHERTY.

Infrascriptus coram subsignatis testibus attestor et obligo meipsum nomine Conventus de Killconnell ordinis S. Francisci strictae observantiae Provinciae Hiberniae Eruditissimo Dno. D. Patricio Hugonio exponenti Ducentos florenos pro sacris ornamentis dicti conventus depositis in manibus Generosi Domini Bernardi Ó Flaherty mhic Morchaidh na maor respondere et satisfacere eumque per omnia indemnem reddere et pro maiori securitate attestationis eadem paramenta in eiusden prefati Patricij manibus deposita relinquo in cuius rei fidem propria manu subscribo. Datum Bruxillis 13 July Anno 1654.

FR. HUGO THADAEI.

SYMON MORISHY testis ecclesie Kill Morensis pastor. THADAEUS KELLY sacerdos.

.

I dtaobh an achrainn idir órd S. Proinsias agus órd S. Dominic i gcúigeadh Uladh.

Do brigh go bfaicmaoid san aimsir si a lathair brathaire S. Domnic ag iarraigh teacht asteach air órd S. Proinsias ata glachtha sa ccundae so Fearmanach 7 nach aithne dhuinn fein ceart no aitreabh air bith aca son roime so riamh ann, fátcios báis ar seanndaoine gan a bhfiaghnuisse do beith aguinn ann gach cuimhne da bhfuil aca, atamuid ag tabhart air ccommissioin 7 ag taobhadh le gach sagart da bhfuil faoi dhistriict na diosi so fiaghun gach seanduine do ghlacadh do reir a

DISIECTA MEMBRA

cuimhne fein 7 mar fuair le traditio aithre roime timchill an uird si S. Domnic 7 sin do thabhart sgriobhtha faoi na laimh cuguinn. In huius rei fidem his subscripsimus 6 Martij 1665.

PATRICIUS DROMA
Cillmorensis vicarius generalis.

Ataimesi Flaithbertach Mac Aodha seacht mbhliadhna deug agus tri fithchit daois ag denumh dfiaghnuise fo mo coinnsias nach aithne dhamh fein 7 nach ccuala me o mo shinsir go roibh áitrebh no ceart air bith ag brathairuibh S. Dominic a gcundae Fhearmanach ariamh agus nach bfacus límetas na ceart air bith aca da fhaghail ann. Dat xxviiij. Aprilis.

FLORUS HUGH.

Ataimesi Seadhan óg Mac Aodha ata ccionn seacht mbliadhna deug 7 tri fithchit адаois ag deanum na fiaghnuise céadna fo mo choinsias.

JOANNES MAC HUGH.

Ataimse Brian Mac Aodha a nghar don aois chétna ag deanumh dfiaghnuise fo mo coinsias nach aithne dhamh fein 7 nach ccuala slighe no ceart ag an ord sa S. Doimnic san ccundae so agus da dhearbadh sin ag cur mo laime sgriobhtha air an bpaper so.

BRYAN MAC HUGH.

Ataimse Cormac meirgeach Mac Aodha a gceann 73 mbliadhna adaois ag deanumh fiaghnúise do reir mo choinsiais ar an modh cétna sin amhuil chach romham.

CORMAC MAC HUGH.

Ataimse Reaghmunn O Duirnin a nghar daois chaich ag deanumh fiaghnúise do réir na muintire sí romam.

o Reaghmun \times 7 a mharc.

Suim an méid do chuir a lámha air an ccúise se chéud 7 triúr.

. ,

[*I leabharlainn na mbráthar mionúr ar Ché na gceannaighe i mBaile Átha Cliath fuaireas na piosat sin go léir agus gabhaim mo bhuidheachas leis na bráithribh céadna fo cead do thabhairt dam cibé seanleabhar nó seanmheamram ba mhaith liom daihtsgriobhadh dham féin.*]

EXTRACTS FROM THE FRANCISCAN MANUSCRIPT OF THE *ANNALS OF THE FOUR MASTERS.*

I

WHEN JOHN O DONOVAN prepared his great edition of the *Annals of the Four Masters* the original manuscripts of the first portion of the work were not in Ireland. Of the two known to exist one was then in the Irish Franciscan Convent of St. Isidore in Rome, and the other was in the Stowe Library in England. O Donovan had therefore to rely on copies in arranging the text (as far as the year 1171) and the introductory matter which the compilers prefixed to the *Annals* proper. This, of course, was a great drawback, and was the cause of some mistakes. In the opening pages the Latin is often ungrammatical and meaningless, while here and there there are serious omissions. The interesting letter of Father Valentine Browne, Provincial of the Franciscan Order, is not given at all and the text of the material in Irish is not always accurately reproduced. The following edition of these introductory pieces will not, then, be superfluous.

The two original manuscripts of the first portion of the *Annals* are now in Dublin ; one is in the Franciscan Library, Merchants' Quay, and the other has been transferred from England to the Royal Irish Academy, where it is numbered C iii 3. There is also in Dublin a complete autograph of the second or concluding portion contained in the R.I.A. volumes 23 P6 and 23 P7. The Franciscan

manuscript and these two latter manuscripts form volumes 1, 2, and 3 of a series. The folios of the first are numbered 1-523 (with certain duplications and omissions), and the material ends with the year 1169. The second is numbered also ; the first folio is 525, and the opening words belong to the year 1170. They are as follows : | *saibh thicchernain ui Ruairc do radsat iarttain amus longpuirt fair sin fein co laicchnibh ghallaibh fheraib midhe* ; compare O Donovan, FM. ii. page 1178. The conclusion is obvious ; one folio of 23 P6 has been lost, and the foliation of the first two volumes of the series was consecutive. 23P7 is not numbered at all, but it takes up the narrative exactly where 23 P6 breaks off.

Confining our attention to the Franciscan volume, let us examine its opening pages. They are thirty-two in number. The first thirteen are blank. The next three are occupied by some notes *facta a fratre Petro M'Cormick Lectore Jubilato hac 30a 7bris 1755*. Page xvii contains the letter given to Michael O Clery by his Superior, Father Valentine Browne,¹ bidding him undertake the work as a task of Obedience, that so he might have the greater heavenly merit for his labours. This letter has never been printed before. It runs as follows :

1 Father Valentine Browne was a native of the diocese of Tuam, and was received into the Franciscan Order at Louvain on August 20th, 1617. He was appointed Provincial of the Irish Province on August 15th, 1629, and held that position for three years (Historical Manuscripts Commission, Appendix to the Fourth Report, 603, 608).

*Fratri Michaeli Clery nostri seraphici instituti
professo laico.*

Cum indefesso studio antiquitates Hybernicas nostrae gentis euolueris, et e tenebris quasi Aegyptiacis quibus inuolutae erant vindicare studueris, et hactenus ex fragmentis in vnum collegistis quae de sanctis nostris multis lucubrationibus scire potueras, et nunc eodem studio ac zelo quae ad Annales nostrorum regum et ad huius regni statum tam ecclesiasticum quam temporalem spectant ex antiquis Hybernicis monumentis pene deletis conscribere statuisti : ne tuo labori tam pio et tam diu desiderato deesse videremur, tibi ad meritum sanctae obedientiae precipimus vt in isto Annalium opere laborioso iam incepto vsque ad finem perseueres si Deus vitam dederit, et collecta omnia iudicio peritorum linguae Hybernicae vt hactenus fecisti in aliis opusculis subijcias. Vale dilectissime frater pro me Deum oraturus.

15 Maij 1632.

FR. VALENTINUS BROWNE,
Minister Provincialis.

The Dedication of the Annals comes next, pages xix-xxii. O Donovan printed this from a different source to be mentioned later. The long genealogy of Ó Gadhra and a few accents are here omitted. Capitals are supplied, and also some accents missing in the manuscript :

Guidhim Dia im thabairt gacha haoibhnesa do
rachad i les da churp 7 da anmain dFerghal Ó
Gadhra tigherna Mhaighe Uí Gadhra 7 Cúile Ó

fFind aon don dias rideredh parlemeinte ro toghadh
as condae Shliccigh co Háth Cliath an bliadain si

Anno Domini 1634.

As ní coitchend soilléir fon uile doman in gach
ionadh i mbí uaisle nó onóir in gach aimsir da
ttáinicc riamh diaidh i ndiaidh nach ffuil ní as
glórmaire 7 as airmittnighe onóraighe (ar
adhbaraibh iomdha) iná fios sendachta na
senughdar 7 eólas na naireach 7 na nuasal ro
bháttar ann isin aimsir rempa do thabairt do
chum solais ar dháigh go mbeith aithentus 7 eólas
ag gach druing i ndeadhaid aroile cionnus do
chaithsett a sinnsir a ré 7 a naimsir 7 cia hairrett ro
báttar i ticcernus i ndúithce i ndignit nó i nonóir
diaidh i ndiaidh 7 créd í an oidhidh fuairsiot.

Tánacc sa an bráthair bocht durd S. Fr. Míchél
Ó Clérigh (iar mbeith deich mbliadhna damh acc
sccríobhadh gach sendachta da bfuarus ar naomh-
aibh na Hérenn imaille re humhlacht gach prouin-
sail do raibhe in Érinne i ndiaidh a chéle do beith
accam) da bhar láthair si a uasail a Fhearghail Uí
Ghadhra. Do braithes ar bhar nonóir gurbh
adbar truaighe 7 neimhéle doghailsi 7 dobróin libh
(do chum glóire Dé 7 onóra na Hérenn) a mhéd do
dheachattar sliocht Gaoidhil meic Niúil fo ciaigh 7
dorcattus gan fios écca iná oidhedha naoimh ná
bannaoimhe airdespuicc epscoip ná abbadh ná
uasalgráidh eccailsi oile rígh ná ruirigh tigerna ná
tóisigh comhaimsir ná coimhsínedh neich díbh
sidhe fri aroile. Do fhoillsicchesa daoibh si gur bhó
dóigh lem go ffuighinn cuidiuccadh na ccroinidhe

ar ar mó mo mhes do chum leabhair annáladh do sscríobhadh i ccuirfidhe i ccuimhne na neithe remráite 7 da léiccthí ar cáirde gan a sscríobadh do láthair nach ffuighthi iad do ridhisi le a fforaithmett 7 le a ccuimhniucchad go crích 7 go foircend an bhetha. Do cruinnicchedh lem na leabhair annáladh as ferr 7 as líonmaire as mó dob éidir lem dfagháil in Éirinn uile (bíodh gur dheacair damh a tteccclamadh go haoinionadh) dochum an leabhair si do sscríobadh in bhar nainm si 7 in bhar nonóir óir as sibh tucc luach saothair dona croinichidhibh lás ro sscríobadh é 7 bráitre conueinte Dhúin na nGall do chaith costtus bídh 7 friothóilte riú mar an ccédna. Gach maith da ttiocfa don leabhor sin do thabairt solais do chách i ccoitchinne as ribh si as beirthe a bhuidhe 7 ní cóir machtnadh nó iongnadh éd nó iomthnúth do bheith fa maith da ndingénadh sibh óir as do shíol Éimhir meic Míledh ór gheinsiot 30 rígh do ríoghaibh Érenn 7 a haon ar thrí fichtibh do naomhaibh an Tadhg mac Céin meic Oilella Óluim ór shíolsat a hocht décc dona naomhaibh sin as éidir do breith ó ghlún go glún an ² Tadhg cédna. Ro ghabhlaighsiot 7 ro

2 *an* was stuck in after *glun* when *Tadhg* had been written. Even so, the end of the sentence is ungrammatical. C iii 3 agrees verbatim. The vellum copy, referred to farther on, reads *gusan Tadhg cedna*, and this alone gives sense. Translate as follows: "For of the race of Eimhir son of Mil, from whom sprang thirty of the kings of Ireland and sixty-one saints, is the Tadhg son of Cian son of Oilill Olum from whom are descended eighteen of those saints whom it is possible to trace from generation to generation to the same Tadhg." O Donovan did not follow his manuscript at this point.

aittreabhsat clannmaicne an Taidhg sin i nionad-
aibh éxamhla ar fud Érenn .i. sliocht Corbmaic
Gaileng i Luighnibh Connacht ór geineabhair si
muinte Gadhra an dá Ua Eaghra i cConnachtoibh
7 Ó Heghra an Rúta Ó Cerbhaill in Ele 7 Ó
Meachair in Uíbh Cairín 7 Ó Concobhair i cCian-
nacta Glinne Geimhin. Do dherbadh ar bhar
tteacht sa ón fhuil uasail sin adubramar ag so
bhar ngeinealach a Fhearghail Uí Gadhra.

An dara lá fichet do mí Ianuarij Anno Domini
1632 do tionnsgnadh an leabhar so i cconueint
Dhúin na nGall 7 do críochnaigedh isin cconueint
cédna an deachmadh lá do August Anno Domini
1636 an taonmadh bliadhain décc do ríge ar
rígh Carrolus ós Saxaib Frainc Albain 7 ós Éirinn.

bhar ccara ionmhain

BR. MÍCHÉL Ó CLÉRIGH.

Next, pages xxiii-xxiv, comes the authors' Preface signed by three of the Four Masters themselves, by their assistants Conaire Ó Clérigh and Muiris Ó Maoilchonaire, and by three friar witnesses. This Preface is much shorter than that printed by O Donovan, which is derived from another source.³ However, it deserves to be given in its original form here :

Atát na croincidhe 7 an taos ealadhna sa
hanmanna 7 isa lámha atá síosana in ar ndiaidh

3 The Preface is missing in C iii 3, some leaves having been torn out after 1797 (Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores iii, page xi).

admhálach gur sgríobhatar 7 gur theaglamatar an leabhar annáladh so a leabhraibh éxamhla eitir aimseraibh ó na thosach gus an mbliadhain si dhaois Críst 1333 7 gurab é Fearghal Ó Gadhra tug lóigidhecht dhóibh ara sgríobadh 7 gurab iat bráithre conuente Dhúin na nGall tug biadh 7 friotháileamh dóibh an airett do bháatar ag a sgríobadh.

As iatt na leabhair as ro sgríobhsat é leabar Cluana m. Nóis in ro bheandaigh naoimh Chiarán mac an tsaoir, leabhar Oiléin na Naomh for Loch Ríbh, leabhar Seanaidh m. Maghnusa ar Loch Érne, leabar Chloinne Uí Maoilconaire a contae Rossa Commáin 7 leabhar muintire Duibhgennáin Chille Rónáin a contæ Sligigh, 7 ní raibhe do bliadnaibh i leabar Cluana ná i leabhar an Oiléin acht gus an mbliadhain si 1227. Do bhátor aroile do leabhraibh aca ro badh eimhilt dáireamh.

As iatt na croinícidhe 7 an taos ealadhna do bháttor ag sgríobadh an leabhair sin adubhromor an brathair Míchél Ó Clérigh, Muiris mac Tórna Uí Mhaoilconaire fri ré aoimhíosa, Fearfesa mac Lochlainn Uí Mhaoilchonaire a contæ Rossa Commáin ina ndís, Cúcoigcríche mac Diarmata Uí Clérigh a contæ Dhúin na nGall, Cúcoigcríche Ó Duibhgennáin mac Tuathail a contæ Liathttroma, 7 Conaire Ó Clérigh (.i. mac Donnchadha) a contæ Dhúin na nGall.

Atátt na haithre durd S. Fr. isa lámha atá ar so aga fhiadhnugadh mar an ccéttna go rabhatar an taos ealadhna ro ráidheadh romhainn a bfarradh

aroile ag sgríobadh an leabair 7 gurab iad na leabhair rémhráite do bhaoi aca.

Do dearbhadh ar na neitibh sin adubhramar atát cách ar gach taobh ag cur a llámh ar so an taonmadh bliadhain dég do ríge ar rígh Carrolus ós Saxaibh, Frainc, Albain 7 ós Erind. An deachmadh lá do August aois Crist míle, sé chéd, triochat, a sé.

BR. MICHEL Ó CLERIGH.

MUIRIS Ó MAOILCONAIRE.

FEARFEASA Ó MAOILCONAIRE.

CÚCOIGCRÍCHE Ó CLÉRIGH.

CONAIRE Ó CLÉRIGH.

FR. BERNARDINUS CLERY,
Guardianus Dungalensis.

BR. MUIRIS ULLTACH.

BR. MUIRIS ULLTACH.

O Donovan had before him certain copies of the Stowe original manuscript, but did not follow their text of the Dedication and Preface. Instead, he took that of a pair of vellum leaves which are stuck into 23 P 6 immediately following folio 550. The Dedication is the same, but, as already stated, the Preface is much fuller than that printed above. There are several other portions of introductory matter on separate leaves elsewhere, and we shall conjecture their purpose later. But taking the original manuscripts of the Annals, we must accept them as they are, even though there be evidence that the compilers did not regard the form of their prefatory matter as final.

Following the Preface comes the Testimonium of Flann Mac Aodhagáin, page xxv :

IHS.

Do bhíthin go ttáinicc an bráthair bocht Míchél Ó Clérigh (amaille le humhlacht a uactaráin an tathair Ioseph Euarard⁴ prouinsial uird S. Fronséis in Éirinn) dom ionnsaicchid do thaisbé-nadh an leabhair si damh atúsa Flann mac Cairpre Mic Aedhaccáin ó Bhaile Mc. Aedhaccáin i ccontæ Thioprat Arann ag a fhiadhnucchad, gérbo hiomdha leabhar airis do chonnarc do shein-leabhraibh Éirenn, 7 gérbhó líonmhar an nuimhir éccinnte do leabraibh aosda, 7 nemhaosta, sgríobhta 7 ag a sscríobadh do chonnarc hi scoil tSeáin mic Tórna Uí Mhaoilchonaire (oide fher nÉirenn i ccoitcinne i senchus, 7 i ccroinic 7 ag a mbáttar a raibhe in Éirinn ag foghlaim na heal-adhna sin ga tteccuscc aicce), nach facadhas etorra sin uile aoinleabhar as ferr ord, as coitchinne, as líonmaire, 7 as mó as ionmolta mar leabar airis 7 annála iná an leabhar so. Mesaim fós nach éidir le duine ar bith tuiccsionach do thuaith, nó decclais nó le healadhain dá légfe é a lochtuccadh. Do dherbadh an neithe remráite atám ag sscríobadh mo láimhe air so isin mBaile Mc. Aedhaccáin adubhart 2 November 1636.

FLANN MAC AODHAGÁIN.

Next follows, page xxvi, the Testimonium of Conchobhar Mac Bruaideadha, who, though chief

⁴ Father Joseph Everard was elected Provincial on August 14th, 1635.

of his family, evidently regarded the English form of his name as of some importance.

Táinic an bráthair bocht Míchél Ó Clérigh (amaille le humhla a uachdaráin an tathair Ioseph Euerard prouinsial uird S. Fr.) dom láthair do léccadh 7 do thaisbénadh an leabhair airis 7 annáladha 5 do sgríobhadh lais 7 lasan aois ealadhna oile isa lámha atá air 7 iar na fhéuchain 7 iar na bhreathnucchadh dhamh, atúsa Mac Bruaideadha (Conchobar mac Maoilín Óicc) ó Chill Chaoide 7 o Leitir Mhaoláin i ccontæ an Chláir aga fhiadhnachadh go bhfoil an leabar ionmholta 7 nach cumhain linn leabar airis, nó annáladh dfaicsin as mó, as fearr 7 as líonmhaire choitchinne ar Éirinn uile iná an leabar so 7 gurab doiligh toibhéim, lochdughadh, ná increachadh do dhéunamh air. Do derbhadh ar a ndubhart atáim acc cur mo láimhe air so i cCill Chaoide
11 Nouember 1636.

Conner Mac Brody dá ngoirter
MAC BRUAIDEADHA.

Pages xxix-xxxii contain the Approbations of the Archbishops of Tuam and Dublin and the Bishops of Elphin and Kildare. They are, as has been said, very inaccurately printed in O Donovan's edition :

Visis testimonijs et approbationibus eorum qui precipui sunt antiquarij rerum nostrarum, et linguae ac historiae peritissimi ac expertissimi, de fide et integritate fratris Michaëlis Cleri laici Ordinis Seraphici Francisci in opere (quod intitu-

5 Read *annáladh*.

latur Annales regni Hyberniae, in duas partes diuisum quarum prima continet a diluuiio ad annum Christi milesimum ducentisimum vigesimum septimum ; secunda vero continet ad milesimum sexcentisimum octauum) colligendo, castigando, et illustrando, ac cum omnibus vetustissimis manus[c]riptis codicibus conferendo : Nos, Malachias, Dei et Apostolicae Sedis gratia Archiepiscopus Tuamensis et Conaciae Primas, prefatum opus approbamus et dignissimum vt in lucem reddatur, ad Dei gloriam, patriae honorem et communem vtilitatem, censemus. Datum Galuiae decimo quarto Kalendas Decembris 1636.

MALACHIAS Archiepus. Tuamensis.

Visis testimonijs et authenticis peritorum approbationibus de hoc opere per fratrem Michaëlem Clerij, Ordinis Seraphici laicum fratrem, collecto, libenter illud approbamus vt in publicam lucem edatur. Datum Rosriela Nouem. 27 1636.

FR. BOËTIUS Elphynensis Epus.

Opus, cui titulus Annales regni Hyberniae, frater Michael Clery laicus Ordinis Sancti Francisci de Obseruantia summa fide digessit, prout testantur syngrapha virorum doctissimorum : quibus iure merito nos multum deferentes, illud praelo dignissimum censemus. Actum Dublinij 8 Februarij 1636.⁶

FR. THOMAS FLEMING
Archiepus. Dubliniensis
Hiberniae Primas.

⁶ Old Style, that is, February 18th, 1637, New Style.

De hoc opere, quod intitulum Annales regni Hybernicae, in duas partes diuiso (quarum prima continet a diluuiio ad annum Christi millesimum ducentessimum vigessimum septimum : secunda vero continet ad millesimum sexcentessimum octauum), quod⁷ frater Michael Clerij Ordinis S. Francisci ad communem patriae vtilitatem collegit, non aliter censemus quam censores a Reverendo admodum patre Prouinciali eiusdem fratris, scilicet D. Florentius Kegan et D. Cornelius Bruodyn, pro eodem opere inspicendo, examinando, et approbando, vel reprobando, assignati indicauerunt et decreuerunt. Nos enim eosdem tamquam peritissimos linguae Hybernicae, et in omnibus historijs ac patriae chronologijs versatissimos, existimamus. Quapropter illorum censurae et iudicio de prefato opere fratris Michaelis Clerij in omnibus conformamur. In quorum fidem his manu propria subscripsimus. Datum in loco nostrae mansionis die 8^o Jan. anno Domini 1637.

FR. ROCHUS Kildarensis.

The above represents accurately the contents of the introductory pages of the Franciscan manuscript. The Stowe manuscript, C iii 3, agreed with it in every respect, except that it did not contain Father Valentine Browne's letter. Copies of it which were made before it was mutilated supplied O Connor with his text, *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores* iii, pages xiii-xvii, which is identical with ours.

⁷ The manuscript reads *quem*.

II

We have seen that the Dedication and Preface as printed by O Donovan were derived from a pair of vellum leaves casually bound up with the manuscript 23 P6. With the Franciscan manuscript also there are three loose leaves, one of vellum and two of paper. Another vellum leaf has been lost. The following are the contents of the three which have survived :

IHS

Frater Michael Clery Ordinis Minorum de Obseruantia laicus, in antiquitatibus Hybernicijs vndeque peritissimus, opus quadripartitum, vt-pote de historijs antiquis Hyberniae, de annalibus eiusdem regni, de genealogijs regum et sanctorum Hyberniae, et martyrologio sanctorum Hyberniae, immenso labore, summa fide, et maxima industria elucubrauit, prout constat ex approbationibus nonnullorum antistitum et testimonijs praelatorum sui Ordinis, necnon syngraphis grauissimorum historicorum huius regni. Nos eorum authoritati innitentes praefatum opus dignissimum iudicamus quod publicae lucis fiat et typis mandetur. Actum Dublinij 5 Februarij anno reparatae salutis 1636.⁸

FR. THOMAS FLEMING

Archiepus. Dubliniensis

Hiberniae Primas.

Omnibus has visuris notum facimus et attestamur fratrem Michaellem Clery laicum Ordinis Sancti Francisci summo labore, ingenti cura,

⁸Old Style, as before : February 15th, 1637, New Style.

fideliq[ue] studio indagasse, collexisse, ac in optimum rede[gi]sse ordinem ea omnia quae ad sacrum profanumq[ue] Hiberniae statum pertinent ab anno post diluuium 300 usque ad annum Christi 1234, ea videlicet intentione vt illa impressionis beneficio eternitati consecraret, ad Dei sanctorumq[ue] gloriam et Hiberniae decus et honorem. Quare iudicamus ipsum jure meritoq[ue] omnibus Christifidelibus enixe commendandum, et precipue Hibernigenis, pro quibus tot tantosq[ue] assumpsit labores, prout harum serie facimus, rogantes omnes Christifideles vt ipsum in Christi visceribus recipiant, et in omnibus (iuxta cuiuslibet possibilitatem) adiuuent, promoueant, mercedem a Deo recepturi, qui nec calicem aquae in sui elargitum honorem irremuneratum relinquit. Datum in conuentu Fratrum Minorum Ordinis S. Francisci de Carruicfergus 2 Julij, 1637.

FR. HENRICUS MELLANUS

[Prouinciae pater] et Commissarius ad hoc deputatus.

FR. PATRITIUS HEGERTY

Diffinitor.

Ex commissione Reverendi admodum Patris Iosephi Euerardi Ordinis Minorum Prouinciae nostrae Hiberniae Pr[ouin]cialis Ministri, omni qua potuimus attentione et consideratione audiui[m]us et examinaui[m]us libros de rebus Hiberniae, nempe Chronicon, Annales ab anno circiter post diluuium 300 vsque ad annum 1234 a Christo nato, Genealogiam sanctorum (in qua ponuntur primo Sancti Patritus, Columba, et

Brigida, post reliqui ordine alphabetico) et regum, postremo Martyrologium sanctorum Hiberniae cum luna et litera, collectos per fratrem Michaellem Clery laicum Ordinis nostri, rerum Hibernicarum peritissimum et antiquarium natum. In quibus attestamur nihil nos comperisse quod historiae fidem labefactare posset : quinimmo obseruasse collectorem adeo plene huic argumento satisfacisse vt in eo genere (quod vere fateamur) nullos hucusque luculentiores, fideliores, atque copiosiores credamus collectos fuisse. Quare dignum iudicamus vt libri tum synceri tum iucundi ad communem vniuersorum vtilitatem et singularem regni Hiberniae splendorem, quem ex integro (sine cuiusquam iniuria) per hos toti manifestabit mundo, prelo mandentur, ipsumque collectorem omnium Christifidelium auxilio et fauore dignissimum censemus. In quorum fidem his subscripsimus in conuentu de Carruicfergus 2 Julij 1637.

FR. HENRICUS MELLANUS

Prouinciae pater et Commissarius
ad hoc deputatus.

FR. PATRITIUS HEGERTY

Diffinitor et Commissarius ad idem.

Nos infrascripti attestamur nos adfuisse supradictis.

FR. COLUMBUS DAUETUS

Conuentus Guardianus.

FR. ANTONIUS DUNGANUS

Guardianus Dunensis.

FR. EDMUNDUS CAUELLUS

Predicator.

The contents of the lost vellum leaf we learn from the Praenotamenta of Father Peter MacCormick inserted in the Franciscan volume in 1755. He mentions the Approbation of Malachias, Archbishop of Tuam, printed above, and then goes on :

Altera ejusdem Archipresulis (Malachiae scilicet Quelei) approbatio, data 15 Kal. Xbris 1636 in pergameno hic adjuncto dicit opus predicti fratris Michaelis esse quadripartitum atque primam partem esse Chronicon regni Hiberniae ab anno circiter 300 post diluvium ad annum 1022 a mundo redempto ; secundam continere Annales ejusdem regni ab iisdem antiquissimis temporibus ad nos usque (seu ad suum usque tempus) ; tertiam agere de genealogiis sanctorum Hiberniae ; quartam vero esse Martyrologium Hiberniae.

Now the question is what are we to make of this series of documents. Judging by the tenor of the third and fourth, it would appear that it was intended to print O Clery's original works in a body as one whole, and to prefix to them some, at least, of these pieces. This project may have suggested the extension of the Preface to the Annals with the result that we have it now in two forms, one in the manuscripts of the work itself, and the other intended to take its place when the Annals would be included in O Clery's *magnum opus*. The hopes of the promoters of the scheme were not realised, but even the good intentions of such patriotic men deserve to be

placed on record. In the midst of persecution, and with devastation and desecration of all kinds under their very eyes, the one passion that pre-possessed them was to labour *ad communem universorum utilitatem et singularem regni Hiberniae splendorem*.

OLC MO THURAS SONN Ó LUNDAIN

THE following poem is from the Franciscan MS. which contains the *Duanaire Finn*. Cf. Irish Texts Society, vii, page xviii. The person whose want of hospitality for the poor friar is complained of in these verses was in all probability Ulick Burke, fifth Earl and first Marquess of Clanrickard, a prominent figure in the middle of the seventeenth century. He fought against the old Irish in the war of 1641, and became Deputy on Ormond's retirement in December, 1650. On the 28th June, 1652, he concluded articles of submission with Sir Charles Coote, President of Connacht, by which he agreed to depart out of Ireland and was granted leave to transport 3,000 armed men for foreign service. He died in July, 1657, at his residence at Summerhill (*Cnoc Samhraidh*) in Kent. See Dunlop, Ireland under the Commonwealth 35, 253. His daughter Margaret was wife of Cormac mac Donnchadha Mic Charrthaigh, Viscount Muskerry, whose death in a sea-fight with the Dutch in 1665 was lamented by Ó Bruadair (Poems, i, 118) ; cf. also the poem *Ní hí Sorcha is orcha dom dhéaraibh dearca*, printed in *Dánta Shéafraidh Uí Dhonnchadha* 16.

For *Góidrisg* (last line) see Gadelica i, 172, 303.

Olc mo thuras sonn ó Lundain
 go Cnoc Samhruidh ¹ aoibhinn áird ;
 Fuaras ainnséin mar nár shaoilios
 begán aoibhnis, easbhaidh gráidh.

samhruigh MS.

OLC MO THURAS SONN Ó LUNDAIN

Do shaoilios go mbiadh san dún-soin
fáilte romham ar son Dé ;

Mar nár shaoilios tárla dhamh-sa,
beg faríor dom amhgar é.

Ar mhaithne do lucht an dúnaidh
amach tar múraibh cuirthear mé,
Dhá rádh lem airís gan rochtain
san dún-soin do bhochtaigh mé.

Am bráthair bhocht tré bheith dhamh-sa
s am shagart do dheibhlén Dé,
Lag sin an chúis, ba chúis oirne,
fóir mo mhúith, a Choimdhe² chléibh.

Lé Cnoc Samhruidh beg mo bháidh-si
s leis an chrich-sin n-a bhfuil sé ;
Baoi mo dhóigh, gidheadh, san Iarla,
fa olc riamh nír liamhnadh é.

Sgéla uaim-si má fuair seision,
sgéla uaidhe ní fhuair mé ;
É dhá³ dhénamh lem as iongnadh,
muna bhfuil orm diomdha Dé.

Ó nó iarla dá mbeith againn
do shíol cCuinn do chlannoibh Néill,
Saoilim féin go bhfuighinn fáilte
am riocht féin, gér bhráthair mé.

Do chaithios ag teacht don dún-soin
begán beg bá feirde mé,
S ní fhuaras féoirling dhá shochar,
turas Ghóidrisg, donas é.

OLC.

² choimhe MS.

³ dá dhá MS.

VERSUS HIBERNICI D. GORDONO
Ó NEIL PRO LINGUA
HIBERNICA

A PAPER leaf preserved in the library of the Franciscan Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, contains the verses printed below, and is endorsed with the words at the head of this page. Górdún Ó Néill, to whom the piece was addressed, was born about 1650, and was the son of Sir Félim Ó Néill, who perished at the hands of the Cromwellian Government on March 10th, 1652-3. He became a Captain in the army of King James II's reign, and raised a regiment for that monarch at the Revolution. He fought in Ulster, at the Boyne, and was left for dead on the field of Aughrim. He was, however, picked up by some Scotch Williamite officers who recognised him (his mother was a Scotchwoman) and subsequently recovered. He brought his regiment across the seas after the capitulation of Limerick, and continued to lead it in France, where it was known as the "Regiment of Charlemont." Our poem would seem to have been addressed to him before the stirring times of his last years in Ireland. He was still alive in 1704.

The text is given as it stands in the manuscript, except that accents over diphthongs are omitted, as is also the punctuation of the scribe. A few accents have been supplied.

DIARMUID MAC MUIREDHAIGH CECINIT

1. Gluaisigh ribh a ghlac rannsa
(ná fuirghe a bfa^d agamsa)
go hÓ Néill na ngruadh ngarrtha
dó féin sdual gach deaghtarrtha
2. Abruidh uaim ré a fholt tais
gur cná sibh don chrann iomhais ¹
do bhean mé (sa taoibh ré tuinn)
don chraoibh go ngé ² núir náluinn
3. Innsigh dhósan do shúr suilt
doighre Cuind et Cormuic
go bfuil im sdórsa lámh libh
lán cóffra dona cnóaibh
4. Mac Sir Féidhlim flaith Eamhna
gion go labhair Gaidhealga
do dhéin gáire gléghlan ruibh
ní náire dhó féin bhar bféuchuin
5. Muidhfigh air a ghean gáire
tré neart luinde is luathgháire
an séig súlghlas ó Theamhair
a dhúthchas téid tair oileamhuin
6. Mur chíd^hfe sibh an naoibh sin air
an flaith do thriall ó Theamhair
innsigh dhó brigh bhar dtoisge
don ghríbh nimhnigh níchoisge.³

7. Innsigh dhósan gur léur liom
go bfuilid uaisle Éiriond
mon-uar ag tréigin a gceirt
san nGaeidhlig na nuam noirdheirc
8. Níor thréigthe dhóibh í ile
air bhéurla chríoch gcoigríchthe
teangaidh aerda bhlada bhinn
béurla do bheannaidh na tailginn
9. Dá dtuigmís (sní tuigthior linn)
milteanga mhuighe Féidhlim
níl ceól ná comhrádh bá binde
lomlán deól is dfhírinne
10. Sgoith gach béurla táinig ón tur ú?
a ghoirios gach deaghughdar
(is faghluim sgagtha mar sin)
do thaghluim gharta Ghaidhil
11. Tá an dán san diadhacht innte
san ríghréim 4 go róichinnte
bí an tsuirghe shaor sna treathain
sgach ní sduilghe dealathain
12. Féuchtar sní bfhuighthior libh
air lorg Solaimh na Sigir
caingne comh-oirdheirc friu sin
airle Coirbmheic do Chairbridh
13. Tochmhaire Ailbhe is Fhinn fheassaigh
Éimhre is an nilchleassaigh
mac Prím sa ghrádha ón Ghréig
ní bhídh óna lámha a leithéid

14. Agallmha na suagh aile
Néidhe agas Athairne
ní bhaoi air sliocht suagh a samhuil
ní chual o dhraoi a ndeaghshamhuil

15. An tiomna nuagh san tiomna shean
táid go glan aig an Ghaoidheal
sgach air labhair an fáidh tré fhios
na meabhair atáid gan tuathlios

16. Sguiriom dhe so (gá dtám dhe)
nior sgríobh fallsamh ná file
mír dhá mhillse don neagna
nach bídh innte go hinfheadhma

17. Ní hí an teanga do chuaidh ó chion
acht an dream dár dhual a dídion
(mon-uar) dár bhéigin a ndán
sa nduan do thréigin go tiomlán

18. Dlighidh siadsan dhá dhruim sin
fíriasma ghléire Gaoidhil
dán a dtíre bá trom teist
do lád go lonn a láincheist

19. Ní bfuil dair liomsa duine
duaislibh innse Laoghuire
dár chóra a hórdúgh a cceist
ná Górdún is cródha coimhtheist

20. Atámaoid go léir dhá liamhain
ré hoighre Néill Naoighiallaigh
gur dó sdleacht sas díslé go hég
ceart a chríche do choimhéd

21. Tionóladh an chara gan cheilg
a bfuighe feassach san nGaidheilg
sdo dhéna fínbhriathra dhi
béurla cín dhiamhra a chríche
22. Ó Néill dlighthíoch deimhin liom
dá léig a lámh na tiomchioll
do dhén gach éurla duaislibh an fuinn
an réud céudhna gan choguaill
23. Ní beag so dhá chur a gcuimhne
don choin muighe Modhuirne
gur dó is cinnte mad luinn lais
innte cnó an chruinn iomhais

DIARMAID MAC MUIREADHAIGH SANG THIS.

1. Go, ye handful of verses—stay not long
with me—to Ó Néill of the fine cheeks,
to him everything good is due.
2. Say to his soft hair, from me, that ye are a
nut from the tree which I plucked—its side
was towards the ground—from the branch
with fresh beautiful appearance.
3. Tell him, to excite mirth, Conn's and
Cormac's heir, that in my store with ye
there is a cofferful.
4. Sir Féidhlim's son, Emhain's prince,
though he speaks not Irish, shall bestow
on ye a clear-bright laugh, no shame for
him it is to look upon ye.

5. His smile shall on him come through merriment and delight, the blue-eyed hawk from Teamhair, his nature excels his training.
6. When ye shall see that joy upon the prince who came from Teamhair, tell the matter of your business to the griffin, vehement, uncheckable.
7. Tell him that I know well that Ireland's nobles, alas ! give up their right to the melodious Irish.
8. It never should be laid aside for the speech of foreign lands, the merry, tasteful, sweet tongue, the language the shavelings blessed.
9. If we understood the honeyed tongue of Féidhlim's plain—and we do not—no music or discourse were sweeter, full of truth and knowledge.
10. The flower of every speech that from the Tower came—it is thus perfected lore itself—which every writer adopts to garner the Gael's generosity.
11. In it there is poetry and piety accurate successions of kings, courtship, the Triads, and every difficult composition.
12. Look and you shall not discover, from Solomon's or Cicero's hand, a piece so fine as Cormac's Advice to Cairbre.⁵

13. The Wooing of Ailbhe⁶ by Fionn the Wise, of Éimhear by him of the Many Feats, of his Grecian Love by Priam's son, they never made the like.
14. The Dialogue of the Sages,⁷ too, Néidhe and Athairne, author never penned its equal, wizard I have never heard similar.
15. The Old Testament and the New the Gael has in purity, and all the inspired Prophet spoke he remembers without a mistake.
16. Let us cease—why continue? No philosopher or poet wrote a piece of wisdom, however sweet, that it hath not ready for use.
17. It is not the language which has come into disesteem but those who should defend it, they who have been, alas! obliged to abandon their poems and verses all.
18. The true remnant⁸ of the best of the Gaedhil should, then, strongly support their country's poetry, in value great.
19. There is not, I think, one of the nobles of Laoghaire's isle to whom it is more proper to set it in repute than Górdún, by report a warrior.
20. We are all affirming to Niall Naoighiallach's heir that for him it is appropriate, and a duty till death, to uphold his country's right.

21. Let our guileless friend assemble all skilled in Irish, and wine-words he shall make of it, the volume-secret language of his country.
22. I am sure, if he, the right Ó Néill, sets his hand to it, every prince of the nobles of the land will, without hesitation, do the same.
23. This is enough to remind the warrior of Modhairne's plain that, if he pleases, there is in store for him a nut from the tree in Irish.

NOTES.

1 *crann iomhais* here and in v. 23 is perhaps for *crann ghiomhais*, in which case *cnó* (*cná*) would be "cone" rather than "nut."

2 *ngé* is for *ngné*.

3 *nichoisge* is for *ndi-choisge*.

4 *righreim* doubtless refers to the Réim Rioghraidhe or "Succession of the Kings of Ireland," a copy of which in Michél Ó Clérigh's hand exists in the Merchants' Quay library. See my edition of the work, *Archivium Hibernicum*, 1917 ff. The Triads, or, in Irish, Trecheng Breth Féni, have been edited by Kuno Meyer, Todd Lecture Series, vol. xiii.

5 By "Cormac's Advice to Cairbre" *Tecosca Cormaic* is meant. It has been edited by Meyer, Todd Lecture Series, vol. xv.; corrections by Thurneysen, *Zu irischen Handschriften*, first series.

6 "The Wooing of Ailbhe" has not yet been published. "The Wooing of Éimhear" has been edited by Windisch, *Irische Texte*, vol. i. The last text referred to in the verse is probably Togail Tróí, which has been edited by Stokes.

7 *Imacallam in dá Thuarad*, edited by Stokes, *Revue Celtique* xxvi.

8 *firiasma* is for *firiarsma*.

A POEM BY AODH MAC AINGIL

IRISH Catholicism and Irish Nationality owe so much to the great Franciscans of the seventeenth century that it is desirable that every scrap in the shape of literature that they produced should be made accessible. Recently I came across the verses printed below, and as they were written by the well-known theologian, Aodh Mac Aingil, Archbishop of Armagh, I am sure they will be of interest. Two other religious pieces in verse are ascribed to him, one preserved in the Book of the O Conor Don, folio 85, and another, on the Infancy of Our Saviour, portions of which Mr. Thomas F. O Rahilly published in the *Claidheamh Soluis* of December 25th, 1915. A new edition of his Irish prose work *Scáthán Shacramuinnte na hAithrige* (Antwerp, 1618) is in course of preparation by Professor O. J. Bergin of University College, Dublin. He was always known to his brethren by the name of Mac Aingil 'angel's son,' and was possibly so called from his singular piety : compare the remark of Pope Urban VIII, on hearing of his premature death, *non hominem sed angelum amisimus* (Moran, *Archbishops of Dublin*, 297). His true surname was Mac Cathmhaoil, from which *Cavellus*, his Latin name, is derived. There is a good account of his life and works in Renehan, *Collections on Irish Church History*, i, 24-27. He was appointed Archbishop

of Armagh in March, 1626, and died in September of the same year.

MacAingil's work on the Sacrament of Penance is interesting, not only as an example of the best Irish prose, but also as an evidence of the practical endeavour of the Franciscans to rescue the Irish Catholics from the wholesale illiteracy to which many circumstances condemned them. It is doubtful, however, whether many of the people learned to read as a result of their labours. Their efforts were rendered too limited and too spasmodic by persecution, and the long Confederate War and the horrible years that followed rendered education, outside the few bardic centres that remained, almost impossible. Whatever instruction the people got reached them through the preachers, and in this work the Franciscan Order played a perilous and glorious part.

The poem here printed is preserved on a loose sheet of paper in the Franciscan Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, and the form and signature of the note at the end seem to indicate that the leaf is the Archbishop's autograph. Tomás Ó Raithile tells me he has seen copies in H.4.14, H.4.26, p. 123 (*circa* 1701), and H.5.28, f. 183 (*circa* 1679), in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and there are others in the Royal Irish Academy manuscripts 23K.36, p. 187, 23.G.25, p. 55, and 23.B.25, in all three of which the piece is ascribed to Eoghan Ruadh Mac an Bhaire. The verses on the vanity of the world are supposed to have been spoken by the skull of Aodh Ruadh

Ó Néill, son of the Earl Ó Néill by his first wife Siobhán, sister of Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill, who was "removed" in Spain by an emissary of Carew, President of Munster, after the battle of Kinsale. Tadhg Ó Cianáin thus records the death of young Ó Néill : *Ane 24 Septembris 1609 ro hadhlaicedh mac 7 oigri diles dingbala Ui Neill .i. Aodh O Neill barun Duin Genainn adbar tigerna Cheneil Eogain 7 an taopa uothuaidh d'Eirinn gan imresain gan fresapra*, yesterday, the twenty-fourth of September, 1609, the son and proper worthy heir of Ó Néill, Aodh Ó Néill, Baron of Dún Geanainn, he who would have been lord of Cenél Eóghain and the northern half of Ireland without contention or opposition, was buried (Walsh, *The Flight of the Earls*, 193). He was only a stripling at the time of his death, and, of course, the stock self-accusation of sinful indulgence is not to be taken literally. The Brighid Ní Néill to whom the piece was sent was possibly his sister, though I have not been able to trace her elsewhere.

No change has been made in the spelling, except the word *gealluidh*, which Mac Aingil writes *geulluidh* several times. I omit his punctuation and his accents over diphthongs, and supply a few over long vowels where he omits them. I also give a translation which will assist learners over the difficulties of an unfamiliar orthography. The readings in square brackets appear in the manuscript as alternatives. In the last verse *múnadh an leomhuin* seems to refer to some fable or proverb.

CENN AODH RUAIDH MHIC UÍ NÉILL AR NA
THOGBHÁIL AS ADHLACADH ISIN RÓIMH CECINIT
NÓ AODH MAC AINGIL INA AINM.

1. A fhir fhéachus uaid an cnáimh
ná fiafraigh do chách cia hé
ná bí ina ainbhfes acht druid liom
is misi cenn Aodh Í Néill
2. Dobhér dhuit gerr-léighen glan
an saoghal ná car go bráth
dá lucht cogadh ní dhén díth
sas cealgach bhíos dá aois gráidh
3. Iomdha gealladh nach bí fíor
iomdha líon re ngabhann inn
fírinneach dar leat atá
sas bréag do ghnáth do ní rinn
4. Gealluidh saidhbhrios gé atá bocht
gealluidh éudach nocht atá
gealluidh aoidhbhnes tuirseach é
gealluidh séan nemshona atá
[a cháil]
5. Gealluidh daingneach brisdeach é
gealluidh ré gidh gerr a seal
gelluidh mórán beg a mhaoin
se re a thaobh gé tharla dham
[sro eгна daoibh gé tharla leam]

6. Gealluidh ní amárach uaidh
go lá an luain ní fuighthior súd
bréagach uile a ngellann daoibh
a chuid an daoil tréig a rún
7. Sgáile an begán dobheir uaidh
roigherr an cuairt do ní sé
néull beg siubhlach nach mór luach
comhluath chugaibh is uaibh é
8. Ní sgéul bréige a ndubhart ribh
ná gabh chuguibh mar sin é
oram féin do rinne an chealg
creidigh dhamh is derbh mo sgéal
9. Dearbh ua Í Dhomhnaill aguibh mé
is oighre Í Néill dá ghairm dhíom
dalta Uladh uatha amach
nír bheg an rath san tír shíos
10. Do gheall dhamh dúthaigh mhór mhór
sna trí hinnsibh nár mhó ag aon
ar díbeirt a bhfad ór ttír
acht secht ttroighthe nír fríoth dAodh
11. Doluibh uaisle na ttrí niath
uaim nír chian mo rogha mná
fuaras is ní gearr a seal
fuairleac re mo chneas go ttí an bráth
12. Do gheall halla caisléun cúirt
grianán áluinn go múr mbláith
tug dhamh uamhuigh ccumhaing ccriadh
is biad innti go ttí an bráth.

13. Do gheall teglach muinnter mhór
 óg ghasruigh fá lór do sluagh
 um aonar fa chriaidh atáim
 is biad amhlugh go lá an luain
14. Minic do ráidh biaidh ad dhún
 medhair fiedha sdo rún daor
 a mbrugh cumhang bodhar balbh
 atáim ag biadhugh darbh daol X
15. Tug dhamh uaisle deghdhealbh rath
 tréighe chuirp fa maith mo chiall
 nír fhan le sileadh na súl
 aguinn a ttug dhúinn ariamh
16. Do gheall fadaois dhamh re néug
 giolla na mbréag mairg dár gheall
 ní mór gur ráinic linn fás
 an uair tig an bás ar mo chenn
17. Uch is mairg do mheall a mhian
 sas mairg ariamh dhá ttug a ghrádh
 mairg do chreid a chogar claon
 ro mhairg dAodh nár thréig a pháirt
18. Truagh nár threiges é dom dheóin
 truagh nach beó do thréiges é
 anois tuigim má lé súd
 anuaire cuirther san úir mé
19. Siocra na nolc do mhill sinn
 nír léigsiod a ccill ar spéis
 bá binne glór ngadhar ngarbh
 nó ceól psalm ag moladh Dé



20. Loisi an tshaoighil caidreamh claon
do mheallsad fa raor ar cclí
bláth ar nóige do rugsad uainn
och anois is truagh mo chríoch
21. Truagh nár cuireadh sinn ó thús
ar sgoil chrábhuidh ar iúl Chríosa
tús ar naoisi fuair an corp
as sin táinic olc an gníomh
22. A fhir fhéuchas ar an ccnáimh
gabh mo thegasg madh áil neamh
tús don spiorad deólas Chríosa
deireadh don chlí (gerr a seal)
23. Gabh mo thegasg a nam uaim
ní fes cá huair tig an téug
san aimsir nach smuaintior sin
na fhoghlaidh chugain tig sé
24. Cuimhnigh an bhreath rugadh oram
leanfoidh sibsi ar lorg sar ré
ní fhuil do dhiffir ann súd
acht sibhsi aníú is sinne ané
25. Seachna na bpeacadh ma dháil *madh áil*
do mheabhair do ghnáth is cóir
ceithre críocha do chum Dia
certbhreith éug pian is glóir
26. Dá ndiúlta tegasg na mbeó
gnás na bpeacadh dhóibh gidh náir
diúltadh do ghlór mairbh ní dú
an toictheac Saúl do ráidh

27. Ar mhaith mbréige an tsaoighil bhoicht
 tréigen Dé as olc an chiall
 le tigh nimhe do bheir cúl
 s gabhuidh iúl go tigh na bpian
28. Tug an saoghal dhamhsa a rún
 guidhim sibhsi sgrúd mo chás
 gabh múnadh an leomhuin uaim
 a fhir fheuchas uaid an cnáimh

A||FH||I||R

Ag sin chugad a Bhrighid Ní Néill maille re
 céud mile beannacht

H. Ard.

*The head of Aodh Ruadh son of Ó Néill taken from
 a tomb in Rome sang this, or Aodh Mac
 Aingil in its name.*

1. O man that gazest on the skull, ask not of
 all who it is : be not in ignorance of it, but
 come close to me, I am the head of Aodh Ó
 Néill.
2. To thee I shall give a short, clear instruction,
 love not the world ever : to those that fight
 it it doth no harm, and deceitful it is to those
 that love it.
3. There's many a promise which is untrue,
 and many a net in which it takes us :
 truthful, you think, it is, but the lie it ever
 practises on us.

4. It promises riches though it is poor, and raiment though it be naked ; it promises pleasure though it gives sorrow, and luck though it brings misfortune.
5. It promises firmness though destructive itself, and long life though its own spell be short : it promises much though its wealth be little : what has happened to me you know full well.
6. It promises something by to-morrow, but till the Judgment Day it will ne'er be received : false are all the promises it makes you : thou food of the chafer, renounce its favour.
7. The little it bestows is but a shadow, and very short it remains, a little, moving, worthless vapour, that no sooner comes to you than it departs.
8. No lie is what I say to you, and take it not as such : the world has wrought deception on myself : believe me, for what I say is true.
9. The grandson of Ó Domhnaill am I, and was named the heir of Ó Néill : I was the darling of all Ulster, but in the northern land my fortune was small.
10. The world promised me a wide, wide domain, greater than any in the three kingdoms, but from our land I am in exile, and for Aodh there was not found even seven feet's space.

11. Soon I would have had my selection of a wife
from the best blood of the three countries :
instead I have got—and long shall it remain
—a cold flag-stone by my side forever.
12. The world promised a castle, hall, and court,
a gorgeous mansion with bright-shining walls,
but it gave me a narrow cave of clay, and in
it I shall be till Doom.
13. It promised a family, a great household, a
youthful band in number great : alone
beneath the clay I am, and so shall I be till
Doom's day.
14. Often it said " In thy house shall be banquet
merriment and thy dear love " : in a narrow
chamber I, deaf and dumb, give food to the
black chafers.
15. It gave me gentle blood, beauty, and fortune,
a fair body and a quick understanding, but
in the twinkling of an eye there vanished
from me all that ever it bestowed.
16. It promised me length of years before death,
but woe to him to whom the Servant of
Untruth e'er promise made : I had but left
growing boyhood's years when death came
upon me.
17. Ah! woe to him whom love of the world
misled, and to him to whom it gave its love :
woe to him who listened to its wicked
whisper, and to Aodh who renounced it not.

18. Pity I did not freely turn my back on it, and that while I was yet alive : now I come to understand by this, that I have been put in the clay.
19. Evil's causes led me astray, and from the Church diverted my attention : more melodious was the rough hounds' roar than praises of God in the music of the Psalms.
20. The luxury of the world and wicked converse befooled, alas! my body : they robbed me of the blossom of youth, and now, ah! sad is my end.
21. Pity I was not early sent to a school of piety to follow the road of Christ : the beginning of my life the body claimed, that's what came of it, how wicked the deed.
22. O man that gazest on the skull, pay heed to my instruction if thou seekest heaven : first place to the spirit, to Christ's way, give, and last to the body, for its spell is only brief.
23. Accept of me in time my teaching, for it is unknown when death may come : when it is least expected it comes like a robber.
24. Remember the fate that has come on me, you shall follow my route after a like brief spell : the only difference is, to-day it is you, yesterday 'twas I.

25. Sins' avoiding, then, it is right ever to propose,
and to attend to God's four ends, Judgment,
Death, Pain, and Glory.
26. Shouldst thou reject the teaching of the living
because their sins disgrace them, yet it is
not right to pass unheeded the voice of the
dead : so said the prosperous Saul.
27. To abandon God for the false gods of the
poor world is madness : who does so turns
his back on heaven, and takes the road to
hell's torturing house.
28. The world gave me its love, and, I beseech you
examine my condition : accept of me the lion's
instruction, O man who gazest on the skull.
O man.

There is that for you, Brighid Ní Néill, together
with a hundred thousand benedictions.

Hugo Ardmachanus.

POEMS IN MAYNOOTH MANUSCRIPTS

I.

FEARGHAL ÓG MAC AN BHAIRD.*

1. Truagh liom Máire agus Mairghréag
ní beó ¹ bláth na n-umhail-ghéag
do chuir siad a nduille dhíobh
dhá bhuime iad don imshníomh
2. Faríor faríor nocha nfhuil
braon n-a gcroidhibh ón chumhuidh
dá sheise shuadh fháid Uladh
truagh mar táid ar dtiormughadh ²
3. Ionann tuirse damh-sa is dóibh
Aodh Ruadh céad-damhna ar gciach-bhróin
Rughraighe Cabha dár gcrádh
mana turbhaidhe a théarnádh ³
4. Tréad bocht gan aoghaire inn
Cathbharr ceann einigh Eirinn
fa líg trá ga truaighe dáil
atá uainne san Eadáil ⁴
5. San Eadáil ⁵ na n-eas dtana
ionann is éag Nualadha
atá géis chnó-mhuighe Chuinn ⁶
cró-luighe dá héis oruinn

* Captain Samhairle's Book 187 b, O Renehan Manuscript 107, 252.

¹ buan R. ² dtiormughadh S.
³ a ttéarnadh R. 4-5 Easpáin R. ⁶ chnóbhuidhe o cCuinn R.

6. Nualaidh dhuais-líonmhar dóigh cháigh
mairfidh 7 go laithe an luain-bhráith ⁸
tosach garma crú gCríomhthain
clú a hanma idir Eirionchaibh
7. Do beanadh dhínn dia do chor
a bhus ar tús tuar cumhódh
súil mhall-ghlas dar creite i gcath
Maghnus eite na n-Ulltach
8. Ar Mhagh nus mac Í Dhomhnuill
i gcrích Uisnigh iobhar-dhuinn
cuire a chomhaoise nír chinn
ro-Naoise fuile Féidhlim
9. Ceithre héigneada ón Bhóinn bhrais
ceithre mic dAodh mac Maghnais
cuan dreagan nár dháil a rún
dháibh níorbh eagál acht iomthnúth
10. Ní faicfidhear foirbhthe an béal
lorg a gcroitheadh ⁹ ná a gcroim-sdéad
fan Eithne fan Mháigh mha¹¹-fhuair
ceithre cráidh an Chonall-shluaigh
11. Seabhaig uaisle ¹⁰ innse Fáil
ceithre creacha ¹¹ chnuic Chruacháin
ceithre troim-chreacha Teamhra
na doinn-chleatha doighearda ¹²

7 mhairfeadh S. 8 bhuanbráith S. 9 ccraoithedh R.

10 ceathrar duaislibh R. 11 ceithre seabhaic R.

12 Stanzas 10 and 11 exchange places in R.

12. Iongnadh Máire do mharthain
s na haibhne nach ion-arthigh
is fiodhbhadh chríon craoi Uisnigh
do shíor ag caoi an cheathruir-sin
13. Ní filltear fiodhradh abhla
lé hubhlaibh feadh fionn-Bhanbha
ná fiodhradh caill-ghéag lé cnoibh
iongnadh Mairghréag do mharthoin
14. Ní hí Mairghréag nó Máire
chaoim is cúis diombáidhe
acht an cor-sa ar Chró na bhFionn
mó-sa-mhó osna Éirionn
15. A gceithre dearbhráithre ar ndul
Máire is Mairghréag mhúir Chruachun
cosg ag dul do shíor ar shuan
a gcur faríor is ro-thruagh ¹³
Truagh

13 Stanzas 13-15 missing in R.

II

DOMHNALL MAC DÁIRE MIC BRUAIDÍOGHA.*

1. Ceolchair sin a chruit an ríogh
 ro-m-chuir i sníomh sian do théad
 suail nachar saobhadh mo chruth
 ód chuala do ghuth god ghléas
2. Annamh leat dfhaicsin ar cuaird
 a chruit faoidhe fuair gach geall
 a chruit chodhnaigh chlainne Táil
 fa mionca cuaird cháich id cheann
3. A chruit cheolchair bhenn-chorr bhreac
 tarraise seal gá dtám dhó
 do gabhthaoi leat laoidhe suadh
 ar a dtug ó Duach eich s ór
4. Do chonnarc thú a théid-bhinn tsuairc
 do shoichdís sluagh Innse an Laoigh
 san teaghais luchtmhair ós linn
 mór neach leis ar bhinn bhur bhfaoidh

* O Renehan Manuscript 107, 152. A list of contents prefixed to the volume describes this piece as a poem to the harp of Donnchadh, 4th Earl of Thomond, but as that nobleman, "a ruthless Elizabethan," was never banished by the English, there is reference in the seventh stanza to Conchobhar the 3rd Earl, his father, who in 1570 fled from Thomond and spent a season in France (Four Masters). A short copy in O Renehan 86, 369 has *Tórna* for *Daighre* in stanza 6.

5. Mór lámh do leathadh fód chneas
san múr ngeal n-a bhfaghthá muirnn
iomdha bruinne séaghain saor
gár léig thú do thaobh re a thuinn
6. A chruit cheolchair chloinne Briain
i dtréan id dhiaidh níor chóir bríogh
mise im Dhaighre tar éis Néill
tusa ar eachtra d'éis do riogh
7. Do chuirsead Saxaibh tar sáil
Iarla ó gCais cá crádh is mó
ó so aleith ní chuala cruit
nach beith foghar guil n-a glór
8. Truagh nár aontaigh an fionn fial X
ua na mBrian le mbearthaoi barr
fulang chlaoin-bhreath cúl re feirg
bheith ar a chaomhna ar cheilg nGall]
9. Níor fuilngedh dhó daoire a mbreath
leannán Chaisil cneas mar thuinn
a thonn uaibhreach fola ríogh
tárla a deasgaidh faríor ruinn
10. Táirnidh Éire d'eachtra an ríogh
do chuaidh uile síos a seól
táirnidh cnói-mheas chríche Fáil
táirnidh aoibhneas cháich s a gceól
11. Bíodh nach bhfaicim-se mo ghrádh
Iarla Luimnigh rém lá gceó
do-chiú go meinic mic ríogh
ag ar bh'annmha fíon is ceól

12. Binn a ghille a gcan do bhéal
 binn gotha na dtéad ód mheór
 binne leam í a los uí Luirc
 cidh binn an chruit ar a ceól

III

GIOLLA BRIGHDE ALBANACH.*

v. Éigse vii. 71.

1. Tabhraidh ¹ chugam cruit mo ríogh
 go dtréiginn uirre mh'imshníomh
 a bhrón dá bhoing do dhuine
 re ² glór an chroinn chumhruidhe
2. An té gá raibhe an crann ciúil
 giolla saor go seinm ³ dtaidhiúir
 mór bhfáth-rann do ghabh go grinn
 ris an mbláth-chrann nglan nguith-bhinn
3. Mór séad áluinn ⁴ do fhodhail
 ar cúl an chroinn tslabhrodhaigh
 minic do bhronn cradh ó gCoinn
 s a ⁵ chorr ghlan ré a ghualoinn
4. Ionmhain an bhas do bheanadh
 an clár tana taoibh-leabhar
 gille seang-nárach gá seinm
 go deagh-lámhach ⁶ go ndeigh-dheilbh

* Captain Samhairle's Book, 298b, O Renehan Manuscript 107, 153 (with wrong ascription). Compare O Curry, Manners and Customs iii, 271.

¹ Tabhradh R. ² do R. ³ sinn S. ⁴ uasal R.
⁵ an R. ⁶ ndeaghlámhach S and R.

5. An tan ⁶ do tháidhleadh a lámh
an ádhbhuidh chiúil go comhlán
a hosnadh leabhar mín mór ⁷
do bheanadh dhín ar ndobrón
6. An uair ⁶ do thigeadh ⁸ as-deach
fine Chais na gcúl ndruimneach
cruit go dtéadaibh truagha as-digh
ag géagaibh cuanna Caisil
7. Tugsad aithne ar an inghin
tresan mBanbha mboig-ímligh
cruit Donnchadha ar ⁹ gach duine
an comhthana cumhruidhe ¹⁰
8. Cruit Í Bhriain binn a horgáin
ré hucht bhfleidhe ¹¹ bhfionn-Ghabhráin
do bheanadh stuagh Ghabhráin ghlain
argáin truagh as na téadaibh
9. Ní bhfuighe mac Gaoidhil ghil ¹²
cruit Í Bhriain an bha[i]rr dhruimnigh
mac allmharaigh ní fhaghaibh
an slabhradhaigh ¹³ síodhamhail
10. Mairg do smuain cur réd chuingidh ¹⁴
a chruit flatha fionn-Luimnigh
nó do smuain cor réd ¹⁵ cheannach
ar chrodh uain a ¹⁶ Éireannach

6 tráth R. 7 mhin mhór R. 8 do thigdis R.

9 Dhonchaidh tar R. 10 chomdaighe R.

11 flatha R. 12 dhil R. 13 tslabhraghaidh R.

14 cred do chuingidh R. 15 fad R. 16 uaim R., a
omitted s.

11. Binn liom do ghuth milis mín
a bhean do bhí ag an aird-rígh
do ghuth mear is milis liom
a bhean a hinis Éirionn ¹⁷
12. Dá léighthí dhamh san tír ¹⁸ thoir
saoghal na slaite iubhoir
aoghaire ¹⁹ bán-Chnuic Bréanuinn
a lámh-chruit do leiséaghuinn ²⁰
13. Ionmhoin lem-sa duthchas ²¹ damh
fiodhbhuidhe áille Alban
giodh ionmhain ²² as annsa leam
an crann-sa d'fhiodhaidh Eireann

IV

MAC AN BHAIRD .I. GIOLLA PÁDRAIG.*

1. Glóir is moladh dhuit a Dhé
tú an flaitheas ga bhfuil buain-ré
tú do bhí san chlí gan choir
is tú an rí ós na ríoghoibh
2. Tú do chruthaigh an chruinne
tú an sósar s a[n] sean-duine
tug crú do chneadh ar ar son
tu neamh agus tú talomh

17 Stanzas 9-11 appear in the order 11, 10, 9 in R. 18 is tir
R. 19 a eangair R. 20 leighéasuinn R. 21 sas ionmhuin R.

22 ionann altered to iongnadh S.

* O Renehan Manuscript 73, 44. For the ascription compare
Four Masters, 1507: *Mac an Bhaird Airghiall. Giolla Padraicc
mac Aodha do mharbhadh.*

3. Leat do cumadh an teach thall
tú an saor do ullmhaigh iofrann
lá na hainfine is tú tig
s as tú an tairngire táinig
4. Tú óghdhacht mín-bhronn Muire
tú an diadhacht fuil dhaonnaidhe
tú an tí do caitheadh far gcóir
tú an rí as t'athair í n-éan-ghlóir

V*

1. Bí fúm a Mhic, ar mo mhuin,
bí a dhúileamhuin, am dheaghuidh,
bí romham, a rí neamhdha,
bí thoram a thighearna.
2. Turrn am béal bí am theangaidh,
gabh chugam am chuisleannaibh,
ling am chluasaibh s am chridhe,
a fhinn uasail ainglidhe.
3. Gion gur cubhaidh a rí ruibh
bheith n-a ionamhail d'adhbhaidh,
a chnú chroidhe mo chroidhe,
gan tú am chroidhe a gcomhnuidhe.

* O Curry manuscript folio in Maynooth College Library entitled "Miscellaneous Poems." This poem has been printed literatim from the manuscript in the "Catholic Bulletin" for December, 1916.

4. Braon dod rabharta ratha,
fhóireas a Dhé ar ndeacracha,
go gcuire am chroidhe ar gach cor,
am loighe am shuidhe am sheasomh.
5. An braon sin a mhic Muire,
ar siobhal nó ar sádhaile,
ná deacha uam gor cré mo chorp,
am shuan a Dhé ná am dhúsocht
6. Braon dod rabharta ratha
rig ód loch-thobar fhlaitha,
deallraigh a Dhé dhúnn an braon,
a ré úr dár grian geal-mhaor,

VI *

1. Ní bhfuighe meise bás duit
a bhean úd an chuirp mar ghéis
daoine leamha ar mharbh tú riamh
ní hionann iad is mé féin
2. Créad fa rachainn-se do éag¹
don bhéal dearg don déad mar bhláth
an crobh míolla an t-ucht mar aol
an dáibh do gheóbbhad féin bás
3. Do mhéin aodhdha th'aigheadh saor
a bhas tana a thaobh mar chuip
a rosg gorm a bhráighe bhán
ní bhfuighe mise bás duit.

* O Renehan Manuscript 107, 255. Compare Hyde, *Love Songs of Connacht*, 138.

¹ déug MS.

4. A cíche corra a cneas úr
a gruaidh chorcra a súil liath
go dimhin ní bhfuightheas bás
dóibh sin go madh háil le Dia
5. Do mhala chaol t'fholt mar ór
do rún geanmnaidh do ghlór leasg
do shál chruinn do cholptha réidh
ní mhuirbhfeadh sé acht duine leamh
6. A chneas chailce mar chlúimh geóidh
rachas leat ² fa dheóidh i gcraidh
créad an tarbha rachadh dhuit
dá dteagmhadh ar dhath an fhiaich ³
7. A bhean úd an chuirp mar ghéis
do hoileadh mé ag duine glic
aithne dhamh mar bhíd na mná
ní bhfuighe mise bás duit

VII

PIARAS FEIREITÉAR.*

1. A bhean óg ón a bhean óg
ní cumhain leat pósa ná póg
ní cumhain leat suirghe ná searc
doiligh do bheart a bhean óg
2. Roi-bhinn leat ón roi-bhinn leat
m'osna éagcomhlainn gan neart
7 leigheas dod león nó d léan
bheith ag deól mo dhéar óm dhearc

² gerachus leatsa MS.

³ fhiaidh MS.

* O Renehan Manuscript 76, 183. 1 má MS.

3. Creach tríom thaobh ón creach tríom thaobh
a ghrua chorcra a chneas mar aol
méad mo pháise s gan tú tinn
loighead do cháis-si is gan sinn saor
4. Duit a mhairg ón duit a mhairg
gur clos don uile órd ós aird
gur léigis sinn ag searg gan lorg
a chealg bhorb mar cholg rom chailg
5. Och is dearbh ón och is dearbh
ón ló ina ¹ robha a leinbh im leanbh
go bhfuil mo shealbh id sheilbh shoirbh
mo dhealbh ód dheilbh cé doirbh dealbh
6. Cé chuais tharm ón cé chuais tharm
a chúl chomthrom rom arg gan arm
do shille mheirbh marbh-dhearc ngorm
bronnaím feirm orm ² óm anm
7. A ghrian gheal ón a ghrian gheal
a ghlór shámh na soirbh-rádh sean
muna saoil ar chosnamh ³ ár gcás
brosdaigh ar mo bhás a bhean
8. Luan an tslóigh ón luan an tslóigh
itchim ar áird-rígh na nae n-órd
gan comthrom nár léige leat
do bheart orm a bhean óg
a.b.e.a.n.o.g

2. *Read* ort?

3 ccosnamh MS.

VIII

THE BLIND O HIGGIN'S SATIRE FOR THE O HARAS*

1. Sluagh seisir tháinig dom thigh
do bhéar uaim iúl an tseisir
tearc do lucht mé ar n-a mhárach
ó thart na sé siolánach
2. Díth oram s eigeán orra
atá an t-amhghar etorra
ceilt na rann-sa is deacair dhamh
s is peacadh dhamh-sa a ndéanamh
3. Ní i bhfalach is fearr a n-aoir
cidhbé thuilleas a tathaoir
mar do aor mé an sluagh seisir
ní dual gan é d'innisin
4. Táinig dhíom s ba doiligh sin
a mbreith ó bhás go beathaidh
mo lucht d'ól nochar bhfoláir
is mór tart an tur-aráin

* O Curry Manuscript 23G 13, Maynooth, a volume consisting mainly of transcripts made by or for the original owner. There is a note appended to this piece as follows: "Pasted down on the inside of the cover at the end. Archbishop Tenison's library over the door at entrance. London, May 4th, 1855. EUGENE CURRY." Though not faultless this version gives several better readings than that printed by O Grady. *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 439.

5. An chéidfhear do chonnairc sinn
dob fhearr culaidh don cheithirn
fear dá mba lór bonn dá bheirt
nochar lom ól ná imeirt
6. An dara fear mar fuair me
táinig i dtús na buidhne
fear truagh lér tréigeadh a smior
ní léigeabh uaim ¹ gan áiriomh
7. Dob í culaidh an treas troch
sean-ghadh is tuagh bhog bhearnach
sé is a mhana tuaighe i dtroid
mo thruaighe an chula chomhroig
8. Culaidh an cheathramhadh fir ²
ghluaiseas leó lán do sgio : al
cheithre croinn trasna ar a thóin
nár ³ bhoing casna ⁴ do chosbóir
9. Lé cois an cheathrair oile
tig an cúigeadh cladhoire
go léine ghirr ⁵ nar gheall buinn
dar linn ⁶ níorbh fhearr an fhalluing
10. Manadh giolla nárbh ⁷ fhiú frigh
táinig lé cois an chúigir
fear fo-thana go ngné ⁸ nglain
dob é an droch-ara ar fhéachain

¹ Read *uan*? ² fer MS. ³ nochar MS. ⁴ casnach MS.
⁵ ghiorr MS. ⁶ leam MS. ⁷ nacharbh MS.
⁸ gan gne MS.

11. Guidhim Dia 9 do dhoirt a fhuil
 ó sé a mbás bheith n-a mbeathuidh
 bíodh nach buan a marthan sin
 nár marbhthar an sluagh seisir
 Seisir.

IX

An t-úcaire adtuaidh do chan so san Iomarbháidh

Ná hosglaid Muimhnigh a mbéal
 ná habraid mé ioná thú
 ná labhraid í gcás an bhidh
 do bhí mise mí farrú

An t-úcaire Muimhmeach do chan an freagra so

Leath Eoghain ceart cródha is úire sluagh
 flath-fhód na bhfleadh n-óil nach dubhradh
 i gcruas
 gan glas-ósda seamróg n-a gcúis do luadh
 laibheór-sa d'aimhdheóin na cúige thuaidh

9 an righ MS.

* O Renehan Manuscript 107, 81. The point of the reference to shamrocks in the second quatrain seems to be that the use of these herbs as an article of food was only practised by those who were too penurious or too niggardly to procure better fare. The custom is mentioned by a great number of English writers from Campion and Spenser to Sir Henry Piers. The latter states expressly that "butter, new cheese, and curds and shamrocks, are the food of the meaner sort all this season," that is, the summer season. (Vallancey, *Collectanea* i, 121.)

SCRAPS FROM IRISH SCRIBES

I.—RISDEARD O CONCHUBHAIR

BERNARDUS GORDONIUS, or Bernard de Gordon, was the author of a Latin medical treatise compiled at Montpellier in France about the year 1303, and entitled *Lilium Medicinae*, or *The Lily of the Art of Medicine*. This work was translated into Irish by a certain Cormac Mac Duinnshléibhe, or Cormac Mac Donlevy, in the middle of the fifteenth century. The precise date of the version is not available, but we know that this practitioner was engaged in preparing a version of another medical work in the year 1459. Several manuscripts of the translation of the *Lilium Medicinae* have come down to us, but it still remains unprinted, save for some extracts included by Standish H. OGrady in his *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*. There are two fine copies of the work in the library of the Royal Irish Academy which, besides their value for constructing the main text of the whole, will have a particular interest because of the lengthy scribal notes which they contain.* These notes have never been printed, and I think it desirable to transcribe and annotate them here.

The information they give regarding Irish

* Since these words were put in type several of our extracts have been printed in *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the R. I. Academy* fasc. x, pp. 1168-73. Through the courtesy of the Editor of the *Catholic Bulletin* this and the following essay are reproduced from that review August 1929, February 1930.

medical learning in the sixteenth century is very valuable. They illustrate the life and methods of the men of the profession in that age, they show how patronage was extended to them by the native and Pale gentry of Leinster, and they shed important sidelights upon family and local history connected with the same province. I shall give an explanation of the various personal and other references they contain in the form of notes on the translation which is appended to each extract as it occurs.

The first of the two MSS. we are concerned with is numbered 3C19. It was written in 1590 by Richard O Connor, an Ossory man, who, as we learn from a note by a later hand, died on October 18, 1625. The other book is a little earlier in point of date, having been compiled in South Leinster in 1577-8 by a scribe named Corc O Cadhla, or Corc O Kiely. A large proportion of the better known Irish MSS. of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries were written in the provinces of Connacht or Munster ; for example, the Books of Ballymote and Lecan and the Leabhar Breac came from the western part of the country, while the Book of Lismore came from the South. Our MSS. cannot compare with these tomes for variety and value of contents; but at the same time it is gratifying to be able to show by their witness that the eastern province was not unrepresented on the literary side in the later ages of Gaelic culture and learning.

The title *Lilium Medicinae* is that of the original author of the treatise, Bernardus Gordonius. In Irish, the book is called *Lile na hEaladhan Leighis*. The following is the explanation of the title given by Bernardus himself :

Wherefore, in honour of the Celestial Lamb who is a brilliance and a glory to God the Father, I bestow as a title on this book the name of *The Lily of the Art of Medicine*. For this is the nature of the lily : it hath many blossoms. and these have seven bright leaves and seven golden grains on every blossom. And thus shall this book be ; for it shall have seven chapters, the first of which shall be golden, bright and illuminated, inasmuch as it shall speak of the universal maladies, beginning with the fevers ; and the remaining chapters shall also be enlightened, shining and resplendent, because every thing of which they shall discourse shall be plain.

Bernardus' work then, in accordance with this notice, has seven divisions or *Particulae*. The scribal notes which are of interest for us occur for the most part at the breaks between the separate characters. The first is entered at the end of the third greater section. I print it here in the orthography of the MS., and the same procedure will be followed in giving the extracts inserted later :

Tairrnic annsin in treas particul don Lili maille cabhair in tSlanaightheora an 18 la do November agus is imchian o chéle na hionaid i nar sgriobhadh in leabhar so do bhrigh nachar

mair énech dom tigernaibh saoghalta agus nachar mhairedair mo thúismightheoiríph agus nach fuil ben na tigheas agum fén agus nach raibh agum in tan do bhíodh torrsi orum a nionad acht do chlaóchluíghinn as sin cum ionaid eile agus go demhin nír sgríbhhus obair énshechtmhuine de acht a bhfochair bhrathar nó sheathar no rocharad égin dam fén .i.

A thinnsnadh a gClainn Fheoruis a gCluain Each a ufhochair Sheoin Óig Ailín agus a mhna .i. Mairghreg Dairsighi.

Agus asin dam go Baili in Fhedha a ufhochair in Chalbhuídh mhic Í Mhordha agus a mhna .i. Mairghreg inghen in Sgúrlógaigh.

Agus asin dam go Carraig Fheoruis dionnsaighi Edvaird meic Vaiteir mhic Sen Meic Fheoras .i. fiorchara agus brathair dhamh fen. A ben .i. Esibél Hussae inghen Mhaoilfhir.

Ainnsidhe go Dún Uabhair dham. Lucht in Dúna sin .i. Sémus mac Gerailt mic Seáin mic Uilliam Óig mic Thomáis .i. mac mic Thomáis Geraltaigh ó Choild na Cúirti Duibhi in tUilliam Óg sin. A ben .i. Mairgreg inghen Remuinn Óig meic Tomáis .i. enduine uasal dob ferr do shliocht Seoin meic in Iarla an Remann sin agus fos ní mor go raibh fer comardaídh ris do Geraltachaibh Laighen uili i na aimsir fen.

As sin dam go Baile Phollaird dionnsaighe meic maith oidhreacht na lanaman maithi sin agus enduine is annsa liom fen go beg ar an domhan in mac sin .i. Uilliam a ainm. A ben .i. Elínóra inghen tSeoin Mhic Valrónta.

Agus as sin go hAlmain Laighen dionnsaighi Geroid mhic Philip mhic Muiris. Do shliocht in Rideri Chiarraidhe eside agus ní haithne damsa a gcundae Cille Dara in tan so tighisach is ferr ina é. A ben .i. Mabel inghen tSeoirsi Mhic Gerailt.

Go Dun Muiri dham. Lucht in bhaili sin .i. Edvard Hussae mac Maoilir o Mhaolussaoi. Duine uasal craibhtheach daonnachtach do rer a acfuinge. A ben .i. Máire inghen in Chalbaigh mic Taidhg mic Cathaoir Í Chonchubhair .i. siúr agus cairdes Crist dam fen.

[(I)s a (gcundae C) illi Dara ata (na ba)ilti sin ad(ubhramar)."]¹

As sin dam go cundae Cille Coinnigh dionnsaighi ar Vicunt Mhota Gairéd .i. Emann mac Risderd mic Iarla Urmhumhan .i. Piarus. A ben .i. Grainne inghen Bríain mic Briain mic Seán .i. Mac Gillapadraig agus inghen Í Conchubair re hinghin Iarla Chillí Dara mathair na Grainne sin agus bainntigherna saoghalta agus siur fhagus dam fén í (.i. Gráinne) do leith a máthar agus is í is mo tug médugad cum tighe sgoile dam fen o do sharaighis 12 bhliadhain dhaois agus is a ttimcheall na haimsiri sin tesdaigh mathair agus is i maois anossa 29 mbliadhna go hoidhchi Nodlag so cughuinn.

Agus is a mBaile na Cúirti ² do críochnaighed in chuid si don leabhar .i. in treas particul agus is deighinighi ro sgriobadh é na in chuid eile don leabhar .i. a fhochair in Grasaigh .i. Oliver mac Roiberd mhic Seain mhic Oiliver .i. saoi

tighisach agus duine uasal.³ Ni airmhim annso in cuid ro sgriobhus don leabhar so a nOsraighe a vfochair Mhic Gillepadraig agus a ollamhan .i. Donnchadh Og³ .i. mo mhaigistir agus mo bhrathair fen na in cuid ro sgribhad dhe sa gcundae Riabach na a gcundae Chetharlaigh na in cuid de do sgribhus a vfochair Tomais mic Remuinn agus a mhná maithi .i. Sadhbh inghen Mic Gill(e) padraig óir do iomraidhes iad a nionad eile isin leabhar.

Mesi Risderd mac Muirchertaigh 7rl. ro sgríbh agus sirim ar rígh na riogh agus ar chruthaightheoir nimhe agus talmhan go roinnidh agus go ttiodhlaicidh se cuid criosdaighi da fhlaithemhnus morthrocaireach dam fen agus da gach aon do na lanamhnacha maithi rochairdemhla sin do ainmnighis agus cuirim dhfhiachaibh a hucht Dé nime ar gach aon leighfis so pater dhuth-rachtach do ghabáil ar mhanmain fen agus ar a nanmannaibh sin agus ar anam gach criosdaighi eile dha vfuil dhfhiachuib oruinn guidhe do thoil Dé agus na hegailsi.

Is iad so anmanna na nuachtarán ata o bhan-rioghan na Saxan os cionn na hEreann .i. o Elizabeth inghen don 8 King Hanry :

Giustis .i. Ser Uilliam Fivvilliam.

Presetens da chuige na Mumhan .i. Ser Seon Noris.

Gobhernoir Connacht .i. Ser Risderd Bingam.

Ni uil uachtaran dairighthi os cionn Laighen acht in giustis taobh amuigh do tri tiorthaibh do togbad a laim in righ .i. I vFhailghi fa cumach-

tuibh Ser Seoirsi Bouſer agus Laoighis fa mham captin Selenger agus mhar in gcedna captin Haringtun ós Branachaibh agus ata tir oile nar airimios a seilbh in Charrúnaigh .i. Ibh Dróna.

Iarladha na hErenn in tan so .i. in bhan-rioghan a niarlacht Desmhuman.

Hanri mac Geroid mic Geroid mic Alsun a niarlacht Cille Dara.

Tomas mac Semais mic Piaruis a niarlacht Urmumhan.

Villeg mac Riocaird Shaxanaigh meic Villeg na gCenn a niarlacht Cloinni Ricaird.

Aodh mac an Fhir Dhorchá meic Cuinn Í Néil a niarlacht Tíre hEoghain.

Domhnall⁴ mac Conchubair meic Donnchaid Í Bhriain a niarlacht Tuamhuman.

TRANSLATION

There finished the third Particle of the *Lily* with the help of the Saviour, on the 18th November, and far distant from one another are the places in which this book was written. For none of my temporal lords remain,⁵ and my parents, too, are dead, and I myself have neither wife nor home. All I could do when I was tired in one place was to transport myself to another. And, indeed, I did not write a week's work of it except in the house of a kinsman or kinswoman, or some great friend of my own.

In this way : I commenced it in Clann Fheoruis⁶ at Cluain Each,⁷ in the house of John Og Alye⁸ and his wife Margaret Darcy.

From there I went to Baile an Fheadha,⁹ and stayed with Calvagh,¹⁰ son of O More, and his wife Margaret, daughter of Scurlock.¹¹

And from there I went to Carraig Fheoruis¹² to Edward, son of Walter, son of John Mag Fheoruis (Birmingham), a true friend and a kinsman to me. His wife is Isabella Hussey, daughter of Meyler.

u/ Then I went to Døn Uabhair.¹³ These are they who live there, namely, James, son of Gerald, son of John, son of William Og (son of William), son of Thomas (this William Og was grandson of Thomas Fitzgerald of Coill na Cuirte Duibhe¹⁴) and his wife Margaret, daughter of Redmond Og, son of Thomas. This Redmond was the best nobleman of the descendants of John, son of the Earl, and also it is improbable that there was any of the Fitzgeralds of all Leinster in his own time comparable to him.

From there I went to Pollardstown¹⁵ to the good heir of that couple, namely, William, and that same son is my dearest friend in all the world except a few. The wife of William is Elinora, daughter of John Mac Valronta.¹⁶

And thence I went to Almhain Laighean¹⁷ to Garret, son of Philip, son of Maurice. He is of the family of the Knight of Kerry, and I know not in the county of Kildare at this moment a head of a house more hospitable than he. His wife is Mabel, daughter of George Fitzgerald.¹⁸

Next to Dun Muire.¹⁹ These reside in that place, namely, Edward Hussey, son of Meyler

of Mulhussey,²⁰ a gentleman pious and charitable according to his means, and his wife Mary, daughter of Calvagh,²¹ son of Tadhg, son of Cathoir O Connor, a kinswoman and a sponsor in baptism to me.

All these places we have mentioned are in the county of Kildare.²²

From there (Dun Muire) I went to the county of Kilkenny to visit Viscount Mountgarret, Edmund,²³ son of Richard, son of Piarus Earl of Ormond. His wife is Grainne, daughter of Brian,²⁴ son of Brian, son of Seán (namely, Mac Giollapadraig). Grainne's mother was the daughter of O Conchubhair by the Earl of Kildare's daughter. The said Grainne was my temporal lady, and she, on her mother's side, was my near kinswoman. It was she who, after I had passed the age of twelve years, for the most part provided for my education. About the same age I lost my father. My years now are these : I shall be twenty-nine this next Christmas Eve.

And this portion of the book, the third Particle, was completed in Baile na Cuirte,²⁵ and it was written at a later time than the remainder, in the house of Grace, that is, Oliver,²⁶ son of Robert, son of John, son of Oliver, a hospitable, noble and learned man. I do not mention here what was written of this book in Ossory in the house of Mac Giollapadraig²⁷ with his ollav, Donnchadh Og,²⁸ my teacher and my own kinsman ; nor what was written of it in the county Wexford and in the county Carlow ; nor

the part of it which I wrote in the house of Thomas,²⁹ son of Redmond, and his good wife, Sadhbh, daughter of Mac Giollapadraig ; for I have spoken of these in another part of the book.

I am Richard, son of Muircheartach, etc., who wrote [this], and I beseech the King of kings and the Creator of heaven and earth that He may assign and grant a Christian's share of His great merciful Principality to myself, and to every one of these good kindly couples which I have enumerated. And I put it as an obligation, for the sake of the God of heaven, on every one who shall read this to recite an earnest prayer for my own soul, and for their souls, and for the soul of every other Christian for whom we are obliged to pray by the wish of God and of the Church.

These are the names of the officials that are set over Ireland by the Queen of England, that is, by Elizabeth, daughter of the eighth King Henry :

Deputy³⁰ : Sir William Fitzwilliams.

President of the two Provinces of Munster : Sir John Norris.

Governor of Connacht : Sir Richard Bingham.

Apart from the Deputy, there is no special official over Leinster, save in the case of three countries which have been taken into the King's hand,³¹ namely, I Failghe³² (under the power of Sir George Bouchier), and Laoighis³³ (under the yoke of Captain Saintleger), and likewise Captain Harrington over the O Byrnes' country ;

and there is another territory which I have not mentioned (among these three), namely, I Drona, in the possession of Carew.³⁴

The earls of Ireland at this time :

The Queen is in the earldom of Desmond.³⁵

Henry, son of Garret, son of Garret, son of Alison, is in the earldom of Kildare.³⁶

Thomas, son of James, son of Piarus, is in the earldom of Ormond.³⁷

Ulick, son of Riocard Saxanach, son of Ulick of the Heads, is in the earldom of Clanrickard.³⁸

Aodh, son of Feardorcha, son of Conn O'Neill, is in the earldom of Tyrone.³⁹

Domhnall (*recte* Donnchadh), son of Conchubhar, son of Donnchadh O Briain, is in the earldom of Thomond.⁴⁰

[The preceding lengthy note occurs, as we have seen above, after the third Particula or section of Bernardus' treatise. Unfortunately, the MS. suffered damage after it left Richard O Connor's hands, so that all the other entries which he refers to as accounting for more of his movements when writing the volume are not preserved. Eighteen pages have been lost at the beginning, and with them a notice at the end of the author's Preface. With this lacuna the well-known Tadhg O Neachtain busied himself in 1729, supplying the missing portion of the text from another copy, and adding a note of his own. I give here the closing words of Bernardus' Introduction, together with O Neachtain's remarks appended to it :]

Agus is ann do tionsgnadh an leabhar so (maille furtacht Dé mhóir) a stuider sholasghlan Shleibhe Peshulain daithle 20 bliadhuin dar leightheorecht ne agus dob í analadh an Tigherna an tan sin 1305 agus a mí Iuil do tionnsgnadh.

Agus as í analadh an Tigherna an tan do scriobhadh an chairt si nar ndiaigh 1590 re Risterd mac Muirchertaigh mic Taidhg mic Muirchertaigh agus daisg se ionna duillechan lothfadh ó tionsgain fein a scriobhadh Dia da chriochnighadh et is san gCulchoill priomh-longphort Mhacgiollapadruic .i. Fingín mac Briain an sechtughadh lá do mí Mai san bliadhain shuas do scriobh se e no do tosaigh air an obair si do scriobhadh.

Gidh(eadh) anis an 15 la do Abraon 1729. Gurab í so litir mo laimhe si Tadg mac Seain mic Taidg mic Seain Ui Nechtuin on gCartún Fíarach a gcontae Rosa Comain.

TRANSLATION

And this is the place where this book was commenced, with the help of the great God : in the illustrious Studium ⁴¹ of Montpellier, after twenty years of our lecturing, and the year of the Lord at that time was 1305, and in the month of July it was begun.

And the year of the Lord when this manuscript following was written by Richard, son of Muircheartach, son of Taidhg, son of Muircheartach, was 1590. And he prayed in his damaged leaf, when he had begun to write it himself, that God

might finish it.⁴² And in Cul-choill,⁴³ the chief place of Mac Giollapadraig, namely, Finghin, son of Brian, on the seventh day of May in the year aforementioned he wrote this work, or rather began to write it.

But now it is the fifteenth of April, 1729. And this is my sign manual : TADHG, son of John, son of Tadhg, son of John O NEACHTAIN, from Cartronperagh,⁴⁴ in the county of Roscommon.

[We may now pass to page 493 (new folio 234b), of the MS., where the following passage by the scribe occurs :]

Tairnic annsin in 7 particul don Lili maille toil Dé. An 30 la do mhí October .i. aoine ria Samhuin do shunnrad a mBaili Phollaird a ttigh Villiam mhic Semuis mic Gerailt *mic* Seain⁴⁵ mhic Villiam Oig mhic Tomais agus Elinora inghen tSeoin mhic Váiteir Mhic Valronta fa baincheile don Uilliam sin. Et go gcuirí Dia crích maith isin saoghal so ar an lanamhuin maith sin agus ar a ttuismightheoiribh agus ar a sliocht agus gomad é flaithemnus De bhus crích dheghinech dhoibh.

Gach nech leghfis aon chuid don leabar so tabradh a bhennacht maille duthracht ar anmain gach duine dhon druing si aderum .i. Bernardus Gordonius .i. an tí do tracht in leabar so agus Cormac Ua Duinnshlebhí ⁴⁶ do cuir a nGaoidhilg e agus Donnchadh Og Ua Conchubhair .i. ullamh Osraighi re leghes agus rogha legh Erenn ina aimsir fen gan dul a hÉrinn do dhenam foghluma.

Tuig riot gurob 47 ler deghsgríbh in cairt as ar thairrnges in leabhar so agus innisim díbh go demhin cidhbe locht sgríbhneoirecht ata ar in leabar so gurob me fen is ciontach ris agus nach e leabhar Dhonnchaidh.

Tabhruidh bhar mbennacht fós a nonóir do Dhia don tí ro sgríbh in leabhar so fa deredh .i. Risderd mac Muirchertaigh mic Taidhg mic Muirchertaigh mic Cathail mic Murchaid mic Muirchertaigh na Cairrgi I Chonchubair. Et gach ionad isin leabhar so ina nderrnus drochsgríbhneoirecht [col. 2] (tuigidh gur) do vrigh chumardhachta agus gurbh eol dam a sgríbadh ní bú ferr; 7 gach ionad ina nderrnus dermad agus gach ionad ina nderrnus ainfhios⁴⁸ nach do bhrigh chumardhachta na dermuid do ronús. Iarruim ar sgothuibh na vfealmac do sgríbh a hionnshamhuil so do lánobair no chuires roime fen a dhenum agus ag a vfuil fios gach neithe do chuirfedh buaidredh ar sgríbhneoir do veith a riachtanus gach uili cunganta mo chertugad gan sgannail agus veith ar mo lethsgél do ghnath. Oir ataim umhal doiph agus gach aon do dhenadh mo chomhairle is amhlaidh do veth.

Agus tuigid bromanuigh bhotach na rabhán agus na nabhrán agus in ithiomraidh nach rú ataim ag gabail cumairce annso acht gíodh dháibh is lia no is lionmaire. Oir gach ní mholfuid dom sgríbhneoirecht gabhuid an mhuintir eile mo lethsgel sa ann no certuighid é agus gach ní diomolfuid ní regair a les mo lethsgel do ghabhail ann oir ata go maith agus muna veth

ni chuirfidaois (s)in locht ina leith agus ata doich agum go legfid na brománuigh uimi sin in leabhar gan lochtugad agus ni dhen sin iad san go maith agus ni mo fhágbbhus in levar gan moran do veith incertaighthi ann.

Fagbuim fos sealbh in lebhair so a ndiaigh ealadhan .i. gan a thabhairt don duine do shlicht⁴⁹ bhus sine daois na bhus mó acfuinn acht munab é bhús mó dfhoghluim agus da mad mar sin do veth in roinn do shír do thicfad maith do shir dhe agus loighdiugad romor ar ainvfhes an aoisi healadhna. Anno Domini 1590.

TRANSLATION

There finished the seventh Particle of the *Lily*, with the permission of God, the thirtieth day of the month of October,⁵⁰ namely, the Friday before Samhain exactly, in Pollardstown, in the house of William, son of James, son of Gerald, son of John, son of William Og (son of William), son of Thomas, and Elinora, daughter of John, son of Walter Mac Valronta, who was the wife of that William. And may God give prosperity in this world to that good couple, and to their parents and family, and may it be in God's heaven that they shall have their final end.

Everyone who shall read any portion of this book, let him bestow an earnest blessing on the soul of each of those whom we shall mention, namely, Bernardus Gordonius who compiled it, and Cormac Mac⁵¹ Duinnshleibhe who translated it into Irish, and Donnchadh Og O Conchubhair,

ollav in medicine of Ossory, and the best of the doctors of Ireland in his own time, though he never left Ireland to complete his learning.

Understand that the copy from which I made this one was clear and well-written, and I assure you that for any mistake there is in the writing in this transcript I myself am responsible, not Donnchadh's book.

Last of all, let ye bestow your blessing, in God's honour, on him who transcribed this book, namely, Richard O Conchubhair, son of Muircheartach, son of Tadhg, son of Muircheartach, son of Cathal, son of Murchadh, son of Muircheartach na Cairrge. And wherever herein I am guilty of bad writing, let ye understand that it is so because of abbreviation, and that I know how to write it better; and wherever I made an omission or displayed ignorance, that it is not because of abridgement that the omissions which I have committed occurred.⁵² I ask of the best scholars who have transcribed such a long work as this, or who propose to do so, and who know everything which might confuse a scribe rather in need of assistance, to correct me and not to be scandalized, and always to stand for my defence. For I accept their verdict, and anyone who would take my counsel, would do likewise.

And let the clownish ignoramuses who rant and rhyme and backbite understand that it is not from them I am seeking protection now, though they are the more numerous and in the majority. Every bit of my writing which they praise—

let the other people hold me excused for it, or let them correct it. And every thing that they find fault with—there is no need to offer an excuse for me for it, because it is quite right, and if it were not, they would not find fault with it.⁵³ And I think, on that account, the clowns will allow the book to pass without pointing out errors ; that will not make them wise, and neither shall it render the book incapable of correction in many particulars.

Also I bequeath possession of this volume in conformity with the custom of men of science, namely, it shall not be given to the descendant who is oldest in years or richest unless he be also the most learned ; and if in that way disposal [of books] were always made good would come of it always, and there would be a very great diminution of ignorance among those who follow the profession. Anno Domini 1590.

[I think it will be admitted that this is a very remarkable passage. The statement that Donnchadh Og attained to the highest proficiency as a medical man without going abroad to learn anything shows in the first place that European knowledge in the science of medicine was accessible in Ireland itself, and in the second place, that while this particular distinguished authority elected to conduct his studies at home, others of his profession preferred to finish off their training in other lands. Mrs. Stopford Green has devoted some pages in one of her books to showing the

regularity with which Irish students of Law frequented Oxford. The evidence of this note proves that we can now add the Irish doctors to the list of travelling scholars.

But perhaps the most striking thing in our scribe's attitude is the scrupulous care which he devoted to attaining accuracy in transcription. Reading his explanation of possible defects in his work, one is reminded of the injunction of St. Irenaeus ⁵⁴ to the future copyist : " I adjure thee who shall transcribe this book by Our Lord Jesus Christ, by His glorious advent when He comes to judge the living and the dead, that thou compare what thou shalt copy and correct it with this exemplar whence thou art transcribing with all care, and that thou shalt likewise transcribe this oath and put it in the transcript." All the indications are to the effect that the poets and other men of learning in medieval Ireland set the highest value on literary exactness. This is particularly remarkable when we remember that, so far as we know, they were untouched by the stimulus of the Continental Renaissance. Again, in Richard O Connor's proud scorn of the cavilling of ignorant or incompetent criticism there is a distinct ring of modernity. The translation above hardly does justice to the contempt he gives expression to for upstarts in the domain of learning.

Between pages 494 and 505 (new folios 235, 240b) of our MS. we have a new treatise commencing *Ingenia Curationis Morborum*. The

final passages in the text are much blurred and not easy to read, but the following scribal note presents little difficulty :]

Et is an(n) do rinne so a stuideir solusghlan Sleibi Pessulaní. Et dob iad bliadna in Tigherna in tan sin 1296 a mi Iúil in cedaoín a nd/aigh fela Martialis. i/

Gurob mar sin do críochnaighidh sgribad 10 nInntlecht (ar) Leghes na nGalar ar na tteglu(i)m go fíorghlan as an leabhar Gaoidhilgi agus Laidne a mBaili in Gronta dam a ttech Mic Gillapadraig .i. Finghin mac Briai(n) mic Briain mic Seain agus a baincheli .i. inghen I Mhordha .i. Gillapatraig mac Conuill mic Maoileachluinn.

Go nderrna Día grasa or(r)a sin agus ar an tí ó nar sgribhadh in leabhar .i. Donnchadh Óg mac Donnchuidh Léith mic Gillapatraig 155 Chonchabha(i)r (agus) ar an tí ró sgriobh isin gcarta so e .i. Risderd mac Muirchertaigh⁵⁶ mic Taidhg agus (ar) an tí do chuir a nGaoidhilg e .i. Cormac Ua Dúinshlebbe.

TRANSLATION

And where he (Bernardus Gordonius) did this was in the illustrious Studium of Montpellier. And the years of the Lord at that time were 1296, in the month of July, on the Wednesday after the feast of Martialis.

Thus was ended the writing of the ten *Ingenia Curationis Morborum* collected faithfully out of the Irish and Latin book by me in Grantstown 57 in the house of Macgillapadraig, namely, Finghin,

son of Brian, son of Brian, son of John, and his wife, namely, the daughter of O Mordha, to wit, Gillapadraig,⁵⁸ son of Conall, son of Maoileachlainn.

May God bestow grace on these ; and on him from whose book this one was written, namely, Donnchadh Og,⁵⁹ son of Donnchadh Liath, son of Gillapadraig O Conchubhair ; and on him who set it down in this volume, namely, Richard, son of Muirchertach, son of Tadhg ; and on him who translated it into Irish, namely, Cormac Mac Duinnshleibhe.

[There is a third treatise of Bernardus included between pages 506 and 598 (new folios 241, 288). This was in part written at Abbeyleix, as we learn from the following entry on page 581:]

Mesi Risderd Ua Conchubha(ir) do sgríbh a Mainistir l(aoighise).

The concluding note runs as follows :

Finis. Misi Risderd mhac Muirchertaigh mic Taidhg mic Muirchertaigh mic Cathail mic Murchaidh mic Muirchertaigh n(a Cairrge) I Chonchubair ro sgríobh in *Prognostia* so Bernaird maildi re toil Dé ar sgoil mo bhráthar agus mo mhaghistir .i. Donnchadh Óg Ua Conchubhair .i. priomhollamh Mic G(i)lle Patraig re leighes.

Et Achadh Mic Airt mo log.

Agus a levar Ferghusa Mic Vethad ro sg(riobhadh).

In ced la don Abraon aniu 1590.

I.H.S. MAR.

TRANSLATION

Finis. I am Richard, son of Muircheartach, son of Tadhg, son of Muircheartach, son of Cathal, son of Murchadh, son of Muircheartach na Cairrge O Conchubhair, who by permission of God wrote this *Prognostica* of Bernardus, in the school of my kinsman and master, Donnchadh Og O Conchubhair, namely, the chief Master of Medicine of Mac Giollapadraig.

And Achadh Mic Airt ⁶⁰ is my place of writing.

And out of the book of Fearghus Mac Bheathadh ⁶¹ it was transcribed.

To-day is April the first, 1590.

Jesus. Maria.

Pages 599 to 601 (new folios 289b, 290) are introduced as follows :

Bith a fhios agad a leghthoir in caibidil so noch labhrus do Saharphati nach don leabhar so fen í acht gurob í in 19 caibidil don 7 leabhar ag Ualecus de Taranta í et gurob é Donnchadh Óg mac Donnchaidh Léith mic Giollapatraig do chuir a nGaoidilg í agus do orduigh dhamsa a sgriobhadh a ndiaigh an 4 caibidil 20 don treas particul don Lili ar an duilleoig so 246 agus oir nar chuimnighis a sgriobhadh annsin sgribheochad annso i.

TRANSLATION

Understand, reader, that this chapter which speaks of *Saharphati* does not belong to this book itself, but that it is the nineteenth chapter of the seventh Book of Valecus de Taranta, and

that it was Donnchadh Og, son of Donnchadh Liath, son of Giollapadraig, who translated it into Irish. And he ordered me to transcribe it after the twenty-fourth chapter of the third Particula of the *Lily* on page 246 ; but inasmuch as I forgot it at that point, I shall write it here.

[Having followed the good scribe ⁶² so far in the course of his labours, it is of interest to know something of his death. A friendly hand has made the following obituary notice at the end of the second long passage quoted above :]

Risderd mhac Muirchertaigh Í Conchubhair
 ar gclaochlo a bhetha ann 18 do mhi Octobar
 1625 ⁶³ .i. fer sgribha an leabhair so.

[Richard son of Muircheartach O Conchubhair departed life on the eighteenth of October, 1625, namely, the writer of this book.]

[Finghin Mac Giollapadraig, Richard's last-mentioned patron in these notes, was otherwise known as Florence Fitzpatrick, third Baron of Upper Ossory. He was a notorious supporter of the English interest in Ireland in his day. He died on February 11, 1613. Canon Carrigan ⁶⁴ records to his credit the fact that he never forsook the Faith of his fathers. It may now also be reckoned in his favour that he was a patron of the learned, and that he provides another demonstration of the generosity which always awaited the scholar in the mansions of the ancient Irish aristocracy.]

NOTES.

1. The words in brackets are in the margin.
2. In the margin opposite this name we have the note : (long)phort in Grasaigh.
3. The MS. reads uasail, oig, but I have altered them to the nominative.
4. This is a mistake for Donnchadh.
5. The meaning of this is that the scribe's father, or some of his immediate forbears, had lost some landed property, perhaps in the expropriation of the O Connors and other gentry in Mary's reign. Further down, the writer says that Grainne, Viscountess Mountgarret, was "temporal lady and a near relative" to himself through her mother, who was a daughter of O Connchubhair Failghe.
6. *Clann Fheoruis*, the country of the Birminghams, that is, the barony of Carbury in the north-west of County Kildare, with some neighbouring districts.
7. Cluain Each, Clonaugh, in the parish of Cadamstown, barony of Carbury. The remains of the castle there were removed over half a century ago, and were used in the building of the Catholic church of Kilshanroe, about a mile distant. The structure was erected in 1578. See the Rev. E. O'Leary in the *Journal of the Kildare Archaeological Society*, iii, 50 ; ii, 137.
8. *Alye*. The name is variously spelled Alye, Lye, Lee, Leigh, etc. The Irish forename John Og may indicate that the father of the person referred to was also named John : cf. O'Leary, *ibid.* iii, 45. Clonaugh was granted in 1571 to John Alec, "a messenger unto ye dangerous places," and we learn further, in 1587, that "Lye being an Englishman is very perfect in the Irish tongue" (Calendar of State Papers, 244). He was official interpreter to Dublin Castle. He died on May 7, 1612, his wife then being Amy Fitzgerald. Unless there is confusion of father with son (which is hardly possible here), John the younger must have been married twice at least, Margaret Darcy being expressly stated by the scribe to have been the wife of John Og in 1590.

GLEANINGS FROM IRISH MANUSCRIPTS

9. *Baile an Fheadha*. This is Ballina, in the parish of Cadams-town, barony of Carbury, and not far distant from Moyvalley railway station.

10. *Calbhach, son of O Mordha*. Calvagh was the son of Rury Caoch O More, who became chief of Leix in 1542, and his wife Margaret Butler of the Ormond family. On April 22, 1574, he was granted the manor of Ballina and adjacent lands, and he had subsequent donations in the counties of Meath and Dublin, in virtue of services rendered by his father to Edward VI. He died on March 27, 1618, leaving two sons, Rury, who organised the rising of 1641, and Lewis, ancestor of the last O More. It should be noted that the Irish patronymic O More, less correctly O Moore (from O Mórdha), differs *toto caelo* from the English name More, or Moore. The principal family that carried the latter name settled first at Mellifont when the monastery in that place was suppressed. They and their numerous kinsmen in Leinster were called *Modhur*, or *Moghur*, by the Irish. Drogheda Street (now O Connell Street) and Moore Street, in Dublin, got their names from the English family.

11. According to Father Edmund Hogan, this Scurlock was of Frayne, County Meath. The same authority wrongly says the marriage of Calvagh and Margaret took place in 1600 (*Ireland in 1598*, page 267).

12. *Carraig Fheoruis*, now Carrick, in the barony of Carbury. The longer English form of the name occurs in a list of Kildare gentry in 1598 as "Bremingham of Carrick-eris."

13. *Dun Uabhair*, now Donore, in the parish of Carragh, barony of Clane. O Clery's Book of Pedigrees (256) mentions this James Fitzgerald: *fer Dúin Uabhair—Semus mac Geruilt mic Seagain mic Uilliam Oig mic Uilliam mic Tomais*. See also B. iv, 1, folio 9a. Our scribe omits by inadvertence William senior, whose name has been restored above. Redmond Og Fitzgerald, the wife's father mentioned in the text, was of Rathangan in the county of Kildare.

14. *Coill na Cuirte Duibhe*. "Wood of the Black Court," probably now represented by the name Blackhall. There are three places named Blackhall in County Kildare. The Fitzgerald pedigrees published in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeo-*

logical Society in 1881 do not seem to refer to this branch of the family.

15. *Baile Phollaird*. The townland and parish of Pollards-town are situated in the barony of East Offaley, in County Kildare.

16. *Mac Valronta*. This name occurs once in the Annals of the Four Masters. The editor, John O Donovan, gives no comment on it. I take it to be an Irish rendering of the English name Wesley, later Wellesley, which occurs frequently in Kildare at this time. *Valrónta* is a semi-translation of *Wel-sealy*. The converse process of erroneous translation from Irish to English is too well exemplified in modern Ireland. Sir Henry Piers, writing in 1682, identified the name of Weysly with McFalrene, Vallancey, *Collectanea* i, 105. The Irish scholar Tadhg O Neachtain, in Trinity College MS. H4.20, explains the name of the place in the county Meath which belonged to the Duke of Wellington's family as *Daingean Mic Bhalróin*.

17. *Almhain Laighean*, Allen of Leinster, in County Kildare, famous in the great body of literature dealing with Fionn mac Cumhaill. Philip, son of Maurice Fitzgerald of Allen is mentioned in a marginal entry in H2.7, page 250, dated 1553. "Gerald fitz Philippe, of Allon," appears in Fiant of Elizabeth, 4150, May 12, 1583.

18. We might also translate "George son of Gerald."

19. *Dún Muire*. Dunmurry, a townland and parish in the barony of East Offaley, in County Kildare.

20. *Maol Ussaoi*. Mulhussey, a few miles north of Maynooth, in County Meath. The great castle there fell or was demolished about fourteen years ago.

21. Calvagh O Connor, son of Tadhg, son of Cathaoir, was of Derrymullen, in King's County, and was dead in 1576, when the ward of his son and the custody of his lands was granted to Laurence Delahide of Moyglare. His heir, Brian, succeeded in 1584. See Fiants of Elizabeth, 2909, 4409.

22. This paragraph, which is damaged in the original, is entered in the margin. Hence in the next reference is back to Dun Muire.

23. Edmund Butler was the second Viscount Mountgarret. A pardon granted to him after certain rebellious courses taken

in consequence of a treaty made with the Earl of Tyrone in 1598 mentions with others of his household "dame Grany his wife" (Fiant of Elizabeth 6309). He died in 1602, and was succeeded by his son Richard Butler, third Viscount, who married Margaret, daughter of the great northern Earl, and who at a later stage in Irish history presided over the Supreme Council of the Confederation of Kilkenny.

24. This Brian Mac Giollapadraig, son of Brian, son of John, was created Baron of Upper Ossory on June 11, 1541. His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Brian O Conchubhair Failghe by Mary, daughter of the Earl of Kildare and sister of Silken Thomas.

25. *Baile na Cuirte*, Courtstown, in the parish of Tullaroan, barony of Crannagh, in the Queen's County. The Irish gloss above quoted describes the place as "the stronghold of Grace," that is, of the chief member of that family.

26. Canon Carrigan (*History of the Diocese of Ossory*, iii, 503) mentions an uncle of this man, Oliver Grace, brother of Robert, who died, he says, soon after 1585.

27. This Mac Giollapadraig was, as we shall see later, Finghin or Florence, who as third Baron of Upper Ossory succeeded his brother Brian Óg in 1581. Both were brothers of Grainne, above mentioned.

28. For this Donnchadh Óg O Conchubhair see the text further on. There is a large medical manuscript in the hand of this scribe in Edinburgh. See Mackinnon: *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts*, 273-7.

29. Among commissioners for the musters for the county of Kildare appointed on May 12, 1583, was "Thomas fitz Redmond, of Clonbolg" (Fiant of Elizabeth 4150). This gentleman, whose family name was Fitzgerald, died on June 10, 1590, his son Redmond being then a minor. See *ibid.* 6341.

30. Our scribe, like the native annalists, takes no regard of the technical distinction between "Lord Justice" and "Lord Deputy." Some of the sovereign's representatives were even "Lords Lieutenant," but the same designation, *Lúisdís* or *Giúsidís*, is applied to all in Irish documents.

31. This is the technical expression for an act of confiscation by law or attainder. By the Third and Fourth of Philip and Mary, chaps. i and ii, Leix, Offaly, and some minor districts, were vested in the King and Queen. The confiscation of the lands of the O Byrnes in County Wicklow was by process of attainder of chiefs fallen in rebellion.

32. This territory was not at all equivalent to the modern I Failghe, or King's County. It included the lands of the O Connors, which lay all to the east of Tullamore. In the present county which carries the name are included the much bigger group of territories held by the O Mulloys, the MacCoghlanes, and the Foxes, not to speak of the country of the O Carrolls, stretching towards Nenagh on the western side of the Slieve Bloom mountains.

33. Laoighis here, like I Failghe in the preceding note, is to be understood in the sixteenth-century sense, and signifies the country of the O Mores. It did not include the countries of the O Dunnes, the O Dempseys, and the MacGillapatricks, which are included in the modern Laoighis, or Queen's County.

34. Sir Peter Carew, a knight of Devonshire, put forward claims to the barony of Idrone in County Carlow, and having obtained a judgment in the courts in his favour, came to an agreement with the ancient proprietors, the MacMurrough Kavanaghs before his death in 1575. Sir Peter's representative was in possession in 1590 when our scribe was at work.

35. The explanation of this entry is the fact that on the attainder of the last Earl of Desmond, Garret (slain in 1583), the title was supposed to have reverted to the Crown.

36. Henry, twelfth Earl of Kildare, was known to the Irish as Enri na dTuagh, "Henry of the Battleaxes." He was wounded fighting with the Deputy, Lord Borough, in an engagement with the Earl of Tyrone at Drum Fliuch on the Blackwater, and subsequently died at Drogheda in 1597. His father, Garret, the eleventh Earl, was son of Garret the tenth (or ninth) Earl, whose mother was Alison, daughter of Rowland Eustace. The unusual kind of entry above, mentioning a female ancestor, is explained by the following passage from O Clery's Book of Pedigrees, 257: *Geroid an taonmadh iarla deag (Elizabeth*

Gray inghean do marcas Dorsitur a mathair) mac Geroid an deichmeadh iarla agus iustis na hEreann (Allsun inghean mic Ser Edward Iusdas a mathair). Silken Thomas, sometimes referred to as the tenth Earl, had no children.

37. Thomas, tenth or Black Earl of Ormond, was in power during the whole of Elizabeth's reign, and died November 22, 1614. He was a cousin of the Queen through the Boleyn family.

38. Ulick, third Earl of Clanrickard, succeeded in 1582, and died on May 20, 1601.

39. Aodh O'Neill was created Earl of Tyrone in 1587. On the death of Toirrdhealbhach Luineach in 1595 he had himself proclaimed O'Neill after the ancient Irish fashion. After his death in Rome in 1616, his son John bore the title till his death in 1641.

40. Donnchadh O Briain, fourth Earl of Thomond, succeeded in 1580 (according to the Four Masters), and died September 5, 1624. See a short account of him in Archdall's *Lodge*, ii, 35; or Webb, *Compendium of Irish Biography*, 366.

41. The medieval Studium was a Higher School or University.

42. The meaning of this is that some such prayer as the following was prefixed to Richard O'Connor's work: *Deus, mei est incipere. Tui est finire.* O God, mine it is to begin: Thine to complete. See a heading of this kind at the commencement of the Annals of Ulster.

43. *Cul-choill.* Cullahill Castle, in the parish of Aghmacart, in the barony of Clarmallagh, in Queen's County. Of the ancient castles of Cullahill and Grantstown (to be mentioned later) there are splendid drawings in Lord Castletown's *A King and his Favourite*, pages 1 and 25.

44. Numerous particulars of Tadhg O Neachtain and his father Sean may be gleaned from notices in Robin Flower's *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*. Cartronperagh was the original home of the family. Both father and son spent many of their years in Dublin or the neighbourhood.

45. This name is added in the margin, where the letters *italicised* have been cut away. Compare the pedigree in the first extract above.

46. The name Ua Duinnshlé'bhe is a mistake for Mac Duinnshléibhe, the form which appears in one of Corc O Cadhla's notes, as we shall see later. See also O'Grady: *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts*, 257, 177; Gwynn: *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in Trinity College*, index.

47. The scribe commenced this sentence before finishing the preceding, as *tuig riot* comes between *fen* and *gan* above, with marks indicating the right place for the phrase. He next wrote *nach*, but continued the sentence as if he had written *gurob*, which word I have exchanged for *nach* in accordance with the sense.

48. In passing from one column to the next, the scribe omitted some such words as *tuigidh gur*, or *cuimhnighidh gur*. He also wrote a superfluous "7" after the phrase ending with *ainfhios*, thinking he had only just penned the similar phrase ending with *dermad*. The meaning of the whole is plain from the next sentence. He puts down faults of penmanship to haste or abbreviation, and faults of text to external distractions.

49. The words *do shliocht* are written in the margin.

50. The scribe has already told us that the third Particle was written after later parts of the book. See the Donore-Pollardstown family described above. It is interesting to note that the writer follows the *unreformed* or Old Style of dating. October 30, according to the New Style, occurred on the previous Tuesday week.

51. I correct the name here in accordance with the note on the text.

52. A common cause of complaint with the majority of the scribes was the external circumstances of discomfort or disturbance under which they were often obliged to execute their work. That is what is alluded to here. The presence of numerous contractions is considered a blemish on the calligraphy, but textual errors of omission or other kinds are not due to a desire to cut the work short.

53. This reminds one of the story of Daniel O'Connell and the *English Times*.

54. Quoted in Eusebius *Ecclesiastical History*, book v, chap. 20.

55. For "i" the manuscript has .i.

56. The manuscript has Muircheartaighi.

57. Grantstown Castle, in the barony of Clarmallagh, in Queen's County.

58. Giollapadraig. son of Conall. son of Maoileachlainn, O Mordha, chief of his name, died in England about 1548. According to Archdall's Lodge, ii, 339, the daughter here referred to was named Catherine.

59. From English documents we learn of Donnchadh Og on March 16, 1586; "Donoghe oge mac Donoghe Lyoghe, surgeon," Fiant of Elizabeth, 4832; and of his brother on June 30, 1566: "Conogher mac Donoghe Leigh of Croghanboy, surgeon," *ibid.* 897. In both cases the men are named among followers of the MacGillapatricks of Upper Ossory. See next essay, opening paragraph.

60. Aghmacart, an ancient monastery, parish and castle in the south of Queen's County, in Upper Ossory. The large medical manuscript in Edinburgh, referred to note 28, was written in part in Aghmacart.

61. This medical family were exceedingly well known in Scotland. The patronymic is the modern MacVeagh.*

62. I have seen but two notices of him outside his own MS., namely, H.2.7, page 345, top margin, where he scribbled a few lines of verse, and added the note: *Ag sin duit, a Risderd I Betecain od shesi .i. Risterd mac Muircertaig*; and in a note in page 349 of the same MS., which I have failed to decipher satisfactorily.

63. These figures are in the margin.

64. Carrigan: *History of the Diocese of Ossory*, i, 91.

The list in Scotland: Beaton, Bathune, Dair Bath.

II

IN the foregoing essay the Irish version of Bernardus de Gordon's work entitled *Lilium Medicinæ* was referred to, and extensive notes in Irish from one of our MS. copies of it were cited. The writer of these notes was a certain Richard O Connor, whose extensive genealogy occurs in two places as Risderd, son of Muircheartach, son of Tadhg, son of Muircheartach, son of Cathal, son of Murchadh, son of Muircheartach na Cairrge O Conchubhair. The scribe mentions that his instructor in the Art of Healing was a kinsman of his own named Donnchadh Og, son of Donnchadh Liath, son of Giollapadraig, Ollav in Medicine to Finghin, or Florence Mac Giollapadraig, lord of Upper Ossory. This Donnchadh Og is otherwise known. The earliest mention of his name that I have seen is in Fiant of Elizabeth, No. 4832, dated March 16, 1586, where the following notice occurs: "Donoghe Oge m'Donoghe lyoghe, surgeon." The Fiant contains a list of followers of John Og Fitzpatrick of Upper Ossory. Donnchadh Og is referred to frequently in a manuscript now preserved in Edinburgh,¹ which was written under his directions in 1596 in Aghmacart and Cullohill, in the Queen's County, of both which places the names have already appeared in the preceding essay. His hand also appears in Trinity College MS. E.4.1, page 216: *misi Donnchadh Óg qui sgribcit*. Moreover, the father

of Donnchadh Og must have been a physician of note, for in another MS.² in Trinity College, containing but a handful of entries relating to the province of Leinster, the year of his death is recorded as follows : *aois an tiagharna an tan do thesda Donnchadh Liath mac Giollaspattraicc* 1562, "the year of the Lord when Donnchadh Liath, son of Giollapadraig, died 1562." In Fiant of Elizabeth No. 897, dated June 30, 1566, which contains a list of pardons issued to followers of Barnaby Fitzpatrick, Baron of Upper Ossory, we have a reference to his son, a brother of Donnchadh Og : "Conogher mac Donoghe leigh of Croghanboy, surgeon." These notices introduce us to what was evidently a medical school of some importance.

We now come to another exemplar, written thirteen years earlier than that of O Connor, by a scribe named Corc Og O Cadhla.* The name O Cadhla is now anglicised O Kiely, or O Keily, and in the West of Ireland, also Kealy. Corc is obsolete as a forename, but it survives in the surname O Quirke or Quirke, which in Irish is O Cuirc. This copyist is described in a Fiant as a "surgeon" of New Ross.³ Unlike O Connor's MS., the present volume has no lacuna at the beginning. The introduction to the work is given in full, and winds up with an account of the

* Since the present essay was published for the first time (February, 1930) many of the extracts have been printed from the MS. 24P., 14 in the new Academy Catalogue, fasc. x, pp. 1176-80, by Miss Winifred Wulff.

time and place of composition of the original treatise of Bernardus.

In this MS. again the principal scribal notes are inserted at the end of the separate books or *particulæ* into which Bernardus' work is divided. That which occurs at the end of Book I records the name of the writer, the place where this portion of the volume was transcribed, the person for whom the transcription was made, and some other particulars, including the date. I give this note here in the original orthography :

Tairrnig an cead partigul anossa maille furtacht an tslanaightheora le Corc Og mhac Emuinn mic Cuirc hI Chadhla agus Teagh na Ronna mo log a bfochair Briain meic Cathaoir meic Airt Chaomh-anaigh agus Isibele inghine Aodha meic hSheaain; agus na tabhradh fer leghtha an libhair a [n] achmhusan dam olcus mo leitreach agus der-madaighi mo scribhneoireachda, oir ata deithnius romhor orm agus drochcairt agus me ac sibhal o inadh co hinadh anno Domini 1577, f.1, an 7 la do mi August, agus is bennaighi Dia trid na saoghalaibh.

TRANSLATION

Now hath finished the first Particle, with the assistance of the Saviour, by Corc Og, son of Emonn, son of Corc O Cadhla. And Teagh na Ronna is my situation, in the house of Brian, son of Cathaoir, son of Art Caomhanach "Kavanagh," and of Isabella, daughter of Aodh, son of Seaan [O Broin "O Byrne."] And let not the reader

of the book reproach me for the inferiority of my letters and the carelessness of my transcription, for I have been in great haste, and have been supplied with bad writing material ; moreover, I have been moving from place to place, Anno Domini 1577, f.i., the seventh of August ; and blessed be God through the ages.

Teagh na Ronna, here mentioned as the residence of Brian, son of Cathaoir Caomhanach, is, apparently to be identified with Tinnaranny in the south of County Carlow. Brian mac Cahir mac Art Kavanagh is frequently mentioned in the Fiant of Elizabeth's reign as of Knockyn, or Knocken, in that county—as also his son and successor Morgan, or Murchadh Caomhanach. Brother of Morgan was “Geralt m'Brien Cavanaghe, of *Tyneranz, Co. Carlow*,” August 18, 1587. Another close relation was “Mortagh liagh m' Cahir Cavanagh of *Tennaranna, County Carlow*,” Fiant 4036. There is, however, another Tinnaranny in the County of Kilkenny, on the west side of the Barrow, not far from New Ross, but I do not know if the Kavanagh family had property or a residence there. Among followers of Brian mac Cahir in 1577 were “Edmund O Kelly, horseboy, of *Tenranny, County Carlow*,” and “Edmund Owroghe m' Dermott of *Tenranny, kern*.” O Cleirigh, in his *Book of Genealogies*, fol. 86, gives Murchadh, mac Briain, mic Cathaoir, mic Airt, etc., as eleventh in descent from Diarmaid Mac Murchadha who brought the Normans to

Ireland. The death of Brian took place in 1578, in which year the Four Masters chronicle the event.

The wife of Brian mac Cahir was Elizabeth, or Isabella, sister of the celebrated Fiach mac Hugh O Byrne of Glenmalure in the County of Wicklow. She is mentioned in Fiant 2232 as follows : "pardon to Brien m' Cahir m' Arte Kavanaghe, Elizabeth Byrne his wife," April 26, 1573. Fiant 4036 contains a long list of the followers of Morgan Kavanagh above mentioned. Among them we find our scribe as "Corck O Coely of Newrosse, surgeon."

In this first extract from Corc's MS. the letters *f.i.* are somewhat of a puzzle. The most natural interpretation is to see in them the indication of the day of the week. "Feria i" would signify Sunday ; but I calculate that August 7, 1577, fell on Wednesday, so perhaps we should read *f.iv.* In any case I think the scribe would use the Irish word for Sunday, *dia Domhnaigh*.

One of the most remarkable and the most welcome features of the notes preserved in our medical manuscripts is their effusive or voluminous character. They have an air of communicativeness or confidence in them which we do not find often in scribal entries elsewhere. Hence we are bound to be interested in the views of an Irish scholar of this kind, on the great religious upheaval of the Tudor era then in progress all around him. Speaking about the Four Masters, Mr. Standish Hayes O Grady observes that they, though supported by a Protestant patron, show a virile

independence when dealing with religious topics. Not less clear and independent is the attitude of our scribe, at a time when Brian mac Cahir Kavanagh who employed him, had submitted to the English, and had adopted the English idea of "civility" and government. I give his lengthy remarks which follow Bernardus' second Book.

Tairrnig annsin an dara leabhar maille furtacht an tslanaightheora et a dTigh na Ronna do tinnscnadh an 16 la do mhi Iuin agus is ann fos do crichnaigheadh agus me a bfarradh Briain mic Cathair meic Airt mic Diarmada Laimhdheirg agus Isibele inghine Aodha meic Sheaaín meic Remuinn hI Bhroin. Agus gidh ann do tinnscnadh agus do crichnaigheadh é, ní hann is mo do sscribhadh é. Agus an 5 la do mhi Februarius do crichnaighedh. Agus is annsan aimsir so do leigeadh Seaan mac iarla Dhesmhumhan amach agus tug Sir Hénri Sidní don iarla e .i. do Gheroid mac Semuis. Agus an Sir Henri adubhramar .i. giuisdis na hErenn esein agus in ti is mo do chuir Ere fa smachd Saxanach o than-gadar o thus a nÉrinn agus co hairighthe re cuimhne a mairenn aniú.

Et is i is prinsa Saxan agus Erend ann .i. Quene Elizabeth, agus aderid moran go bfuil rioghachd Alban agus na Fraince [aice] agus ní bfuil a commor agus ataid sin. Agus ataid Saxanaigh ag a radh gurob aice ata airdchennus an chreidimh. Agus is breg doibh oir is derbhtha linn gurob e an Papa cenn na hegailsi naomhtha catholgdha.

Agus is fíor do Shaxan[ach]aibh aní aderid fein, oir is í is cenn ar an droichcreidemh co huilidhi an med ata fa na smachd. Oir ní connaimhther aoine na corghus na cataoir iná an tsaeire do ordaigh Dia do chonnmhail fa na smachd, agus ní mo berther anoir na cion dh'arus naoimh ina ré, agus fos is iad is mo do ní dunmharbhadh agus is uaibhrighe san roinn Eorpa co huilidhi. Agus is iongnadh liom a fhad fhuilinges Dia a gcennus iad, achd amháin gurob fada fhuilinges agus gurob mall direch a dhighaltus. Agus tuilledh eile .i. co bfuilid Erinnaigh féin co holc agus co dtugadh a smachdughadh do nimh amhantur eile ní bhem da lenmhain a bfad, oir do chaithfimaís ar ndubh agus ar bpaiper ris an ní adubhramar.

Misi Corc O Cadhla do sscribh so agus tabhradh gach aon leghfes e ascaith ar mh'anmain, agus na tabhradh fer a leighte achmhusan orm fa mbia droichscribhtha dhe, oir ata diffir romhor orm, agus is beg an conmhnaidhi fhedaim do dhenamh anno Domini 1578.

Trocaire rígh nimhe d'ughdar an leabhair so .i. Bernardus Gordonius noch dfhag ag an domhan é, agus don ti do chuir a nGaeidheilg e .i. Corbmac Ó Duinnshleibhi, agus don ti do scribh annso e, agus co gcrichnaighi an slanaightheoir an 3 leabhar.

TRANSLATION

There hath finished the second Book by the help of the Saviour. And in Teagh na Ronna it was begun, on the sixteenth of June, and there also

it was completed while I was in the house of Brian (son of Cathaoir, son of Art, son of Diarmaid of the Red Hand) and Isabella, daughter of Aodh, son of Seaan, son of Remonn O Broin. Though it was there it was begun and was finished, it was not in the same place the greater part of it was written. And on the fifth day of February it was ended. And about the same time Seaan, son of the Earl of Desmond, was set free, and Sir Henry Sidney delivered him to Garrett, son of James, the present Earl.⁴ This Sir Henry we speak of is Lord Justice⁵ of Ireland, and is also the person who most thoroughly reduced Ireland to submission to the English since they first came to that country, and more particularly within the memory of all who are now alive.

And the Sovereign of England and Ireland now is Queen Elizabeth. Many say that she hath also the sovereignty of Scotland and of France, and there is no dignity as great as all these combined. The English say that she is invested also with the Supremacy of Religion, *but in that they assert an untruth*. For we are convinced *that the Head of the holy Catholic Church is the Pope*. In a sense what the English say is correct, for the Queen is head of the false Faith entirely, in so far as it is under her jurisdiction. Because, in her domain, there is neither abstinence, nor fast, nor Ember day, nor holiday which God hath ordered to be observed ; neither is there given respect or honour to any holy house since she attained power ; and her subjects, too, are the most

addicted to murder and to self-conceit in the whole European Continent. It is a matter of surprise to me that God tolerates them so long in authority ; except that He beareth patiently, and that His vengeance cometh slowly and direct. An additional point : the Irish themselves are bad, and that Heaven hath provided them with castigation at another turn of history, we shall not discuss at length—for we should waste our ink and our paper with the thing we have suggested.

I am Corc O Cadhla who wrote this, and let every one who shall read it render a prayer for my soul, and let not any reader blame me for any portions of it which have been badly set down, for I am in exceeding great haste, and I am able to remain but a short time, 1578.

The mercy of the King of Heaven to the author of this book, Bernardus Gordonius, who gave it to the world ; and to him who translated it into Irish, namely, Cormac O Duinnshleibhe ;⁶ and to him also who wrote it here.

May the Saviour complete the third Book.

[On these paragraphs much might be written by way of comment. What will strike most readers is the readiness with which some of the scribe's dicta might come from an onlooker of events in fairly recent history. For instance, the words " the Irish themselves are bad " might be used as a text in reference to many of our latter-day quarrels and misfortunes. Again, we have the writer's estimate of the English Government in

his own time : " her [the Queen's] subjects are the most addicted to murder and to self-conceit in the whole European Continent." This might be taken as the judgment of many Irishmen on England's international reputation even still. While the remark that ink and paper should not be wasted on a fruitless discussion of the arrangements of Divine Providence in national affairs in the past is one of the most common attitudes of to-day towards our share in the misfortunes of history.

There is one very interesting fact to be observed in connection with portion of this instructive entry. Almost the whole of the paragraph relating to the religious controversy has been crossed out in the MS., but fortunately not in such a way as to render it indecipherable. The scribe's outspoken views on the questions in dispute were evidently unpalatable or dangerous to some possessor of the MS. at a later time, and he did his utmost to suppress the honesty and volubility of the good man who put them on record.

The conclusion of the note last quoted explained that the writer was soon obliged to move from Tinnaranny, and recorded the prayer that, with the help of the Saviour, the third Book might be duly completed. And so in time it was. As appendix thereto is an entry which embodies the earliest reference we possess to the celebrated massacre of certain chiefs and their followers at Mullaghmast, in the County of Kildare. Historians of English sympathies have tried to

discredit the native accounts regarding this shocking affair. For example, one of the most conscientious and reliable of them, the late Mr. Richard Bagwell, author of three volumes entitled *Ireland under the Tudors*, prefers to think that the event in question is to be ascribed to the year 1567. This he does on the authority of the Annals of Loch Ce. Their statement runs as follows : "treachery was committed by Master Framsa [=Francis Cosby] and by Macomas [=Robert Harpool], and the English on Muircheartach O Mordha and on his people ; and the place where the treachery was committed was in the great rath of Mullach Maistean ; and Muircheartach and seventy-four men were slain there ; and no uglier deed than that was ever committed in Ireland," Hennessy's ed., ii, 397.

The note of our scribe completely disproves the assumption of Bagwell. It is evident from the writer's remarks that the event had taken place only a short time previous to the period at which he was at work, namely, March, 1578. It appears best to transcribe and translate the entry at this point, and to reserve further comments on the massacre for a few moments :]

Tairnig ansin an 3 partigul don Lile maille cabhair an tslanuightheora an 22 la do mhi Mharta agus a nGrainsigh na Manach a bfochair Briain mic Cathaoir mic Airt Caomhanaigh do chrichnaighis é 7 agus me ag leighes a ingine deise 7 o hsechran fola mista.

Gnimha nachar dhaighmhaiseach⁸ ar na ndeinemh a nErinn beacan reimhe so ag Saxanachaibh .i. Muirchertach mac Laighsigh hI Mhordha co na ochd bferaibh deg agus da fhichet co dtuilleadh do dhunmharbhadh a raith Mhullaigh Mhaisden d'eis a bhraighde do chur a ngill re comhall sithchana a llaimh an ghiusdis .i. Sir Henry Sitny, agus Harpol .i. Saxanach do mhuinntir an ghiusdis sin do chrochadh na mbraighdeadh ar na mharach. Agus fós is se in Harpól ceadna do rinne an feald adubhramar a raith Mullaigh Mhaisden. Agus do tinnsnadh gnimha roghrainemhla leo sin do dhenamh ar fedh choigedh Laighen an inpaidh sin la Saxanachaibh .i. a raibhe do chlannaibh Gaoidheal, an as ard agus as⁹ aimhreidh innti,¹⁰ i mbreith pein do thabhairt doibh, do¹¹ thoidheachd chum laithreach clanna Gall agus an ghiusdis, agus ni ni do badh ferr na mar do rinnedh resin fedhain adubhramar do ghentaidhe ru uili dá dtigidis.

Tuilleadh eile do rónsadar Goill tShaxan ar fedh Eireann .i. sgel romhor, mar ata, cumhachda na cuirti Romhanaighi do chur ar gcúl in gach ionad fa na smachd thoir agus a bhos. Oir ni leigenn an eгла d'uachdaran aifreann do chlas na dfheicsin, achd comunion na banrioghan, muna eistidais a bfhalach é.

Sgel mor eile .i. Rudhraighi Og O Mordha agus an chuid mhaire da hslíchd ar na ninnarbadh ag Gallaibh as a nduthaigh agus nach lamhuid a naighthe uirre le roineart Gall. Agus sgel

ghoilles orm co romhor .i. Mairghreg Mhaol inghen Aodha mic Sedhain ben fpurosda Rudhraighi Oig hI Mhordha do thuitim¹² go graine-mhail agus mna agus macaimh agus mindaoine agus daoine oga agus arsaidh do mharbhadh mailli ria nachar thuill a marbhadh do reir bharamhla. Agus Rudhraighi ar loscadh Asa¹³ Laighin agus Cetharlaighi agus Leithghlinne reimhe sin agus na dheghaidh agus mhorain eile mailli riu sain a ndighailt an fhinghail sin agus gach finghaile eile do ronsadar Goill air.

Brian mac Cathaoir Chaomhanaigh a gcennus a hslechda fein .i. slichd Diarmada Laimhdheirg agus ni gan adhbhur ata mar sin, oir do bheir a chios fein don fprionsa agus da gach uachdaran Goill da bfuil os a chinn. Agus fos is¹⁴ romhor agus is imdha do luchd a aimhlesa, agus is doigh lem muna bheith cuimhsightheoir na cruinne agus cruthaightheoir na ndul¹⁵ ag fechain do co romhor agus da hslíochd ni bheidaois mar ataid.

Gach drong do raidhemar co ro so agus gach anfhorran da fhuaradar agus do gheibhid co bfhaid a luaighechd, agus ni fes damh sa cinnus bhias deireadh a ndala.

Ailim trocaire an tslanaightheora d'ughdar an leabhair si .i. Bernardus Gordonius agus dfhear a churtha a nGaidheilg .i. Corbmac Mac Duinnshleibhi .i. baisiler isin ealadhain leighis agus dfhear a sscribththa annso .i. Corc Og Ó Cadhla. Agus isum triamhuin ar a olcus mo charrtach¹⁶ agus na leitreach chuirim. Dið chinn nach

X
roithenn lem memram dfhoghbhail agus ar a
hshon sin fos ni chuirim dhiom gan a chur a
gcairt mhaith madh ail le Dia, agus co gcrich-
naighi an cobharthoir an 4 partigul. Anno
salutis 1577.¹⁷ Do badh ferr lem co mbeinn
reidh rut agus me ar scoil heigin in leighis no
leighinn a bhus no thoir. = in Scotland

TRANSLATION

There hath finished the third Particle of the *Lily*, by the help of the Saviour, on the twenty-second day of the month of March, and in Graigue-namanach, in the house of Brian, son of Cathaoir, son of Art Caomhanach, I have completed it, whilst I was there treating his pretty daughter for an indisposition.

7 Deeds that were disgraceful were perpetrated in Ireland a short time ago by the English ; namely, Muir⁷cheartach, son of Laoighseach O Mordha, with his fifty-eight men, and more, were murdered in the fort of Mullaghmast after his hostages had been put into the hands of the Lord Justice, Sir Henry Sidney, in pledge for the maintenance of peace. And Harpool, an Englishman of the Lord Justice's people, hanged the hostages on the next day. And also, it was this same Harpool who was responsible for the treachery aforesaid in the fort of Mullaghmast. And a commencement was made at that time by the English of the doing of other very horrible deeds throughout the province of Leinster, namely, all the difficult and troublesome men of

the province were ordered, under threat of penalty, to present themselves before the English and the Lord Justice. And a fate not better than that which befell those we have spoken of would have overtaken them all had they so presented themselves.

Another thing which the foreigners from England have done in Ireland, namely, a very great atrocity, that is, they have set aside the authority of the Roman Curia in every place under their jurisdiction, both yonder and on this side. For no superior, by reason of fear, can hear or assist at Mass, unless in secret, the [only ceremony permitted being] the Queen's Communion.

Another lamentable affair is this: Rudhraighe Og O Mordha and all his living kinsmen have been driven from their country by the English, and they dare not show their faces there because of the tyranny of the foreigners. And a matter that grieves me exceedingly is that Margaret Maol, daughter of Aodh, son of Sean [O Broin] and noble wife of Rudhraighe Og O Mordha, has disgracefully been slain, and with her have been killed women, and boys, and humble folk, and people young and old, who according to all seeming, deserved not to be put to the sword. And Rudhraighe has burned Naas in Leinster, and Carlow, and Leighlin, before that incident and after, and many other places as well to avenge that murder and every other murder which the English committed against him.

Brian, son of Cathaoir Caomhanach, is in the chieffy of his own branch of the family, that is, Sliocht Diarmada Laimhdheirg. And not without reason is that so, for he payeth his rent to the Sovereign, and to every other English superior who is over him. Still there are very great and numerous persons who are his enemies, and I believe, were not the Ruler of the Universe and the Creator of the Elements protecting well him and his family, they would not be as they are.

Everybody we have spoken of thus far, and every misfortune they have suffered—and are suffering—may they get the reward of them, and I know not what shall be the end of their affairs.

I beseech the Saviour's mercy for the author of this book, Bernardus Gordonius, and for him who translated it into Irish, namely, Cormac Mac Duinnshleibhe, Bachelor in Medicine, and for him who wrote it here, namely, Corc Og O Cadhla. I am sad because of the poor quality of my paper, and the imperfection of the letters I set down. For I am unable to procure vellum ; nevertheless, I yet do not abandon hope of putting it down on good paper, if it be God's pleasure ; and may the assistant¹⁸ complete the fourth Particle ; anno salutis 1577.¹⁹ I would rather I had finished with thee, and that I were installed in some school of Medicine or of Learning, either here or on the yon side.

[The passages in our early authorities dealing with the massacre of Mullaghmast will be found

collected in O Donovan's edition of the Four Masters' Annals under the year 1577. There are apparently no references to it in the contemporary English documents. Our entry was made a few months after the event took place. It confirms the statement of the Latin annalist Dowling, who wrote about the year 1600, and whose account was the earliest known to O Donovan. Later the Annals of Loch Ce were discovered to have a description of the affair under date of 1567. But our MS. is older than even the last-mentioned compilation, and proves that the Four Masters' year—1577—is the correct one, and that there is no exaggeration in what Dowling briefly records in the following terms :

Moris mac Lasy mac Conyll, lord of Merggi, as he asserted, and successor of the baron of Omergi, with forty of his followers, after his confederation with Rory O More, and after a certain promise of protection, was slain at Mullaghmastyn, in the county of Kildare, the place appointed for it, by Master Cosby and Robert Harpoll, having been summoned there treacherously under pretence of performing service.

Harpool excused it that Moris had given villanous words, in the breach of his protection.²⁰

There was a prophecy current in Ireland regarding a fight to be fought at Mullaghmast one day between the English and the Irish. Stanyhurst records that the belief was that the battle would

be so bloody that a mill in a vale hard by would run four and twenty hours with the stream of blood that would pour down the hill. Whether this be mere fancy or not, our scribe makes the number murdered large enough to make a scene of horrible bloodshed. According to him, O More's followers numbered fifty-eight, and more, while we do not know how many hostages were hanged in addition. O Sullevan, in his *Historia Catholica*, says the slain amounted to one hundred and eighty.

Muirheartach O Mordha, who perished in this holocaust, was son of Laoighseach, who, according to Canon Carrigan,²¹ was slain in 1537 or 1538, and grandson of Conall O Mordha, chief of Laoighis, whose death is thus chronicled in Trinity College MS. H.4.31, page 98 : *aois an tiagharna an tan tesda Ua Morrdha .i. Conall mac Maeleachluinn um chaisg* 1536. His brother Domhnall is described as lord of Sliabh Mairge, or Slewmary, a district in the south-east corner of Queen's County, and was executed by the English in 1557. Muirheartach was first cousin of the chieftain Rudhraighe Og, who was also a grandson of Conall, through his father Rudhraighe Caoch, lord of Laoghis, slain in 1547 or 1548.²²

In the beginning of Elizabeth's reign Francis Cosby is described as "of Even," or "of Evyn" in the County of Kildare—that is, Monasterevan. He was sheriff of that county between the years 1559-63. In 1564 he was appointed sheriff for

the Queen's County, and in 1572 he was created Seneschal, with a sheriff to assist him. Meanwhile he had annexed extensive grants of property and lands, including the site of the friars' house of Stradbally, the advowson of Disertgallyn, in the diocese of Leighlin, the rectory of Kilcolmanbane, messuages in Maryborough, and tithes, advowsons and other rights, estimated value for what was in those days a great sum of money. The actual commission under which the massacre of Mullaghmast was carried out has survived. It is dated March 18, 1577, and runs as follows :

Commission to F. Cosby, seneschal of the Queen's County ; to follow and attack with fire and sword Rory Oge, the O Conors, and their company, and all other traitors and rebels in any place where they may be found ; and if need be to call together all the lords, seneschals, sheriffs, and other officers, *and the gentlemen and inhabitants of every shire he shall have occasion to travel through, and to command them to attend him, and where he shall find that rebels have been maintained or aided by any persons he may commit such to gaol or execute them by martial law at his discretion, and seize their goods to the use of the Crown.* ²³

Francis Cosby died before February 25, 1587, when livery was made to Alexander Cosby, of Stradbally, his son and heir.

Robert Harpool on whom our scribe lays the principal share of blame for the massacre of Muircheartach O Mordha and his followers, was

at this epoch constable of the castle of Carlow. He had a particular reason to have the lord of Slewmary out of the way. On June 5, 1576, under Queen's instructions, he was the recipient of great extents of lands in the lordship of Slewmary. The readiest way to enjoy these lands was to murder the rightful Irish master of the whole district. Students of Keating's *History of Ireland* will be interested to read that it was this Robert Harpool who by the same instrument came into possession of the advowson of the rectory and vicarage of Saint Fintan of Clonenagh in the diocese of Leighlin. Keating a number of times refers to a book of annals of Clonenagh now lost.

The scribe's remarks on the setting aside of the authority of the Roman Curia, and on the official banning of the Mass, are interesting as showing that an educated medical practitioner—and doubtless all those of his own attainments and standing—was quite well aware of what the religious changes meant at this comparatively early stage. The law which enforced the oath of Supremacy, and by consequence prohibited the celebration or the hearing of Mass, was passed in 1560. Cosby, with whom we have dealt above, was in his own district an early commissioner for the administration of the oath "to all justices of the peace, with the clerks and ministers thereof, and all town officers and other temporal ministers in the County Kildare." Some people have been simple-minded enough to argue that

clergymen who took the oath of Supremacy had not a clear idea of all its implications. If they are right, then there was a doctor of New Ross at the time who could have given the defaulters not a little instruction on one important matter of theology.

The next matter which engages the scribe's attention is the determined effort made to destroy the chieftain of Leix in 1577. Sidney notices this affair in a letter of November 26, in the Calendar of the State Papers, page 125. In an account of his services in Ireland rendered at a later date, the same authority speaks of this attack as follows :

Through Robert Harpoole I beset this [Rory Oge's] cabanish dwelling. The rebel had within it 26 of his best and most assured men, his wife and his marshal's wife, and Cormagh O Koner, an ancient and rank rebel . . . who returning to the vomit of his innate rebellious stomach, went to Rory Oge, and took part with him in his rebellion, and in that place and time was, by a man of mine called John Parker, killed. *There were also killed his wife and all his men ; only there escaped himself and his marshal, called Shane Mack Rorye Reogh, in truth miraculously, for they crope between the legs of the soldiers into the fastnesses of the plashes of trees.*²⁴

Bagwell, writing of this scene, almost with a crow of exultation, says that " one woman at least was spared."

Margaret Maol (the wife of Rudhraighe Og), who was slaughtered on this occasion, was sister to Fiach mac Hugh O Byrne, the leader of Glenmalure. The Annals of Loch Ce have a notice of the events we have been studying, and record the additional fact that two of Rudhraighe Og's sons were slain as well. See also O Sullivan, *Historia Catholica*, tome ii, bk. ii, ch. 5.

We have seen above that the scribe of our MS. recalls the burning of Naas, Carlow, and Leighlin, by Rudhraighe Og in the not very distant past. A well-known Irish letter addressed by William of Danubi [in which disguise we are to recognise the name *Uilliam O Dubhain*] to the great James FitzMaurice, then on the Continent, describes the very thorough burning of Naas—*ntor fhág Rudhraighe Og O Mórdha cleath ná sgolb i Nás Laighean*. This event is referred to in the State Papers in a letter of March 17, 1577, as follows :

Rory Oge O More and Cormack mac Cormack O Conor have burned the Naas. They ran through the town like hags and furies of hell, with flakes of fire fastened on poles' ends.

A writer in the *Kilkenny Archaeological Journal* for 1859, page 361, gives the following account of the events of this year :

Thady Dowling states in his Annals, A.D. 1577, that this Rory Oge burned Naas, Athy, Carlow, Leighlin Bridge, Rathcool, Tassagart, Kilbride, Ballymore, Kill, and Rathmore in

Leinster. He adds in English "whom the Irish rimers extol like him that burned the temple of Diana."

These are the attacks which the scribe has in mind when he speaks of the chief as avenging "every other murder which the English committed against him." Rudhraighe Og was ultimately slain at the hands of an Irishman, in 1578, Brian Og Mac Giollapadraig,²⁵ second Baron of Upper Ossory.

In the previous essay it was argued that it must have been by some mistake that two Leinster scribes referred to the translator of the *Lilium Medicinæ* as Cormac Ua Duinnshleibhe, instead of Cormac Mac Duinnshleibhe. The concluding words of the long note we have been considering confirm my contention, because the *mac*-form appears there. I may also draw attention to the following notices in a book containing medical treatises preserved in Trinity College, marked E.4.1, and belonging to the sixteenth century : *tairnig annsin Anatomia Gydo & Cormac Mac Duinnleibe do chuir a nGaedhilg i*, page 35 ; *tairnig annso libhar Gailterus do doisib na leigheas & Cormac Mac Duinnleibhi do cuir a nGaeidheilg. Finit*, page 309.

The final remark of the scribe, "I would rather I had finished with thee," is, of course, addressed to the MS. itself. The reference to the "yon side" I take to indicate the Gaelic Highlands of Scotland as a place where suitable employment might await an Irish physician.

Donnchadh Og O Conchubhair, who has been mentioned in earlier extracts, appears to have had Scottish connections. The complaint of the scribe that he was ill provided for the task of copying such a long work is repeated in many places in his book. A few sentences will be enough to quote here as a summary of the drawbacks under which he laboured: *is roolc mh'uraidh sgribhneoirechda*, "very bad is my guarantee of writing," fol. 136a; *bidh a fhis ag Dia gurob roolc an glés sgribhneoirechda so chum Lili*, .i. *drochairt & drochdhubh & peann maol & deithnes*, "let God be aware that this is a very bad equipment for transcribing the *Lily*, namely, bad paper, and bad ink, and a blunt pen, and haste," fol. 140a; *is olc do bhenuis an lebaidh focuis dim a meretrex*,²⁶ "it is ill thou hast taken from me the flock-bed, thou woman of easy virtue," fol. 102b. The last remark was most probably intended for the servant maid in the house, who had removed from the doctor's quarters his comfortable bed-tick.

Students of the history of the period we are dealing with will remember that Sir Henry Sidney's third term of office as Deputy came to an end in September, 1578. Our scribe had not then completed his MS., and he duly notes Sidney's approaching departure from the country. His removal was due to a whim of the Queen, who ought to have had more gratitude in the present case, for the Deputy was really, from the English point of view, a very efficient

governor. But Corc O Cadhla was innocent enough to believe that complaints from the Irish side moved Elizabeth's heart to remove an unpopular official. For he wrote :

Tairnig annsin an 5 particul maille grasaibh ²⁷
Dé a dtigh na Ronna a bfarradh Briain mic
Cathaoir agus Isibéle ingine Aodha mhic Seadhain
agus iarla Urmhumhan .i. Tomas mac Semuis a
Saxaibh agus iarla Chilli dara .i. Geroid ann fos
a bfarradh na Bainrioghan .i. Elizabeth agus
giusdis na hErenn .i. Sir Henri Sitni ar ti
imthechda soir agus a cuig no a 6 do fhesaibh on
mbhainrioghain ar a chenn diaigh i ndiaigh agus
adeirid drong do dhaoinibh co ndechoidh geran
romhor o Ghallaibh agus o Ghaoidhealaibh na
hEirenn air, an med bhenus re hiarla Urmhumh-
an agus re hiarla Chilli dara dibh, agus o mhoran
do mhaithibh na hErenn mailli riu. Agus dom
dhoigh anfaid thoir no co ndecha san soir.

Ailim trocaire an duilemhan don ti do
thrachd an lepar so .i. Bernardus Gordonius, agus
dfhir a churtha a nGaeidheilg .i. Cormac O
Duinnshleibhi, agus dfhir a scribhtha annsa
drochcairt so .i. Corc Og O Cadhla, agus gach
aon leighfes an leabhar tabhradh a bhennachd
ar anmanna in trir sin, anno Domini 1578.

TRANSLATION

There hath finished the fifth Particle, by the
grace of God, in Teagh na Ronna, in the house
of Brian, son of Cathaoir, and of Isabella, daughter

of Aodh, son of Seaan. And the Earl of Ormond, Thomas, son of James, is in England, and Gerald, Earl of Kildare, is there also, with Queen Elizabeth. And the Lord Justice of Ireland, Sir Henry Sidney, is about to go over, and he hath had in succession five or six missives²⁸ from the Queen summoning him there. And some say a severe complaint has been made against him by the English and the Gaels of Ireland (by those of them who side with the Earl of Ormond and the Earl of Kildare), and by many of the nobles of Ireland also. And in my opinion they (the afore-said Earls) will remain beyond until he goes over.

I beseech the mercy of the Creator for the man who compiled this book, namely, Bernardus Gordonius ; and for the man who translated it into Irish, namely, Cormac O Duinnshleibhe ; and for him who transcribed it in this bad paper, namely, Corc Og O Cadhla. And every one who shall read this book, let him bestow a blessing on the souls of those three. Anno Domini 1578.

Sir Henry Sidney left the country in due time. The complaints of the Irish gentry had nothing to do with his going, nor did his services in Ireland carry with him on this occasion much recommendation to his royal mistress. " I passed the seas," he says, " and came into England. . . . At the Court I was not entertained so well as I deserved. The arch-rebel whom I brought, you know by whom he was countenanced. He was enlarged and sent home, to my small credit.

I was accompted *servus inultis*." But though accounted an unuseful servant, Sidney had made his impression on the Irish of the time, and it remained in after ages. Sir John Perrot was subjected to a similar humiliation before the reign ended.

The entry at folio 157b was unfortunately never completed. It runs thus :

Tairnic annsin an 6 partigul do thoil Christ an 28 la do mhi Augustus. Agus a Lis Aillecain do crichnaighid agus a dtoigh na Ronna do tindsinadh.

Scela mora maille——

TRANSLATION

There hath finished the sixth Particle, by the will of Christ, the twenty-eighth day of the month of August. And in Lissaligan it has been completed, and in Tinnaranny it was begun.

Great events with——(*breaks off*).

Lissaligan here mentioned is in the County of Carlow. Fiant of Elizabeth No. 1477, which has the following notices, helps to identify and locate it :

Pardon to Barnaby or Bryen m'Cahyr m'Art Kevanagh, of Knocken, County Carlow.
Art m'Cahyr m'Art Kevanagh, of Ballybrenagh, and
Cahyr m'Moriertagh Kevanagh, of Cowrynellan, same county, gentlemen.

Diermod m'Cahyr Kevanagh, of Polmonty.
 Tirrelagh m'Cahyr, of the same.
 Chryhen m'Cahyr, of Ballynebarny, and
 Moriertagh m'Cahyr, of *Lysalakan, County*
Carlow, gentleman.

In a grant of date September 3, 1593, the place is thus referred to : "half of Lissalican, parcel of the lands of Maurice m'Dermot m'Cahir Cavenaghe, late of Pollemonto, attained."

The last entry in our MS. which I have noted runs:

FINIS PER ME CORCUM.

NOTES.

1. Mackinnon : *Catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts*, 275.
2. H.4.31, page 98.
3. Fiant of Elizabeth, No. 4036, of date 1582.
4. John fitz James, or, as he is frequently styled, Sir John of Desmond, was apprehended by Drury, president of Munster, about April 24, 1577. His release coincided with an agreement made between the Government and his brother, the Earl, and noted in a letter of January 27, 1578.
5. Sidney's official title was that of Lord Deputy. He was removed in 1578, and two lords justices then held office for about one year each, Sir William Drury, and Sir William Pelham.
6. It has been already noted that the translator's name appears in our MSS. as O Duinnshleibhe as well as Mac Duinnshleibhe. The latter is the more correct form, and appears in MSS. of the fifteenth century.
7. These words are added between the lines.
8. Read dheagmhaiseach.
9. MS. an.
10. This word is added between the lines.
11. The MS. reads agus toideachd. The note was, of course, not revised. The meaning is that a general order was issued

that all unmanageable and troublesome gentry should come for a common parley with the English.

12. The MS. reads *dodim* with *t* above the third letter.

13. The MS. reads as *a*. The correction is made certain by numerous other documents showing that Rudhraighe Og burned Naas at this time. O Mellan's Irish for Naas is *an tAs*.

14. MS. *agus* is *fos*, with *is* erased.

15. *na ndul* is between the lines.

16 MS. *charrtaach*.

17. The figure 8 is erased and underdotted between the two 7's. Of course the year was 1577 or 1578, as the date was prior to March 25.

18. The "assistant" may refer to God; or it may refer to some pupil working under the scribe's direction.

19. See the note on the text; the year 1577-8 is meant.

20. Butler's edition, published by the Irish Archaeological Society in 1849, page xxi. The last sentence, O Donovan remarks, were added by some English partisan.

21: *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, ii. 393.

22. These alternatives are given by Canon Carrigan, *op. cit.* But the MS. just cited has this entry following: *aois an tiagharna an tan thesda a mhac sin Rughruidh Caoch mac Conuill*, 1545.

23. Fiant of Elizabeth, No. 2997.

24. *Calendar of the Carew Papers* (1583), 354.

25. This was the playmate of young Edward VI of England, "his dearest and most beloved Barnabe."

26. The Irish word *focuis* is borrowed from Mid. Eng. *fokkis*, "flocks"; compare the following from the Act of Parlt. of ii Henry VII, ch. 19: "fedderbeddes, bolsters and pillows made of . . . flokkis and feders togidre." The Irish borrowing appears also in the *Life of Columcille*, page 410: *as si fa locais do .i. carruic cloiche* & *as cloch eli fa cerchaill do.* "the rock of stone was his flocks, and another stone was his pillow."

27. MS. *grasaaihbh*.

28. This use of the word *fios* corresponds exactly to that of the Welsh *gwys*, "summons." It survives still in the phrase *fios do chur ar*, "to send for."

* WHO WILL BUY MY POEM?

A CHAPTER of Irish history which ought to be carefully studied by all workers in the cause of the Irish language is that dealing with the means adopted by the English to stamp out native literary culture. Readers of Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland* will remember the terms of bitterness wherein he castigates what he calls the lewd Irish rhymers who, according to him, were in part responsible for the disloyalty of so many of the Gaelic and semi-Gaelic aristocracy. The policy was to get rid of all such persons by the severities of martial law. It is only in these days when the workmanship of the Irish bards is beginning to come to light, that the savagery of Spenser's counsels, and of the policy of the Elizabethans here, can be studied in its proper setting. We have evidence enough of this policy on the English side ; but it is not often that we find the condition to which the literary caste were reduced by the horrors of the time described in the writings of the poets themselves. Hence the following short piece written about 1579, and bringing out well the poor plight of the bards as a result of the atrocities practised against them, ought to be of interest. It has never been published before.¹

There are two transcripts of this poem in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Both were

1. But see a summary in English, and two short extracts, in Hyde, *Literary History of Ireland*, pp. 473, 474.

derived from the Poem-book of Aodh, son of Seaan, O Broin, or Hugh mac Shane O Byrne, which MS. has somehow or other found its way to a Chicago library, and photographs of which are now in Dublin. The book was written by Brian, son of Toirrdhealbhach, Mac Giollapádraig, a near relative of the Baron of Upper Ossory. He was ordained priest in 1610, was the author of a few poems, and transcribed part of another MS. in 1614. The Poem-book of Aodh, son of Seaan, O Broin, was written in Castle-town, in Ossory, one of the chief strongholds of the Mac Giollapádraig family, seated on the river Nore, not far from Mountrath, Queen's County. This appears from the following note, which occurs at the bottom of folio 12 : *a mBaile an Caisleain a nOsruidhe aniu dham a ttiogh Sheuin mhic Finghin mic Briain mic Briain Mic Giollapadraig an seisedh lá do Mhaius anno Domini 1622.* The later history of the scribe may be read in Canon William Carrigan's *History of the Diocese of Ossory*, i, 113-4. He became Vicar-Apostolic in 1651, on the death of David Rothe, and was martyred by the Cromwellians about two years afterwards.

I give the text of the Nine-verse Poem in Roman type, indicating a few necessary additions by means of italics. The historical notes which here follow will make the poem more intelligible.

The main, or senior, branch of the O Byrnes of Wicklow was represented in the first half of Queen Elizabeth's reign by Tadhg Óg O Broin.

He died in 1578, and his successor, the last inaugurated chieftain, died in 1580. This senior branch occupied Críoch Bhranach, or "O Byrnes Country" proper, that is, the barony of Newcastle, on the coast of County Wicklow, and the adjoining part of the barony of Arklow. But of much greater power and importance at this era was the junior sept of the family known as Gabhal Raghnaill, the O Byrnes Ranellagh, whose estates lay in the baronies of Ballinacor, and whose principal stronghold was Baile na Corra, which gave name to these baronies. It was to this latter sept that Aodh, son of Seaan, O Broin, who is addressed in the poem, belonged.

The distinction between the two branches explains the words in stanza 2, where the O Byrnes of Críoch Bhranach are reproached with timidity before the English, while in later lines in the piece the family of Aodh mac Seaain, that is Gabhal Raghnaill, is praised for its disregard of English proclamations against the bardic order.

The independence of these septs was quite well known to the Elizabethan officials. For instance, in 1566 Francis Agard was appointed to the office of seneschal and chief ruler of O Byrnes Country (=Críoch Bhranach), and the countries of Culraynell (=Gabhal Raghnaill), the Ferter (=Fir Tíre, whence the name of the river Vartry), Fercullyn (=Fir Cualann), Glancapp, and Omaylle (=Ui Máil, Imaile), with all accustomed profits of the office except such as shall be assigned to Tege oge O Byrne, claiming to be

chief of that name. In this grant we see the two districts of the main families of the O Byrnes kept apart, and recognition by way of compensation was only accorded to the senior line. Naturally Aodh, son of Seaan, and his son Fiacha after him, had a good deal to say in the upsetting of this paper confiscation.

The earliest reference to the elder of these men in the Fiants of Elizabeth is under date of January 22, 1563: "pardon to Hugh m'Shane m'Redmonde, of Ballecor, Feaghe m'Hughe, his son." Again, December 2, "pardon to Hugh m'Shane, of Ballenecor. . . . Feagh m'Hughe m'Shane m'Remon gent. . . . and all others aiding the said Hugh m'Shane in the capture and detention of George Harvey and Henry Davells, gentlemen (=freebooters)"; May 8, 1567, "pardon to Hugh m'Shane, of Colranyll, county Dublin, gent., Feaghe m'Hughe, of Ballinacorin, same co., gent."; April 4, 1569, "pardon to Hugh m'Shane, of Ballenecorr, Feaghe m'Hughe m'Shane, of Balleneclashogue (=Ballinaclash)"; February 16, 1573, "pardon to Hugh m'Shane, of Ballynecor of Cowlranyl, gent., Feagh m'Hough, his son, Edmond m'Shane, his brother, Gerald m'Shane, his brother."

The death of Aodh mac Seain mic Remuinn I Bhroin is entered in the Irish annals under the year 1579, and those of Loch Cé specially emphasize his nobility and his hospitality.

In the same year, on November 23, Sir Henry Harrington was appointed seneschal and chief

ruler of O Byrnes Country, and the other districts above mentioned. Among instructions given to him on his appointment were the following :

“Heshall make proclamation that no idle person, vagabond or masterless man, *bard, rymor, or other notorious malefactor*, remain within the district on pain of whipping after eight days, and *of death* after twenty days.

He shall apprehend those who support such, and seize their goods, certifying the same to the lord deputy.”

In the neighbouring district of county Kildare in 1571 a commission was issued to Gerald, earl of Kildare, and Piers fitz James, of Ballysonnon, to execute martial law in the county :

“They are also to punish *by death*, or otherwise as directed, *harpers, rhymers, bards*, idlemen, vagabonds, and such horseboys as have not their master’s bill to show whose men they are.”

Finally, as illustrating the tone of the poem following, the conditions imposed in a grant of the year 1588 (March 20) are instructive. The document has reference to a different part of the country, but the general policy was the same throughout the island :

“To John Kearnan,¹ gent., the office of seneschal

1. Teallach Dúnochadha was the name of a Connacht people represented in the sixteenth century mainly by the family of Mac Tighearnáin, M’Kearnan, Kearnan, or, as it is now commonly written, Kiernan. The sept name was, in the course of time, transferred to the country which they occupied, the district now known as the barony of Tullyhunco, in the west

of the territory of Upper Talconchoe [=Tullyhunco], alias the Kearnan's Country in county Cavan : with power to raise the inhabitants and command them for the defence of the territory, the public weal of the inhabitants, and the punishment of malefactors ; to prosecute, banish, and punish by all means malefactors, rebels, vagabonds, *rymors*, *Irish harpers*, *bards*, *bentules*, *carrowes*, idlemen, and women, and those who assist such."

We may now approach the text of the piece, to which is here appended a prose English version :

of county Cavan. John Kearnan, above, belonged to this family. He is first described as a "clerk," that is, cleric, of Newtown, by Trim, in co. Meath. I take it he was a renegade priest or monk of either St. Peter's or St. John's, Newtown. In 1575 (Sept. 2) he appears as under sheriff in Westmeath, his principal being Thomas mac Riccard Tute, of Sonnagh. In 1582 he is described as "of Perslyeston, clerk," that is, Parcelstown, in the same district. On April 10, 1586, he was pardoned for holding the office of under sheriff for more than one year consecutively, contrary to the statutes 28 and 42 Edw. III. His next appearance of importance was in connection with the grant in the text. There was no welcome for sheriffs or seneschals in such a district as Tullyhunco, even though they might be of the native breed. The appointment was not repeated, and John Kearnan, gent., was next transferred to the office of clerk of the Pleas of the Exchequer, October 30, 1590. There is no account of him after September 9, 1595, when his successor in this post was appointed. As confirming the conjecture that this placeman was a cleric, it should be said that pervert clergy were among the first to anglicize their names at the epoch in question.

SEUN MHAC RUAIDHRÍ UÍ UIGINN C.C.

Cia chennchus adhmat naoí rann
da bhfaghadh connra ann súd
ar Laighnibh ciarbh ard¹ a ttesd
dom aithne² as cruaidh an chesd úd

Asé fregra Branach oirn
ná cluintior ocht roinn na naoí
go dul Sagsanach tar sál³
ní dhíolfham *do dhán* ná laoi

Fine Tuathail na ndúas ttrom
anois ní thiurdís bonn bán
go gcuirid suas do shidh Gall
ar luach fhichit marg do dhán

Caomhanuigh cerbh fhoraois chliar x
ré neach diobh ní fhuil mo shúil
fer cennuigh adhmuit naoí rann
do ghuais Ghall ní haithne dhúin

Da siobhlainn níor dhóigh mo dhíol
fuil Geraltach na ngníomh nard⁴
go síol Mórdha nár dhiúlt draoi
le hadhmad beg na naoi rann.

Cuigedh Laighion na mac riogh
usaide diol mo naoi rann
do derbhadh dhúin deimhin scél
go bhfuil frémh⁵ don oiníoch ann

1. Manuscript readings: aird. 2. aithné.
3. sáil. 4. nárd. 5. freimh.

WHO WILL BUY MY POEM ?

Fer nach umhal do nós Gall
Aodh mhac Seaáin⁶ is ard gnaoi
os air do chuirios mo chrann
lé hadhmat ocht rann no naoí

Saorlennán scoile chláir Cuinn
Aodh mhac Seaáin⁶ nár thuill⁷ béim
mo naoi roinn chuige da ttríall
lentar lé coin a fiadh séin

Acht ua Remuinn thuillios bladh
ní haithnidh dam thoir na thiar⁸
neach lé cennach *mo* naoi rann
ma ta ann⁹ ní fhedar cia.

C.I.A.

[*Translation.*]

SEAAN* SON OF RUAIDHRI O HUIGINN CECINIT

Who buyeth a piece of nine verses,
Even though he get the purchase thereof?
To the men of Leinster, though high their repute,
I know that is a difficult question.

The answer the O Byrnes make us is :
“ Let not verses, eight or nine, be heard ;
Until the Sasanachs have retired oversea
We shall pay for neither poem nor lay.”

6. Seuin. 7. thuil. 8. thiair. 9. ní ann.

* In the literary language this word for “John” is always dissyllabic, but the scribes frequently shorten it to suit the current pronunciation of their time and ours. See, for example, stanzas 7 and 8 in the poem, where in each case the writing makes the lines one syllable short. The earliest spelling is *Seoán*. The name, of course, was derived from Norman-French.

The O Tooles, who [of yore] did heavily bestow,
 now would not vouchsafe a bright groat-piece—
 They so submit to the Englishmen's peace—
 for twenty marks' worth of a poem.

The Kavanaghs, once the minstrels' hunting-ground,
 Of one of them I have not the least expectation :
 A man to purchase a piece of nine verses
 I know not—so great is fear of Foreigners.

Blood of the Geraldines, of mighty deeds,
 Were I to visit, my payment were unlikely,
 Or the O Mores, who ne'er refused a bard,
 For a poor trifle of nine verses.

But in the Fifth of Leinster's junior stock—
 And more easily thereby I sell my nine verses—
 I have been told, and 'tis a certainty,
 There is a single root of hospitality.

He who never bowed to Foreigners' custom,
 Hugh mac Shane, of comeliness renowned :
 It is with him I have tried my fortune
 With a piece in verses eight or nine.

To the beloved of the bards of Conn's plain,
 Hugh Mac Shane, who ne'er merited reproach :
 I am directing my nine verses—
 The hound chases its own quarry.

Except Remunn's grandson, who earneth fame,
 I know not towards the east or west
 One to purchase my verses nine :
 If such there be, I know not who he is.

Who.

Of Seaan mhac Ruaidhri Ui Uiginn, the author of the verses, nothing is known for certain. However, within the period 1580-90, there was a poet named Seaan mhac Ruaidhri Oig Ui Uiginn, who addressed a poem to Cuchonnacht Maguidhir, the chieftain of Fermanagh, who died in 1589. It may have been the same person who wrote both pieces.

That the praise bestowed on Hugh mac Shane above for his patronage of the poets is not extravagant will appear from a bare list of names appearing in his Poem-book already referred to. Professor Thomas O Rahilly has identified a number of them in the series of Fiant documents, Edward VI-Elizabeth.

1. Donnchadh O Muirghiosa.

2. Fearghal, son of Tomas Mac Eochadha, of Donard, in County Wicklow, pardoned April 16, 1549.

3. Doighre O Dalaigh. His son, Aonghus mac Doighre Í Dhalaigh, is described as of Pallis, in the north of County Wexford.

4. Giolla na Naomh Mac Eochadha. He is probably mentioned in a Fiant of date May 28, 1598.

5. Seaan, son of Fearghal Mac Eochadha.

6. Fear gan ainm Mac Eochadha, described as of Pallis, above mentioned. This poet was the author of Hugh mac Shane's *caithréim*, or Battle-Roll. In this case, and others above, the poet's surname was what we now call McKeogh or Keogh.

7. A person named Mac Casarlaigh. This name does not appear to occur anywhere near the O Byrne country. He was, probably, an itinerant bard, like several others whose work appears in the Books of Hugh mac Shane and Fiach mac Hugh.

8. The great poet of county Sligo, Tadhg Dall O Huiginn, whose patrons were scattered over three provinces.

In modern times the fame of Hugh mac Shane O Byrne has been eclipsed by that of "the firebrand of the mountains," his renowned son Fiach mac Hugh. But as a matter of fact the father was in his day not a less noted man. One of the most striking pieces dedicated to him enumerates the districts and castles against which at one time or another he carried war. I have not so far noticed any reference to Hugh mac Shane's wife. He had had besides Fiach a large number of other sons. Two of his daughters were married to celebrated Leinster gentlemen : Isabella was the wife of Brian Caomhanach, or Kavanagh, son of Cathaoir, son of Art, head of the family of that name in the county of Carlow, and possessed of Graiguenamanagh and other places in the barony of Idrone ; while Margaret was the wife of the celebrated Rudhraighe Og O Mordha, and was disgracefully slain, with a number of boys, women and children, by a party of English at the instance of lord deputy Sidney in 1577.¹

1. See for both these ladies *I. E. Record*, March, 1923, pp. 240-4.

English writers represent both Hugh mac Shane and Fiach mac Hugh as diabolical semi-barbarians, without a particle of culture, and almost altogether employed in the periods of their sway with descents from wild places on the peaceful Pale districts ; but in truth the literary relics of the age show that they were men of quite a different stamp from what Elizabethan captains represented them. They were of the best blood of Leinster, and shared with all the Gaelic aristocracy in the literary possessions and traditions of the Gaelic race. The implacable hatred with which they were pursued by the Castle deputies and their lieutenants was due in the first place to the many smashing victories of father and son over the English, and in the second to the fact that they were able to maintain themselves in Glenmalure against all comers almost to the end of the Queen's reign.

THE FRIARS AT PRAGUE PROTEST AGAINST A CALUMNY.

[*Copied in St. Isidore's, Rome, July, 1920. by
Dr. Patrick O'Neill, Maynooth.*]

A ATHAIR ONÓRAIGH,

As cóir dhúinn do réir comhairle an eaccnuighe curam do bheith againn far nainm agus far cclú. Da brígh sin atamaoid da chur síos díbhse maille ré hosnadhaibh troma, agus ré doilgheas intinne an timdheargadh do fúair an coimhthionól beannaigh-se. Óir ata ar cclú ar na spotadh, agus ar na dubhadh a cconveint Lobháin, agus ní fuil amhrus go mbía mar an cceudna an Éirinn, do brígh nách bfuil iomrádh nó sgél fábhail ar bith bias annsin nach ccluinfidhthear gan mhoill sa bprovinsi, ó luas teangtha na ndaoine léarab usa nóta do chur ar locht da lughat na ar mhaith da méad. Do lotadh sinne go trom, agus dob usaide sin da madh áonduine amháin do gon-faidhe (biodh nar maith linn sin féin) da madh áonbhall amháin don chorp do leónfaidhe, muna beith an corp uile dá ghearradh. Do dhéanmaois foighide re lot an chuirp féin, da madh escara do loitfeadh sinn ; gidheadh as truagh agus as olc linn ar ndearbraithre dar ngonadh. Do tuic-ceamar as litreachaibh aithreach Lobháin, go spéisialta ó dhís acu, gurab é meas atá ar an áitse nach bfuil innte acht táibherne photairidhe

mar¹ nach [bful] dexersís againn acht na copáin ; agus da brígh sin do bheirid comhairle uatha as an áit sin dona braithribh tainicc annso ar ccomhlúadar do sheachna amhail dhaoíne ata ar ar salcadh re lubhra na pótaireachta. Go dimhin as críonna an chomhairle sin da mbeith si deisceideach nó carthanach : óir do ba córa an locht do chíd na súile linxamhla úd ata a bfad uainn, agus nach bfaicmíd féin ata do láthair, do chur a ccéill duachtarán éiccin do chuirfeadh ceirín ar an ccneidh ina beith da sgríobhadh cum brathar príváideach, óir ní mar sin do ordaigh XR riaghail na carthanachta. Cuirfeam chugaibh ann so na briathra do sgríobhadh sna litribh réamráite, ionnus gurab móide do thuicfeadh sibh méad na heccóra do rinneadh orainn. Ag so mar sgríobhas an chéad litir aca. *Do mhoth-aigheas ar daoineibh áiridhe ann sin fonn do beith aca chun copán agus seachainse iad* (le brathair áiridhthe do bí ag labhairt) *mar an phlaigh an mhéid gur daoíne don tsortsin iad*. Níor lór leis an dara fear a sgríobhadh go bful daoíne áiridhthe mar sin againn, muna nabradh go bful an coimhthionól uile amhlaidh : óir as mar so sgríobhus chum bráthar eile. *Tibi soli* (ar se) *atá amuigh ar an áit sin ina bful tú nách bful áit do bheagaibh as mó dtol óil agus dighe ina i*. *Ataimse ag iarradh ortsas as ucht Dé etca a samhail sin do ccomhlúadar do seachna agus gan an áit aga mbeith se da dhéanamh do tháobhadh, etca*. Ag so, (a Athair) an ní do gluais sinne go romhór :

¹ *ms.* amhail mar.

agus biodh nach bfuilmíd ag iarradh dioghaltais, ar a shon sin atamaóid ag iarradh cirt inar masla .i. aissiocc inar cclú, biodh gur baoghlach linn gur deacair sin do thabhairt dhúinn má cuireadh an chúis go publide orainn. Agus as córaide an taisioccosa diarradh, nach mór gur mó an mhasla fuaramarne ina sibhse féin, óir do ba cóir don pastúir an tréd do bhí ag morgadh (más fíor dona sgelaibhsi) do cheartughadh. Uime sin iarrmaóid ar son Dé oraibh leighios do chuir ar an ccúis si, amhail ata dfiachaibh oraibh mar mheasamaoid ; agus ma tamaoidne ciontach, ceartaighthear sinn mar as dual : muna bfuilmid (mar as dearbh nach bfuilmid) ceartaighthear lucht an mhurmuir, agus tugthar orra a clú agus a honóir daisiocc don coimhthionol-sa ara roibh agus ara bfuil meas maith, acht an mhéid do beanadh dhi anos go héaccorach. Ma sccrudthar an chúis as uras an mhuintir do scríobh an litir dfagail amach. Ata súil againn go sáibheolaidh sibh ar cclú na agus bhur nonóir féin sa bpunca. Lór. as Prága 6 Martii 1641.

Rdi. adm. Patris Humillimi filii et servi

Fr. Patritius a Sta Maria.

Fr. Franciscus Ferral O.F.M.

Fr. Ioannes Barnewall.

Fr. Bernardus Coffey (?).

A LETTER OF JOHN MAC SOLLY

THE ORIGINAL of the letter printed and translated in the following pages will be of interest, not only as being from the pen of a good Irish scholar, but also as making a very probable allusion to the imprisonment of an Archbishop of Dublin. It is bound into the MS. marked 23M₄, in the Royal Irish Academy. It has not, to my knowledge, been published before. A few words of explanation regarding the writer, the addressee, and the personal and other references in it, will be necessary.

John Mac Solly, the writer, was a native of county Meath, and resided in Harmanstown, in the parish of Stackallen. He cultivated Irish literature, not, however, as an original author. He is known as a diligent copier of MSS., and as a friend of Tadhg O Neachtain, the lexicographer. The latter was a son of Sean O Neachtain, the poet, and spent a considerable number of years in the city of Dublin, where he commemorated his literary acquaintances in a piece of twenty-six stanzas. Mac Solly he speaks of as follows :

An Solamh sochma Seaán na searc
a Thoigh Calláin thaoibhe Teamhrach
cuim is sciath is tearmon dil
fhritil arsaidh mhacaibh Míleadh

(Calm Mac Solly, John the beloved, from Stackallen, in Tara's neighbourhood, protector and

shield and faithful guard of the ancient speech of the sons of Mil.)

The two men were joint scribes of a MS. which Edward O Reilly was in possession of in 1830. Of another MS. containing the *History of Emonn O Cleire*, by Sean O Neachtain, it is stated that, "the first part of this copy was transcribed by John Mac Solly, a famous scribe, who lived early in the eighteenth century at Ballyhardiman, in the parish of Stackallen, on the banks of the Boyne, between Navan and Slane, in the county of Meath." He made copies of Keating's *History of Ireland*, and of the later version of the tale of the Battle of Ros na Riogh, the former in 1713 and the latter in 1716. That he was interested in religious works may be shown from the fact that he transcribed the *Spiritual Mirror on the Beginning and End of Human Life*, compiled by Thomas Mac Gabhrain, a Franciscan, and that his signature is found in the printed copy of Mac Aingil's *Mirror of the Sacrament of Penance* in the Library of Maynooth. The letter proves that he was acquainted with medical books as well. Though his handwriting is not elegant he copied accurately enough, considering the opportunities he had, and the times in which he lived.

Baile Hardaman. Ian. 28, 1718.

A CHARAID IONMHUIN,

Atá dúil agam go bfuil tú sásaidh leis an leabhar leighis óir do bhí an t-ógánach a thug

damh é annso dia Domhnaigh agus dfáig sé mo leabhar féin agam agus adeir sé go bfuil dearbh-ráthair dhó ro-thinn agus nach bféachann sealbhadóir an leabhair sin dó go bfuighe sé an leabhar ar ais. Chuir misi leabhar oile chuige dféachain nár shásuigh é go ttiucfaidh an leabhar sin. Guidhim thú fa n-a chur a n-ordadh comh maith agus is feidir leat a modh nach croneóbhaidh sé é agus cuir anuas é comh doith agus is féidir leat. Na dearmoid Seathrún do chur chugam agus an t-abhrán do sgríobh Proinnsias Doibhlín. Tabhair mo sheirbhís do Ghearóid Mac Conmidhe agus do Shéamus O Fearghail agus innis dóibh gur fada liom go bfaicim gach ar gheall siad dhamh. Chuir mé saothar Mheic Cearchair chuca mar aon leis an litir so agus abhrán Bhriste na Bóinne roimhe sin. Ma tá spéis agad ionnta gheabhair ag Gearóid iad. Madh chualaidh tú ní ar bioth fam dhochtur cuir sgéala chugam óir is fada liom go ccluiniom uaidh agus is ro-fhada liom go bfhagam do sgéala féin. A ndóigh go bfuil an tsláinte agad féin agus ag do chúram go léir mar atá agam-sa do láthair glóir mhór do Dhia dá cheann gabham mo chead agad.

Od charaid bhithdhílis go héug.

SEON MAC SOLAIDH.

Fiafraigh an bfuair Gearóid an t-abhrán agus muna bfuighe sé é romhad tabhair chuige é.

ffor Mr. Richd. Tupper in
Michillstown near Dublin

THIS.

[*Translation.*]

HARMANSTOWN, Jan. 28, 1718.

DEAR FRIEND,

I hope you have finished with the Book of Medicine, because the young man who gave it to me was here on Sunday, and left me my own book ; and he says that his brother is very ill, and that the owner of the Book of Medicine will not give treatment to him until he gets it back. I sent him another to try instead ; but it did not satisfy him in the absence of that book which you have. I beseech you to arrange it in order as well as you can so that he shall not miss it, and send it down as soon as you are able. Do not forget to send me Geoffrey [Keating] and the song which Francis Devlin wrote. Give my service to Garret Macnamee and to James O Farrell, and tell them I am longing to see all they have promised me. I have sent them Mac Carragher's work with this letter, and the Song of the Rout of the Boyne before that. If you have any interest in these you will get them with Garret. If you have heard anything about my Doctor send me news, for I am wishing to hear of him, and I am very desirous to get intelligence of yourself. Hoping yourself and all your family are in good health, as I am at present—great glory to God for it—I take my leave of you.

From your friend ever-faithful to death.

JOHN MACSOLLY.

A LETTER FROM JOHN MAC SOLLY

Ask if Garret got the song, and if he does not get it before you, bring it to him.

For Mr. Richd. Tupper in
Mitchelstown, near Dublin,

THIS.

From the letter we learn that it was the practice of the scribes to pass MSS. from one to another, and so copies were multiplied, and their own reading became more extensive. Of course, it will be understood that we have not now all the work which they left at their deaths. The names of many men who studied in this way are altogether unknown, and old books have perished by the score in the course of years. We cannot guess what Book of Medicine Mac Solly was anxious about when he wrote ; but such reading material in Irish was abundant. He had himself borrowed the volume from a practitioner of some kind. The latter refused to attend to a patient until he should recover possession of it, notwithstanding the fact that Mac Solly had supplied him with another. What he means by asking Tupper to put the missing copy in order so that the owner may not miss it we cannot say. He goes on to request him to send him a copy of Keating, perhaps that author's *History of Ireland*, and also a song by Francis Devlin. This Francis Devlin was a priest, and addressed a short piece to Garret Macnamee, who is next mentioned in the missive. Macnamee was a native of some place in county

Meath. James O Farrell we hear of from Tadhg O Neachtain, already referred to :

O Fearghail fa dheóigh Séamus seang
a crích Longphortach aird Eireann

James O Farrell the graceful, from
the high land of Longford in Erin.

He wrote some folios, now in the British Museum, in 1711. There were other scribes later named O Farrell. Of MacCarragher nothing is known. The Doctor might be Dr. Edmund Byrne, Archbishop of Dublin from 1707 to 1723, who was arrested, and subsequently admitted to bail in the early part of 1718.¹ Dr. Byrne was a friend of the O Neachtains, and they compiled a lengthy elegy in Irish on his death. We are in the dark as to what piece on the Battle of the Boyne Mac Solly had transmitted to Garret Macnamee.

Richard Tupper or Tipper, to whom the letter was addressed, lived at Mitchelstown, in the parish of Castleknock, in the county of Dublin. He has left a considerable body of MSS., which are now divided between Dublin and the British Museum. The earliest known to Mr. Robin Flower is dated 1709, and contains Lives of Saints and

1. "All the Catholics of that kingdom were thrown into the greatest consternation by the arrest of the Archbishop of Dublin and some of his priests and religious through malice of a Spanish Jew who, feigning himself a Catholic priest, deceived that prelate, and then denounced him to the Government. All the prisoners had already been set at liberty on giving security to appear when called on."—*Spicilegium Ossoriense*, iii, 131.

other religious matter. A collection of tales in his handwriting was completed in 1713, while Edward O'Reilly was in possession of a MS. made by him in 1742. Perhaps his most ambitious effort is the incomplete transcript of the *Book of Ballymote*, which is now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and runs to no less than 622 pages. It bears the dates 1727 and 1728. Edward O'Reilly, speaking of its contents, says, that "to the industry of Tipper, the Irish scholar and antiquarian is indebted for many copies of ancient MSS., which he made from originals that are either not extant, or are locked up in libraries from the public." Tipper left no Irish composition of his own.

In transcribing the letter printed above no change of importance has been made. In the place-name at the top the original, by an oversight, omits the final *n*. I have no doubt O is similarly omitted in the name O Doibhlin, which name is given as O Doimhleinn in an extract in Mr. Flower's *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*. The work just mentioned is the principal authority for the notes here given. Use has also been made of *Gadelica*, Vol. I, where Tadhg O Neachtain's poem is edited and of Edward J. Gwynn's *Catalogue of the Irish MSS. in T.C.D., Dublin*.

We know but a part of the activities of the poets and scholars of the period following the Battle of the Boyne. It is only when the Academy collections, and others preserved elsewhere, have

been explored that a fair judgment can be formed of the services rendered by them to native learning. Under the shadow of the Penal Laws they continued the tradition of the literary caste. The wonder is that at such a time anyone at all should care about books of any kind. Yet, original compositions in prose and verse went on, and versions were made from Latin and Continental literature. The contents of the old vellums, too, were transmitted, added to and developed, and, as in earlier crises, the spirit of Irish tradition and letters was kept alive. For this their share of credit and acknowledgement is due to Mac Solly and Tipper, to the others mentioned, and to many of their kind in the length and breadth of Ireland.

Go gcuire Dia rath orainn
uile agus ar ár
saothar



INDEX

[NOTE: *Family names are indexed under the initia of the patronymic, not under the prefix O, Ua or Mac.*]

- Achadh mic Airt, 143, 153.
Adamstown, *Baile Adhaimh*, 13.
Aingil, Aodh Mac, 53 sqq, 96 sqq.
Aodha, An t-Ath Padraic Oh-, 65.
Aodha, Cormac Mac, 68.
Aodha, Flaithbertach Mac, 67
— Seadhan óg Mac, 67.
— Brian Mac, 67.
Aodhagáin, Flann Mac, 77.
Almha Laighean, 130.
Alye, John óg, 129.
Artuir, Roibeard Mac, 55.

Bagwell, Richard, 163, 173.
Baile na Corra, 184.
Baile na Cúirte, 131.
Baile an Fheadha, 130.
Barnewall, Fr. Joannes, 196.
Bernardus Gordonius, 125.
Bháird, Eoghan R. Mac an, 97.
Bháird, Fearghal Óg Mac an, 108 sqq.
Bháird, Goffraidh Mac an, 64
Bháird, Giolla Pádraig Mac an, 115.
Bheathadh, Fearghus Mac, 143.
Braidshliabh, 46.
Braonáin, Emonn O, 12 sqq.

Browne, Fr. Valentine, 69 sqq.
Bruaidealha, Conor Mac, 77.
Bruaidíogha, Domhnall m. Daire Mac, 111.
Burke, Ulick, 86.
Byrne, Fiach mac Hugh O, 185.
Byrne, Hugh mac Shane O, 191.

Cadhla, Corc óg O, 124, 153 sqq.
Caisléan na Finne, 47.
Call Caoin, 46.
Caomhánach, Brian, 192.
Caonraighe, 47.
Carraig Fheoruis, 130.
Carrthaigh, Cormac Mac, Vis. Muskerry, 86.
Castletown-Kindalen, 13.
Casarlaigh, Mac, 192.
Cerbhaill in Ele, O, 74.
Cavellus, Fr. Edmundus, 83.
Cíanáin, Tadhg O, 98.
Cianachta Glinne Geimhin, 74.
Clann Fheoruis, 129.
Clérigh, Conaire O, 74, 75.
— Cucoigríche O, 75.
— Michéal O, 27, 70 sqq.
Cluain Each, 129.
Cnoc Samhruidh, 86.
Cnoghba, 47.

INDEX (*continued*)

- Cobhthaigh, O, poet, 14.
 Coffey, Fr. Bernardus, 196.
 Coill na Cúirte Duibhe, 130.
 Coirrrshliabh na Seaghsa, 51.
 Concobhair, O, 74.
 Conchubhair, Donnchadh Óg, 137.
 Conchubhair, Risteard O, 123 sqq.
 Conmidhe, Gearoid Mac, 199.
 Coote, Sir Charles, 86.
 Corbmac Gaileng, Sliocht, 74.
 Cormick, Fr. Petrus Mc, 70, 84.
 Cosby, Francis, 163.
 Creeve, townland, 25.
 Críoch Bhranach, 184.
 Cruachán Lighean, 49.
 Cuala, 47.
 Cullohill, 153.
 Dálaigh, Doighre O, 191.
 Davetus, Fr. Columbus, 83.
 Dealbhna Mór, 11.
 Doibhlín, Proinnsias, 199.
 Domhnaill, An Calbhach Ó, 49.
 Domhnaill, Aodh R., Ó, 98.
 Domhnaill, Conn O, 49.
 Domhnaill, Niall Garbh Ó, 27 sqq.
 Duibhgennáin, Cúcoigcríche O, 75.
 Duibhgennáin, Muintir, 75.
 Duinnshléibhe, Cormac Mac, 123.
 Duirnín, Reaghmunn O, 68.
 Dún Tairghéis, 10.
 Dún Muire, 130.
 Dunganus, Fr. Antonius, 83.
 Dún Uabhair, 130.
 Eas Dara, 46.
 Echtgha, 46.
 Eochadha, Fearghal Mac, 191.
 —Gilla na Naomh Mac, 191.
 —Seaan m. Fearghail Mac, 191.
 —Fear gan ainm Mac, 191.
 Everard, Fr. Joseph, 77.
 Fearghail, Jas., O, 202.
 Feiritéar, Piaras, 118.
 Ferral, Fr. Franciscus, 196.
 Finalláin, family of Ó, 11.
 Fitzgerald, Mary, 6.
 Flaithbheartaigh, Brian O, 65.
 Fleming, Fr. Thomas, 79.
 Fore, Barony of, 10.
 Frighil, Eoghan O, 54.
 Gabhal Raghnaill, 184.
 Gadhra, Genealogy of O, 71.
 Gara, Ferghal dubh O, 3.
 Giolla Brighde Albanach, 113.
 Giollapadraig, Mac, 131.
 Glenn Righe, 46.
 Grait, Tomas Mac, 57.
 Grantstown, 141.
 Harmanstown, 197.
 Harpole, Robert, 163.
 Harrington, Sir Henry, 185.
 Hegerty, Patritius, 82.
 Heghra an Rúta, O, 74.
 Higgin, Domhnall O, 54.

INDEX (continued)

- Higgin, Seaan mac Ruaidhri O, 188.
 —Tadhg Dall O, 120, 192.
- Kavanagh family, 179.
- Leithfer, 47.
Lilium Medicinæ, 123.
 Lissaligan, 179.
 Longáin, Míchéal Óg O, 4.
 —Míchéal m. Peadair O, 4.
 Luighne Connacht, 74.
- Maonaigh, Donnchadh O, 53 sqq.
- Maelconaire, Flathri O, 53, 56.
- Maelconaire, Tuileagna O, 27, 28.
- Maoilchonaire, Muiris O, 74.
 —Fearfeasa O, 75.
 Maoilchraoibhe, O, 27.
 Maolearcaid, Emonn O, 58.
 Mathamhna, Mac, 64.
 Meachair, O, 74.
 Meguidhir, Concobar, 64.
 Mellanus, Fr. Henricus, 82.
 Mordha, Muirchertach O, 170.
 —Ruairi Óg O, 164.
 More, Calvagh O, 130.
 Muiredhaigh, Diarmuid Mac, 89.
 Muirghiosa, Donnchadh O, 191.
 Mulhussey, 131.
 Mullaghmast Massacre, 162.
 Neachtain, Tadhg O, 133 sqq.
- Néill, Aodh Ruadh O, 98.
 Néill, Felim O, 88.
 Néill, Gordún O, 88.
 Néill, Seán m Aodha O, 60 sqq.
- Niall Nóigiallach, 12, 26.
- Nugent, Chris., Baron Delvin, 6.
 Nugent, Garret. *Nuinsionn, Gearáid*, 5 sqq.
- O Byrne Raghmallach, 184.
- Pollardstown, *Baile Pholláird*, 130.
- Prestun, Seon, 54.
- Quely, Fr. Malachy O, 79, 84.
- Ruairc, family of Mag, 12.
- Sidney, Sir Henry, 176, 178.
 Sliabh Guaire, 46.
 Solly, John Mac, 197 sqq.
 Srubh Broin, 43.
- Teagh na Ronna (Tinnaranny) 155.
- Teallach Dúinchadha, 186.
- Thadaei, Fr. Hugo (*Mac Taig*), 66.
- Tupper, Richard, 199.
- Uí Cairín, 74.
 Uí Luighdheach, 50.
 Uí Máine, 47.
- Valrónta Mac (Wellesley) 130.

CORRIGENDA

- p. 95, l. 14, *from bottom, read* : Hibernicum.
- p. 115, *for VI read* IV.
- p. 130, l. 9. *read* : Dún.
- p. 131, l. 4, *read* : Cathaoir.
- p. 141, l. 6, *read* : ndiaigh.
- p. 142, l. 9 *from bottom, read* : Prognostica.
- p. 165, *bottom, read* : Dia.
- p. 166, l. 18, *read* : Muircheartach.
- p. 179, l. 12, *read* : tindsnadh.

leom anugh 136, 137 (2)

ag gabail cumairce 136

1871
1872
1873
1874

Giolla Brighde Albanach p. 113
Hugh - 1874
1875

Carly 34, 119

Leibellén 87
Sóidhneog 80, 87
Lore 102

Diarmuid Mac Nuireadhaigh p. 89
Giolla Brighde Albanach p. 113.

Mac Anraigh 192

Ri fhuil a Mhac p. 116
Bromhnaigh
ag gabat cuimhne } 136,
p. 15, 29, 30 } 137